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BOMBAY BRANCH

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on 02 July, 2018

The Second Part
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION.

By the Lords.

Die Lunæ 3. Januarij 1680.

ORdered by the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal* in Parliament Aſſembled, That the Thanks of this Houſe be given to Dr. *Burnet*, for the great Service done by him to this Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Religion, in writing the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England*, ſo truly and exactly; And that he be deſired to proceed in the perfecting what he further intends therein with all convenient ſpeed.

Jo. Browne Cleric. Parliamentorum.

By the Commons.

Jovis 23. *Die* Decemb. 1680.

ORdered, That the Thanks of *This Houſe* be given to Dr. *Burnet*, for his Book Intituled *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* England.

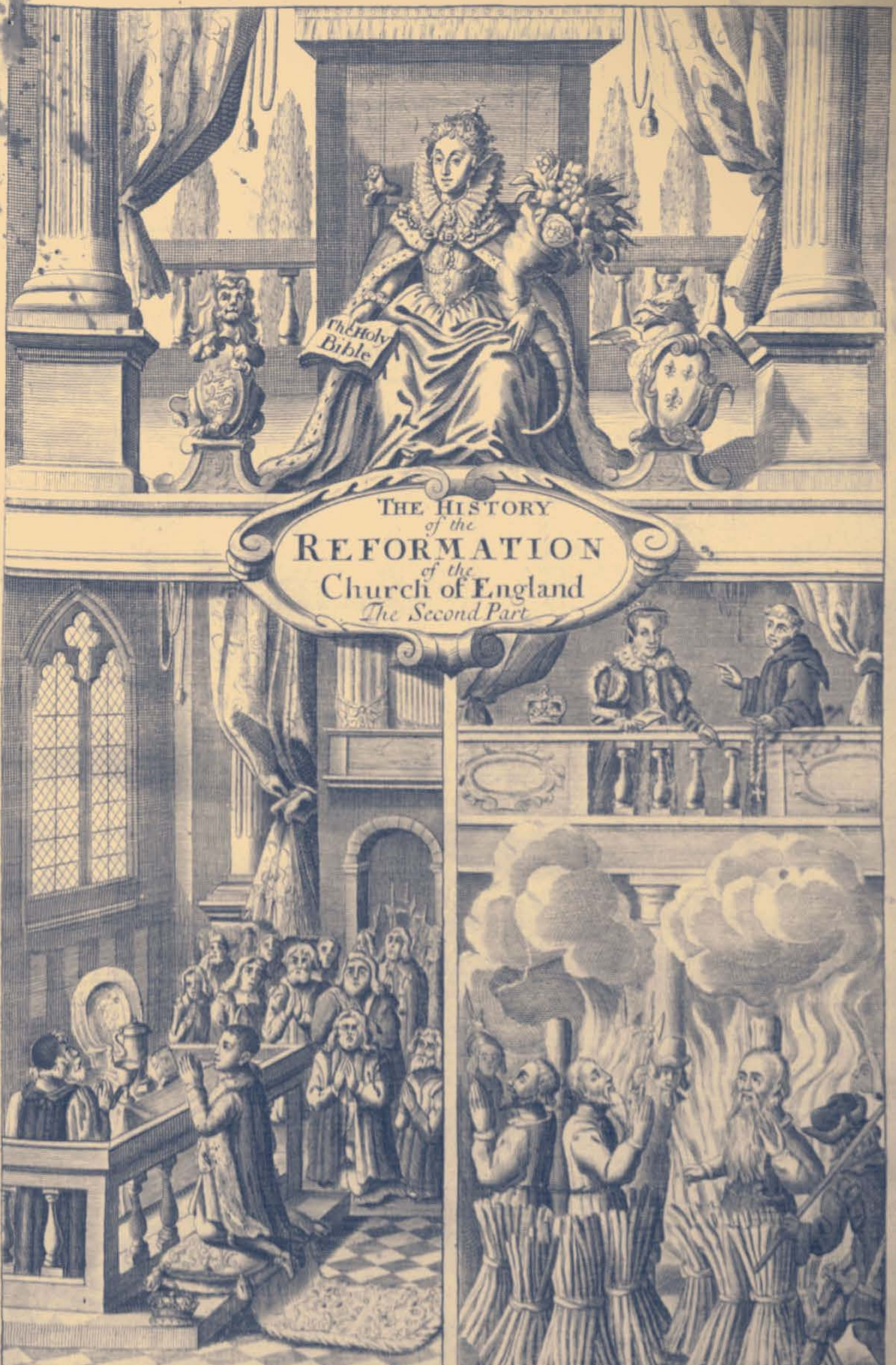
Will. Goldesbrough. Cleric. Dom. Com.

Mercurij 5. *Die* Januarij 1680.

ORdered, That Dr. *Burnet* be deſired to proceed with, and compleat that Good Work by him begun in Writing and Publiſhing *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* England.

Will. Goldesbrough Cler. Dom. Com

Vol II


The Holy Bible
THE HISTORY
of the
REFORMATION
of the
Church of England
The Second Part
Bp Ridley
Bp Latimer
Arch: Bp Cranmer

Printed for Rich: Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

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The Second Part.

OF THE
Progreſs made in it till the Settlement of
it in the beginning
OF
Q. Elizabeth's Reign.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D. D.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. H.* for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Roſe and Crown in
St. *Paul's* Church-yard, MDCLXXXI.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE favourable reception which the former Part of this Work had, together with the new Materials that were ſent me from Noble and Worthy Hands, have encouraged me to proſecute it, and to carry down the Hiſtory *of the* Reformation *of this Church till it was brought to a compleat ſettlement in the beginning of Queen* Elizabeths *Reign, which I now offer to the World.*

The great zeal of this Age for what was done in that, about Religion, has made the Hiſtory *of it to be received and read with more than ordinary attention and care: and many have expreſſed their ſatisfaction in what was formerly publiſhed, by contributing ſeveral Papers of great conſequence to what remained: and ſince I found no Part of the firſt Volume was more univerſally acceptable, than that wherein I was only a Tranſcriber, I mean the* Collection *of* Records *and* Authentick *Papers, which I had ſet down in confirmation of the more remarkable and doubtful parts of the Hiſtory; I continue the ſame method now. I ſhall repeat nothing here that was in my former* Preface*: But refer the Reader to ſuch things as concern this Hiſtory in general, and my encouragement in the undertaking and proſecution of it, to what is there premiſed to the whole Work: and therefore I ſhall now enlarge on ſuch things as do more particularly relate to this Volume.*

The Papers that were conveyed to me from ſeveral Hands are referred to, as the occaſion to mention them occurs in the Hiſtory, with ſuch acknowledgements as I thought beſt became this way of writing, though far ſhort of the merits of thoſe who furniſhed me with them. But the Store-houſe from whence I drew the greateſt part both of the Hiſtory *and* Collection, *is the often-celebrated* Cotton *Library, out of which, by the noble favour of its truly learned Owner, Sir* John Cotton, *I gathered all that was neceſſary for compoſing this Part, together with ſome few things which had eſcaped me in my former Search, and belong to the Firſt Part: and thoſe I have mixed in the* Collection *added to this Volume upon ſuch occaſions as I thought moſt pertinent. But among all the Remains of the laſt Age, that are with great induſtry and order laid up in that Treaſury, none pleaſed me better, nor were of more uſe to me, than the* Journal *of King* Edwards *Reign, written all with his own Hand: with ſome other Papers of his, which I have put by themſelves in the beginning of the* Collection: *Of theſe I ſhall ſay nothing here, having given a full account of them in the Hiſtory of his Reign, to which I refer the Reader. I find moſt of our Writers have taken Parcels out of them, and Sir* John Heyward *has tranſcribed from them the greateſt part of his Book; therefore I thought this a* *thing of ſuch conſequence, that upon good advice I have publiſhed them all faithfully copied from the Originals.*

But as others aſſiſted me towards the perfecting this Part, ſo that learned Divine, and moſt exact Enquirer into Hiſtorical Learning, Mr. Fulman, *Rector of* Hamton-Meyſey *in* Gloceſter-ſhire, *did moſt ſignally oblige me, by a Collection of ſome miſtakes I had made in the former Work. He had for many years applied his thoughts with a very ſearching care to the ſame Subject, and ſo was able to judge more critically of it, than other Readers. Some of thoſe had eſcaped me, others had not come within my view, in ſome particulars my Vouchers were not good, and in others I had miſtaken my Authors. Theſe I publiſh at the end of this Volume, being neither aſhamed to confeſs my faults, nor unwilling to acknowledge from what Hand I received better information. My deſign in writing is to diſcover Truth, and to deliver it down impartially to the next Age; ſo I ſhould think it both a mean and criminal piece of vanity to ſuppreſs this diſcovery of my Errors. And though the number and conſequence of them had been greater than it is, I ſhould rather have ſubmitted to a much ſeverer Penance, than have left the World in the miſtakes, I had led them into: yet I was not a little pleaſed to find that they were neither many, nor of importance to the main Parts of the Hiſtory: and were chiefly about* Dates *or ſmall variations in the order of Time. I hope this Part has fewer faults ſince that worthy Perſon did purſue his former kindneſs ſo far, as to review it before-hand: and with great judgment to correct ſuch errors as he found in it: Thoſe I had formerly fallen into, made me more careful in examining even the ſmalleſt matters. Yet if after all my care, and the kind Cenſures of thoſe who have reviſed this Work, there is any thing left that may require a further Retractation, I ſhall not decline to make it ſo ſoon as I ſee there is need of it, being, I hope, raiſed above the poor vanity of ſeeking my own reputation, by ſacrificing Truth to it.*

Thoſe to whoſe cenſure I ſubmitted this whole Hiſtory in both its Parts, were chiefly three great Divines, whoſe Lives are ſuch Examples, their Sermons ſuch Inſtructions, their Writings ſuch unanſwerable Vindications of our Church, and their whole deportment ſo ſutable to their profeſſion, that as I reckon my being admitted into ſome meaſure of friendſhip with them, among the chief Bleſſings of my Life, ſo I know nothing can more effectually recommend this Work than to ſay that it paſſed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care, which their great zeal for the Cauſe concerned in it, and their goodneſs to the Author, and freedom with him obliged them to uſe. They are ſo well known, that without naming them, thoſe of this Age will eaſily gueſs who they are; and they will be ſo well known to Poſterity, by their excellent Writings, that the naming them is ſo high an advantage to my Book, *that I much doubt whether it is decent for me to do it. One of them,* Dr. Lloyd, *is now, while I am writing, by His Majeſties favour, promoted to the Biſhoprick of St.* Aſaph: *a Dignity to which how deſervedly ſoever his great Learning, Piety, and Merit, has advanced him, yet I particularly know how far he was from any aſpirings to it. It was he I deſcribed in my former* Preface, *that engaged me firſt to this deſign, and for that reaſon he has been more than ordinary careful to examine it, with that exactneſs that is peculiar to him. The other two are the Reverend, Learned,* and Judicious Deans, of Canterbury and St. Pauls, Dr. Tillotſon, and Dr. Stillingfleet, too well known to receive any addition from the Characters I can give of them.

Others gave me Supplies of another ſort, to enable me to go through with an undertaking that put me to no ſmall expence. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge, that the ſtraitneſs of my condition, made this uneaſie to me, being deſtitute of all publick proviſion: but I ſhould be much aſhamed of my ingratitude, if I did not celebrate their bounty who have taken ſuch care of me, as not to leave this addition of charge, on one who lives not without difficulties. I muſt again repeat my Thanks, for the generous kindneſs, protection, and liberal Supplies of Sir Harbotle Grimſtone, Maſter of the Rolls, this being the ſixth year of my ſubſiſtance under him, to whom I muſt ever acknowledge that I am more beholding than to all Men living. The noble Mr. Boyle, as he employs both his Time and Wealth, for the good of Mankind, (for which he conſiders himſelf as chiefly born, and which he has promoted not only in his own excellent Writings, that have made him ſo famous over all the World, but in many other deſigns that have been chiefly carried on at his coſt,) ſo hath he renewed his kindneſs to me in largeſſes ſutable to ſo great a Mind. Others were alſo pleaſed to joyn their help. The Right Honourable the Lord Finch, now Lord High Chancellor of England, whoſe great Parts, and greater Vertues, are ſo conſpicuous, that it were a high Preſumption in me to ſay any thing in his commendation, being in nothing more eminent than in his zeal for, and care of this Church, thought it might be of ſome importance to have its Hiſtory well digeſted, and therefore as he bore a large ſhare of my expence, ſo he took it more particularly under his care, and under all the Burdens of that high Employment which he now bears, yet found time for reading it in Manuſcript, of which he muſt have robbed himſelf, ſince he never denies it to thoſe who have a Right to it on any publick account; and hath added ſuch Remarks and Corrections as are no ſmall part of any finiſhing it may be judged to have. The Lord Ruſſel, the Inheritor of that Zeal for true Religion, and the other Vertues that have from the firſt beginnings of the Reformation, in a continued Entail, adorned that Noble Family of Bedford, beyond moſt others of the Kingdom, did eſpouſe the Intereſts of the Proteſtant Religion in this particular, as he has done on all other more publick occaſions: and by a moſt liberal Supply encouraged me to proſecute this Undertaking. That Worthy Counſellor, whoſe celebrated Integrity and clear Judgment have raiſed him ſo high in his Profeſſion, Anthony Keck Eſquire, did alſo concur in eaſing me of the charge that Searching, Copying, and gathering Materials put me to: And having received as much from theſe my Noble Benefactors, as did enable me to carry on my Deſign, I did excuſe my ſelf at other Perſons Hands, who very generouſly offered to ſupply me in the expence which this Work brought with it. That was done in a moſt extraordinary manner, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax, whom, if I reckon among the greateſt Perſons this Age has produced, I am ſure all that know him will allow, that I ſpeak modeſtly of him: He indeed offered me the yearly continuance of a Bounty, that would not only have defrayed all this expence, but have been an entire and honourable ſubſiſtance to me; and though my neceſſities were not ſo preſſing as to perſwade me to accept it; yet ſo unuſual a generoſity

neroſity doth certainly merit the higheſt acknowledgements I can make for it.

But I now turn to that which ought to be the chief Subject of this Preface *to remove the prejudices, by which weak and unwary Perſons have been prepoſſeſſed in their Judgments concerning the* Reformation, *during that Period of it that falls within this* Volume. *I know the Duty of an* Hiſtorian *leads him to write as one that is of neither Party, and I have endeavoured to follow it as carefully as I could, neither concealing the faults of the one Party, nor denying the juſt Praiſes that were due to any of the other ſide; and have delivered things as I found them, making them neither better nor worſe than indeed they were: But now that I am not yet entred into that Province, and am here writing my own Thoughts, and not relating the Actions of other Men, I hope it will be judged no indecent thing to clear the Readers mind of thoſe Impreſſions, which may either have already biaſſed him too much, or may upon a ſlight reading of what follows, ariſe in his thoughts: unleſs he were prepared and armed with ſome neceſſary Reflections, which every one that may poſſibly read this Hiſtory, has not had the leiſure, or other opportunities, to make to ſuch a degree as were needful.*

It is certainly an unjuſt way of proceeding, in any that is to be a Judge, to let himſelf be ſecretly poſſeſſed, with ſuch Impreſſions of Perſons and Things, as may biaſs his thoughts: for where the Scales are not well adjuſted, the Weight cannot be truly reckoned. So that it is an indirect Method to load Mens Minds with Prejudices, and not to let them in to the trial of Truth, till their Inclinations are firſt ſwayed ſuch a way. I deny not but in matters of Religion moſt commonly Men receive ſuch Notions, before they can well examine them, as do much determine them in the Enquiries they make afterwards, when their underſtandings grow up to a fuller ripeneſs: but thoſe Pre-occupations, if rightly infuſed, are rather ſuch as give them general Notions of what is good and honeſt in the abſtracted Idea's, than concerning matters of Fact: for every wiſe and pious Man muſt avoid all ſuch Methods of Inſtruction, as are founded on Falſhood and Craft; and he that will breed a Man to love Truth, muſt form in him ſuch a liking of it, that he may clearly ſee he would bribe him into no Opinion or Party by falſe or indirect Arts: But ſince Men are generally ſo apt to let ſome eaſie Notions enter into their Minds, which will pre-engage their Affections, and for moſt part thoſe who ſet themſelves to gain Proſelites, do begin with ſuch Arts, it will not be amiſs to give the Reader ſuch an account of theſe, as may prepare him againſt them, that ſo he may with a clearer mind conſider what is now to be delivered to him, concerning the Reformation of Religion among us.

I ſhall begin with that which is moſt commonly urged; that the whole Church being one Body, the Changes that were made in Religion, did break that Unity, and diſſolve the Bond by which the Catholick Church is to be knit together, and that therefore the firſt Reformers began, and we ſtill continue a Schiſme *in the Church.*

In anſwer to this, it is to be conſidered that the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church are obliged to inſtruct their People in the true Faith of Chriſt, according to the Scriptures: The nature of their Function, being a Sacred Truſt, binds them to this; they were alſo at their Conſecration engaged to it, by a formal Sponſion, according to the Queſtions and Anſwers that are in *the* Roman *Pontifical to this day. Paſtors owe it as a Debt to their People to teach them according to the Scriptures: They owe a Charity to their Brethren, and are to live with them in the terms of Brotherly Love, and Friendly Correſpondence; but if that cannot be had on eaſier terms, than the concealing neceſſary Truths, and the delivering groſs errors to thoſe committed to their charge, it is certain that they ought not to purchaſe it at ſo dear a rate. When the Paſtors of this Church ſaw it over-run with errors and corruptions, they were obliged by the duty they owed to* God *and to their People, to diſcover them; and to undeceive their miſled Flocks. It is of great importance to maintain Peace and Unity, but if a Party in the Church does ſet up ſome Doctrines and Practiſes, that do much endanger the Salvation of Souls, and makes advantages by theſe, ſo that there is no hope left to gain them by rational and ſofter Methods, then as St.* Peter *was* to be withſtood to his Face, *in a leſſer matter, much more are thoſe, who pretend no higher than to be his Succeſſors, to be withſtood, when the things are of great moment and conſequence. When Hereſies ſprung up in the Primitive Church, we find the neighbouring Biſhops condemned them without ſtaying for the concurrence of other Churches; as in the Caſe of* Samoſatenus, Arius, *and* Pelagius: *and even when the greateſt part of the Church was become* Semi-Arian, *and many great Councils, chiefly that at* Ariminum, *conſiſting of above* 800 *Biſhops, as ſome ſay, had through ignorance and fear complied, the Orthodox Biſhops did not forbear to inſtruct thoſe committed to their care according to the true Faith. A general concurrence is a thing much to be laboured for; but when it cannot be had, every Biſhop muſt then do his duty ſo as to be anſwerable to the chief Biſhop of Souls.*

So that inſtead of being led away by ſo ſlight a prejudice, we muſt turn our Enquiries to this, Whether there were really ſuch abuſes in the Church, as did require a Reformation? and whether there was any reaſon to hope for a more general concurrence in it? In the following Hiſtory *the Reader will ſee what corruptions were found to be both in the Doctrine and Worſhip of this Church: from whence he may infer what need there was of Reformation. And it is very plain, that they had no reaſon to expect the concurrence of other Churches; for the Council of* Trent *had already made a great progreſs, and it was very viſible, that as the Court of* Rome *governed all things there, ſo they were reſolved to admit of no effectual Reformation, of any conſiderable matters; but to eſtabliſh by a more formal deciſion, thoſe errors and abuſes that had given ſo much ſcandal to the Chriſtian World for ſo many Ages.*

This being the true ſtate of the Caſe, it is certain, that if there were really great corruptions, either in Belief or Manners in this Church, then the Biſhops were bound to reform them: ſince the backwardneſs of others in their duty, could not excuſe them from doing theirs, when they were clearly convinced of it. So that the Reader is to ſhake off this prejudice, and only to examine whether there was really ſuch need of a Reformation? ſince if that be true, it is certain the Biſhops of this as well as of other Churches, were bound to ſet about it; and the faultineſs of ſome could be no excuſe to the reſt.

The ſecond Prejudice *is, That the Reformation was begun and carried on, not by the major part of the Biſhops and Clergy; but by a few ſelected Biſhops and Divines, who being ſupported by the Name of the Kings Authority, did frame things as they pleaſed; and by their Intereſt at Court got* *them to be Enacted in Parliament: and after they had removed ſuch Biſhops as oppoſed them, then they procured the Convocation to conſent to what was done: So that upon the matter, the Reformation was the Work of* Cranmer, *with a few more of his Party, and not of this Church, which never agreed wholly to it, till the Biſhops were ſo modelled as to be compliant to the deſigns of the Court. In ſhort, the reſolution of this, is to be taken from a common Caſe; when the* major *part of a Church is according to the Conſcience of the Supream Civil Magiſtrate in an Error, and the leſſer part is in the right. The Caſe is not hard, if well underſtood: for in the whole Scripture there is no promiſe made to the* major *part of the Paſtors of the Church; and there being no Divine Promiſe made about it, it is certain that the Nature of Man is ſuch, that Truth ſeparated from Intereſt hath few Votaries: but when it is oppoſite to it, it muſt have a very ſmall Party. So that moſt of thoſe things which needed Reformation, being ſuch as added much to the Wealth and Power of the Clergy, it had been a wonder indeed, if the greater part had not oppoſed it. In that Caſe, as the ſmaller part were not to depart from their Sentiments, becauſe oppoſed in them by a more numerous Party that was too deeply concerned in the matter: ſo it was both natural for them, and very reaſonable, to take Sanctuary in the Authority and Protection of the Prince and the Law. That Princes have an Authority in things Sacred, was ſo univerſally agreed to in King* Henry'*s Reign, and was made out upon ſuch clear Evidence of Reaſon and Precedents, both in the* Jewiſh *State, and in the* Roman *Empire, when it turned* Chriſtian, *that this ground was already gained. It is the firſt Law in* Juſtinians *Code, made by* Theodoſius *when he came to the Empire,* That all ſhould every were, under ſevere pains, follow that Faith which was received by *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Peter* of Alexandria. *And why might not the* King *and Laws of* England *give the like Authority to the Arch-biſhops of* Canterbury *and* York.

When the Empire, *and eſpecially the* Eaſtern *part of it, had been, during the Reign of* Conſtantius, *and* Valens *ſucceeding him after a ſhort Interval, ſo overſpread with* Arianiſme, *it is ſcarce to be imagined how it could have been reformed in any other manner: for they durſt not at firſt truſt it to the diſcretion of a Synod; and yet the Queſtion then on foot was not ſo link'd with Intereſt, being a Speculative Point of Divinity, as thoſe about which the Conteſts were in the beginnings of the Reformation.*

It is not to be imagined how any Changes in Religion can be made by Sovereign Princes, unleſs an Authority be lodged with them of giving the Sanction of a Law, to the ſounder, though the leſſer part of a Church: for as Princes and Law-givers are not tied to an implicite obedience to Clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own diſcerning, ſo they muſt have a Power to chooſe what ſide to be of where things are much enquired into. The Juriſdiction of Synods or Councils, is founded either on the Rules of Expediency and Brotherly Correſpondence, or on the force of Civil Laws: for when the Chriſtian *Belief had not the ſupport of Law, every Biſhop taught his own Flock the beſt he could, and gave his Neighbours ſuch an account of his Faith, at, or ſoon after his Conſecration, as ſatisfied them, and ſo maintained the Unity of the Church. The formality of Synods grew up in the Church, from the diviſion of the* Roman *Empire, and the Dignity of the ſeveral Cities; which is a thing ſo well known, and ſo plainly acknowledged by the Writers of all ſides, that it were a needleſs impoſing on* *the Readers patience, to ſpend time to prove it. Such as would underſtand it more perfectly, will find it in* De Marca *the late Arch-biſhop of* Paris's *Books* de Concordia Imperii & Sacerdotii, *and in* Blondells *Works,* De la Primaute de l'Egliſe. *None can imagine there is a Divine Authority in that which ſprang from ſuch a beginning. The* major *part of Synods cannot be ſuppoſed to be in matters of Faith, ſo aſſiſted from Heaven, that the leſſer part muſt neceſſarily acquieſce in their Decrees, or that the Civil Powers muſt always meaſure their Laws, by their Votes: eſpecially where Intereſt does viſibly turn the Scales. And this may ſatisfie any reaſonable Man as to this prejudice; that if Arch-biſhop* Cranmer *and* Holgate, *the two Primates and Metropolitanes of this Church, were in the right, in the things that they procured to be reformed, though the greater part of the Biſhops being biaſſed by baſe ends, and generally both ſuperſtitious and little converſant in the true Theological Learning, did oppoſe them, and they were thereby forced to order matters ſo, that at firſt they were prepared by ſome ſelected Biſhops and Divines, and afterwards Enacted by King and Parliament, this is no juſt exception to what was ſo managed. And ſuch a* Reformation *can no more be blaſted by being called a* Parliament-Religion, *than the* Reformations *made by the Kings of* Iſrael *without or againſt the Majority of the Prieſts, could be blemiſh'd by being call'd* the Kings Religion.

A third Prejudice *is, that the Perſons who governed the Affairs at Court, were weak or ill Men: that the King being under Age, things were carried by thoſe who had him in their Power. And for the two great Miniſters of that Reign, or rather the Adminiſtrators of it, the Dukes of* Somerſet *and* Northumberland, *as their violent and untimely deaths, may ſeem to be effects of the indignation of Heaven, for what they did; ſo they were both eminently faulty in their Adminiſtration, and are ſuppoſed to have ſought too much their own ends. This ſeems to caſt a blemiſh on their Actions, and to give ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the things were not good which had ſuch Inſtruments to advance them.*

But this Prejudice, *compounded of many Particulars, when taken to pieces, will appear of no force to blaſt the credit of what they did. By our Law, the King never dies, and is never young nor old, ſo that the Authority of the King is the ſame, whether adminiſtred by himſelf or by his Governours, when he is under Age: nor are we to judge of Men by the events that befall them. Theſe are the deepeſt Secrets of Divine Providence, into which it is impoſſible for Men of limited underſtandings to penetrate: and if we make Judgments of Perſons and Things by accidents, we ſhall very often moſt certainly conclude falſely.* Solomon *made the Obſervation, which the* Series *of Humane Affairs ever ſince hath fully juſtified,* That there are Juſt Men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Wicked; and Wicked Men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Righteous: *and the enquiring into theſe ſeemingly unequal ſteps of Gods Governing the World,* is a vanity. *As for the Duke of* Northumberland, *the Reformation is not at all concerned in him, for if we believe what he ſaid, when there was the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect him, on the Scaffold, he was all the while a* Papiſt *in his Heart. And ſo no wonder if ſuch a Man, ſtriking in for his own ambitious ends, with that which was popular, even againſt the perſwaſions of his Conſcience, did very ill things. The Duke of* Somerſet *was indeed more ſincere, and though he was not*

without

neroſity doth certainly merit the higheſt acknowledgements I can make for it.

But I now turn to that which ought to be the chief Subject of this Preface *to remove the prejudices, by which weak and unwary Perſons have been prepoſſeſſed in their Judgments concerning the* Reformation, *during that Period of it that falls within this* Volume. *I know the Duty of an* Hiſtorian *leads him to write as one that is of neither Party, and I have endeavoured to follow it as carefully as I could, neither concealing the faults of the one Party, nor denying the juſt Praiſes that were due to any of the other ſide; and have delivered things as I found them, making them neither better nor worſe than indeed they were: But now that I am not yet entred into that Province, and am here writing my own Thoughts, and not relating the Actions of other Men, I hope it will be judged no indecent thing to clear the Readers mind of thoſe Impreſſions, which may either have already biaſſed him too much, or may upon a ſlight reading of what follows, ariſe in his thoughts: unleſs he were prepared and armed with ſome neceſſary Reflections, which every one that may poſſibly read this Hiſtory, has not had the leiſure, or other opportunities, to make to ſuch a degree as were needful.*

It is certainly an unjuſt way of proceeding, in any that is to be a Judge, to let himſelf be ſecretly poſſeſſed, with ſuch Impreſſions of Perſons and Things, as may biaſs his thoughts: for where the Scales are not well adjuſted, the Weight cannot be truly reckoned. So that it is an indirect Method to load Mens Minds with Prejudices, and not to let them in to the trial of Truth, till their Inclinations are firſt ſwayed ſuch a way. I deny not but in matters of Religion moſt commonly Men receive ſuch Notions, before they can well examine them, as do much determine them in the Enquiries they make afterwards, when their underſtandings grow up to a fuller ripeneſs: but thoſe Pre-occupations, if rightly infuſed, are rather ſuch as give them general Notions of what is good and honeſt in the abſtracted Idea's, than concerning matters of Fact: for every wiſe and pious Man muſt avoid all ſuch Methods of Inſtruction, as are founded on Falſhood and Craft; and he that will breed a Man to love Truth, muſt form in him ſuch a liking of it, that he may clearly ſee he would bribe him into no Opinion *or Party by falſe or indirect Arts: But. ſince Men are generally ſo apt to let ſome eaſie Notions enter into their Minds, which will pre-engage their Affections, and for moſt part thoſe who ſet themſelves to gain Proſelites, do begin with ſuch Arts, it will not be amiſs to give the Reader ſuch an account of theſe, as may prepare him againſt them, that ſo he may with a clearer mind conſider what is now to be delivered to him, concerning the Reformation of Religion among us.*

I ſhall begin with that which is moſt commonly urged; that the whole Church being one Body, the Changes that were made in Religion, did break that Unity, and diſſolve the Bond by which the Catholick Church is to be knit together, and that therefore the firſt Reformers began, and we ſtill continue a Schiſme *in the Church.*

In anſwer to this, it is to be conſidered that the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church are obliged to inſtruct their People in the true Faith of Chriſt, according to the Scriptures: The nature of their Function, being a Sacred Truſt, binds them to this; they were alſo at their Conſecration engaged to it, by a formal Sponſion, according to the Queſtions and Anſwers that are in *the* Roman *Pontifical to this day. Paſtors owe it as a Debt to their People to teach them according to the Scriptures: They owe a Charity to their Brethren, and are to live with them in the terms of Brotherly Love, and Friendly Correſpondence; but if that cannot be had on eaſier terms, than the concealing neceſſary Truths, and the delivering groſs errors to thoſe committed to their charge, it is certain that they ought not to purchaſe it at ſo dear a rate. When the Paſtors of this Church ſaw it over-run with errors and corruptions, they were obliged by the duty they owed to God and to their People, to diſcover them; and to undeceive their miſled Flocks. It is of great importance to maintain Peace and Unity, but if a Party in the Church does ſet up ſome Doctrines and Practiſes, that do much endanger the Salvation of Souls, and makes advantages by theſe, ſo that there is no hope left to gain them by rational and ſofter Methods, then as St.* Peter *was* to be withſtood to his Face, *in a leſſer matter, much more are thoſe, who pretend no higher than to be his Succeſſors, to be withſtood, when the things are of great moment and conſequence. When Hereſies ſprung up in the Primitive Church, we find the neighbouring Biſhops condemned them without ſtaying for the concurrence of other Churches; as in the Caſe of* Samoſatenus, Arius, *and* Pelagius: *and even when the greateſt part of the Church was become* Semi-Arian, *and many great Councils, chiefly that at* Ariminum, *conſiſting of above* 800 *Biſhops, as ſome ſay, had through ignorance and fear complied, the Orthodox Biſhops did not forbear to inſtruct thoſe committed to their care according to the true Faith. A general concurrence is a thing much to be laboured for; but when it cannot be had, every Biſhop muſt then do his duty ſo as to be anſwerable to the chief Biſhop of Souls.*

So that inſtead of being led away by ſo ſlight a prejudice, we muſt turn our Enquiries to this, Whether there were really ſuch abuſes in the Church; as did require a Reformation? and whether there was any reaſon to hope for a more general concurrence in it? In the following Hiſtory *the Reader will ſee what corruptions were found to be both in the Doctrine and Worſhip of this Church: from whence he may infer what need there was of Reformation. And it is very plain, that they had no reaſon to expect the concurrence of other Churches; for the Council of* Trent *had already made a great progreſs, and it was very viſible, that as the Court of* Rome *governed all things there, ſo they were reſolved to admit of no effectual Reformation, of any conſiderable matters; but to eſtabliſh by a more formal deciſion, thoſe errors and abuſes that had given ſo much ſcandal to the Chriſtian World for ſo many Ages.*

This being the true ſtate of the Caſe, it is certain, that if there were really great corruptions, either in Belief or Manners in this Church, then the Biſhops were bound to reform them: ſince the backwardneſs of others in their duty, could not excuſe them from doing theirs, when they were clearly convinced of it. So that the Reader is to ſhake off this prejudice, and only to examine whether there was really ſuch need of a Reformation? ſince if that be true, it is certain the Biſhops of this as well as of other Churches, were bound to ſet about it; and the faultineſs of ſome could be no excuſe to the reſt.

The ſecond Prejudice *is, That the Reformation was begun and carried on, not by the major part of the Biſhops and Clergy; but by a few ſelected Biſhops and Divines, who being ſupported by the Name of the Kings Authority, did frame things as they pleaſed; and by their Intereſt at Court got* without his faults, (which we may ſafely acknowledge, ſince the Man of Infallibility *is not pretended to be without ſin*) yet theſe were not ſuch heinous tranſgreſſions, but rather ſuch as humane infirmity expoſes moſt Men to, when they are raiſed to an high condition. He was too vain, too much addicted to his own Notions, and being a Man of no extraordinary Parts, he was too much at the diſpoſal of thoſe, who by flatteries and ſubmiſſions inſinuated themſelves into him; and he made too great haſt to raiſe a vaſt Eſtate to be altogether innocent: but I never find him charged with any perſonal diſorders, nor was he ever guilty of falſhood, of perverting Juſtice, of Cruelty, or of Oppreſſion. He was ſo much againſt the laſt of theſe, that he loſt the affections of the Nobility for being ſo careful of the Commons, and covering them from the oppreſſion of their Landlords. The Buſineſs of his Brother, though it has a very ill appearance, and is made to look worſe by the lame account our Books give of it, ſeems to have been forced ~~on him~~: for the Admiral was a Man of moſt incurable ambition, and ſo inclined to raiſe diſturbance, that after ſo many relapſes and ſuch frequent Reconciliations, he ſtill breaking out into new diſorders, it became almoſt neceſſary to put him out of a capacity of doing more miſchief. But if we compare the Duke of Somerſet with the great Miniſters even in the beſt Courts; we ſhall find him better than moſt of them: and if ſome few have carried their Proſperity better, many more even of thoſe who are otherwiſe recorded for extraordinary Perſons, have been guilty of far greater faults. He who is but a little acquainted with Hiſtory, or with the Courts of Princes, muſt needs know ſo much of this Argument, that he will eaſily cure himſelf of any ill effects which this Prejudice may have on him.

A fourth Prejudice *is raiſed from the great Invaſions which were then made upon the Church-Lands, and things dedicated to Pious Uſes; which is a thing hated by Men of all Religions, and branded with the odious Names of* Sacriledge, *and* robbing of God; *ſo that the Spoils of Religious Houſes and Churches, ſeem to have been the ſecret Motives that at firſt drew in, and ſtill engage ſo many to the Reformation. This has more weight in it than the former, and therefore deſerves to be more fully conſidered.*

The Light of Nature teaches, that thoſe who are dedicated to the Service of God, and for inſtructing the People, ought to be ſo well provided for, that they may be delivered from the diſtractions of Secular Cares, and ſecured from the contempt which follows Poverty; and be furniſhed with ſuch means as may both enable them to know that well wherein they are to inſtruct others, and to gain ſuch an Intereſt in the affections of thoſe among whom they labour, as modeſt Hoſpitality and liberal Almſ-giving may procure. In this all Nations and Religions have ſo generally agreed, that it may be well called a Law of Nations, if not of Nature. Had Church-men been contented with this meaſure, it is very probable things had never run to the other Extream ſo much as they have done. But as the Pope got to himſelf a great Principality, ſo the reſt of his Clergy deſigned to imitate him in that, as much as was poſſible: they ſpared no pains, nor thought they any Methods too bad, that could ſet forward theſe Projects. The belief of Purgatory, and the redeeming of Souls out of it by Maſſes, with many other publick Cheats impoſed on the World, had brought the Wealth of this and other Nations into their Hands. Upon the diſcovery of this impoſture, it was but a reaſonable and juſt proceeding of the Government to re-aſſume thoſe Lands, and diſpoſe otherwiſe of them, which had been for moſt part fraudu-

lently drawn from the former Ages: for indeed the beſt part of the Soil of England, *being in ſuch ill Hands, it was the Intereſt of the whole Kingdom to have it put to better uſes. So that the Abbies being generally raiſed and endowed by the efficacy of thoſe falſe Opinions, which were infuſed into the People, I can ſee no juſt exception againſt the diſſolution of them, with the* Chantries, *and other Foundations of like ſuperſtition; and the fault was not in taking them away, but in not applying a greater part of them to uſes truly Religious.*

But moſt of theſe Monaſteries *had been enriched by that, which was indeed the Spoil of the Church: for in many Places the Tithes which belonged to the Secular Clergy were taken from them, and by the Authority of Papal Bulls were given to the Monaſteries. This was the Original of the greateſt miſchief that came on this Church at the Reformation: The Abbots having poſſeſſed themſelves of the Tithes, and having left to thoſe who ſerved the Cure either ſome ſmall Donative or Stipend, and at beſt the ſmall Tithes or Viccarage, thoſe who purchaſed the Abbey-Lands from the Crown in the former Reign, had them with no other charge reſerved for the Incumbents, but that ſmall Pittance that the Abbots had formerly given them: and this is now a much leſs allowance, than the Curates had in the times of Popery: for though they have now the ſame Right by their Incumbency that they then had, yet in the time of Superſtition, the Fees of* Obits, Exequies, Soul Maſſes, *and ſuch other Perquiſites did furniſh them ſo plentifully, that conſidering their obligation to remain unmarried, they lived well, though their certain maintenance was but ſmall: but theſe things falling off by the Reformation, which likewiſe leaves the Clergy at liberty in the matter of Marriage, this has occaſioned much ignorance and ſcandal among the Clergy: I ſhall not enter into the debate about the Divine Right of Tithes, this I am ſure of, a decent maintenance of the Clergy is of natural Right, and that it is not better looked to, is a publick reproach to the whole Nation; when in all other Religions and Nations, thoſe who ſerve at the Altar live by it. The ancient Allowances for the Curates in Market Towns, being generally ſo ſmall, becauſe the Number and Wealth of the People made the Perquiſites ſo conſiderable, has made thoſe Places to be too often but ill ſupplied: and what way this makes for the ſeducers of all hands, when the Miniſter is of ſo mean a condition, and hath ſo incompetent a Maintenance that he can ſcarce ſecure himſelf from extream want, and great contempt, I leave it to every Man to judge.*

This is as high a contempt of Religion and the Goſpel as any can be, and is one of thoſe things for which this Nation has much to anſwer to God; that now in one hundred and twenty years time, ſo little has been done by publick Authority for the redreſs of ſuch a crying oppreſſion. Some private Perſons have done great things this way, but the publick has yet done nothing ſutable to the occaſion: Though their Neighbour Nation of Scotland, *has ſet them a very good Example, where, by the great zeal and care of King* James, *and the late bleſſed King, Acts and Orders of Parliament have been made, for examining the whole ſtate of the Clergy, and for ſupplying all poor Livings ſo plentifully, that in* Glebe *and Tithes all Benefices are now raiſed to at leaſt fifty Pounds Sterling yearly. What greater ſcorn can be put on Religion, than to provide ſo ſcantly for thoſe that are truſted with the care of Souls; that ſome hundreds of Pariſhes in* England *pay not Ten Pounds a year to their Paſtors, and perhaps ſome thouſands not*

Fifty? This is to be numbred among thoſe crying ſins that are bringing down vengeance on us, ſince by this many Souls are left to periſh, becauſe it is not poſſible to provide them with faithful and able Shepherds. I ſhall not examine all the particular Reaſons that have obſtructed the redreſs of this miſchief, but thoſe concerned in it may ſoon find ſome of them out in themſelves. And here I acknowledge a great and juſt prejudice lies againſt our Reformation, which no man can fully anſwer. But how faulty ſoever we may be in this Particular, they of the Church of Rome have little reaſon to object it to us, ſince the firſt and true occaſion of it was of their own doing. Our fault is, that at the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, reſtitution was not made to the Pariſh Prieſts of what the Popes had ſacrilegiouſly taken from them. And now that we are upon the utter extirpation of Popery, let us not retain this Relique of it. And I pray God to inſpire and direct His Majeſty and His two Houſes of Parliament effectually to remove this juſt and, for ought I know, only great ſcandal of our Engliſh Reformation.

A fifth Prejudice, which ſeems to give ill impreſſions of our Reformation, is, that the Clergy have now no intereſt in the Conſciences of the People, nor any inſpection into their manners; but they are without yoke or reſtraint. All the Ancient Canons for the publick Pennance of ſcandalous offenders are laid aſide, and our Clergy are ſo little admitted to know or direct the Lives and Manners of their Flocks, that many will ſcarce bear a reproof patiently from them: Our Eccleſiaſtical Courts are not in the Hands of the Biſhops and their Clergy, but put over to the Civilians, where too often Fees are more ſtrictly look'd after, than the correction of Manners. I hope there is not cauſe for ſo great a Cry, but ſo it is, theſe Courts are much complained of; and publick vice and ſcandal is but little enquired after, or puniſhed: Excommunication is become a kind of Secular Sentence, and is hardly now conſidered as a Spiritual Cenſure, being judged and given out by Lay-men, and often upon Grounds which, to ſpeak moderately, do not merit ſo ſevere and dreadful a Sentence. There are beſides this a great many other Abuſes, brought in in the worſt Times, and now purged out of ſome of the Churches of the Roman Communion, which yet continue, and are too much in uſe among us, ſuch as Pluralities, Non-reſidencies, and other things of that nature: ſo that it may be ſaid, that ſome of the manifeſt corruptions of Popery, where they are recommended by the advantages that accompany them, are not yet throughly purged out, notwithſtanding all the noiſe we have made about Reformation in matters much more diſputable, and of far leſs conſequence.

This whole Objection, when all acknowledged, as the greateſt part of it cannot be denied, amounts indeed to this, that our Reformation is not yet arrived at that full perfection, that is to be deſired. The want of publick Pennance, and Penitentiary Canons, is indeed a very great defect: our Church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the Preface to the Office of Commination. It was one of the greateſt Glories of the Primitive Church, that they were ſo governed, that none of their number could ſin openly without publick Cenſure, and a long ſeparation from the Holy Communion; which they judged was defiled by a promiſcuous admitting of all Perſons to it. Had they conſulted the Arts of Policy, they would not have held in Converts by ſo ſtrict a way of proceeding, leſt their diſcontent might have driven them away; at a time when to be a Chriſtian was attended with ſo many diſcouragements, that it might ſeem dangerous by ſo ſevere a Diſci-

pline, to frighten the World out of their Communion. But the Paſtors of that time, reſolved to follow the Rules delivered them by the Apoſtles, and truſted God *with the ſucceſs, which anſwered and exceeded all their expectations: for nothing convinced the World more of the truth of that Religion, than to ſee thoſe truſted with the care of Souls, watch ſo effectually over their Manners, that for ſome ſins, which in theſe looſe Ages in which we live, paſs but for common effects of humane frailty, Men were made to abſtain from the Communion for many years, and did cheerfully ſubmit to ſuch Rules as might be truly medicinal for curing thoſe Diſeaſes in their Minds.*

But alas! the Church-men of the latter Ages being once veſted with this Authority, to which the World ſubmitted, as long as it ſaw the good effects of it, did ſoon learn to abuſe it; and to bring the People to a blind ſubjection to them. It was one of the chief Arts by which the Papacy ſwelled to its height: for Confeſſors in ſtead of bringing their Penitents to open Penance, ſet up other things in the room of it; pretending they could commute it, and in the Name of God *accept of one thing for another: and they accepted of a Penitents going, either to the Holy War, or which was more Holy of the two, to one of the Popes Wars againſt Hereticks, or depoſed Princes; and gave full Pardons to thoſe who thus engaged in their deſigns. Afterwards (when the Pope had no great occaſion to kill Men, or the People no great mind to be killed in his Service) they accepted of Money, as an Alms to* God*: and ſo all publick* Penance *was laid down, and* Murder *or* Merchandiſe *was ſet up in its room. This being the ſtate of things at the Reformation, it is no wonder if the People could not be eaſily brought to ſubmit to publick Pennance; which had been for ſome Ages entirely laid aſide: and there was reaſon why they ſhould not be forward to come under the Yoke of their Prieſts, leſt they ſhould have raiſed upon that Foundation, ſuch a Tyrannical Dominion over them, as others had formerly exerciſed. This made ſome Reformed Churches beyond Sea bring in the Laity with them, into their Courts; which if they had done meerly as a good Expedient, for removing the jealouſie which the World then had of Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny, there was no great Objection to have been made to it; but they made the thing liable to very great exception, when they pretended a Divine Inſtitution for thoſe* Lay-Elders. *Here in* England, *it is plain the Nation would not bear ſuch Authority to be lodged with the Clergy at firſt; but it will appear in the following Work, that a Platform was made of an Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, though the Biſhops had no hope of reducing it into practiſe, till the King ſhould come to be of Age, and paſs a Law for the authorizing of it: but he dying before this was effected, it was not proſecuted with that zeal that the thing required in Queen* Elizabeths *time: and then thoſe who in their Exile were taken with the Models beyond Seas, contending more to get it put in the method of other Churches, than to have it ſet up in any other Form, that contention begat ſuch heat, that it took Men off from this and many other excellent deſigns: and whereas the* Preſbyters *were found to have had anciently a ſhare in the Government of the Churches, as the* Biſhops *Council and Aſſiſtants, ſome of them that were of hot tempers demanding more than their ſhare, they were by the immoderate uſe of the Counterpoiſe kept out of any part of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; and all went into thoſe Courts commonly called the* Spiritual Courts; *without making diſtinction between thoſe Cauſes of Teſtaments, Marriages, and* *ſuch other ſutes, that require ſome learning in the* Civil *and* Canon *Law, and the other Cauſes of the Cenſures of the Clergy and Laity, which are of a more Spiritual Nature, and ought indeed to be tried only by the Biſhops and Clergy; for they are no ſmall part of the Care of Souls, which is incumbent on them: and by them only Excommunications ought to be made, as being a Suſpenſion from the Sacred Rights of Chriſtians, of which none can be the competent Judges; but thoſe to whom the charge of Souls is committed. The worſt that can be ſaid of all theſe Abuſes, is, that they are Reliques of Popery, and we owe it to the unhappy Conteſts among our ſelves, that a due correction has not been yet given to them.*

From hence one evil has followed, not inferior to theſe from whence it flows, that the Paſtoral Charge is now looked on by too many; rather as a device only for inſtructing People, *to which they may ſubmit as much as they think fit, than as a* Care *of Souls, as indeed it is: And it is not to be denied but the practice of not a few of us of the Clergy, has confirmed the People in this miſtake, who conſider our Function as a Method of living, by performing Divine Offices, and making Sermons, rather than as, a watching over the Souls of the Flocks committed to us, viſiting the Sick, reproving ſcandalous Perſons, reconciling differences, and being ſtrict at leaſt in governing the Poor, whoſe neceſſities will oblige them to ſubmit to any good Rules, we ſhall ſet them for the better conduct of their Lives. In theſe things does the Paſtoral Care chiefly conſiſt, and not only in the bare performing of Offices, or pronouncing Sermons, which every one almoſt may learn to do after ſome tolerable faſhion. If Men had a juſt Notion of this Holy Function, and a right ſenſe of it before they were initiated into it, thoſe ſcandalous abuſes of Plurality of Benefices with Cure, (except where they are ſo poor and contiguous, that both can ſcarce maintain one Incumbent, and one Man can diſcharge the duty of both very well) Non-reſidencies, and the hiring out that Sacred Truſt to pitiful Mercenaries at the cheapeſt rates, would ſoon fall off. Theſe are things of ſo crying a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of* God *is ready to break out upon us. Theſe are abuſes that even the Church of* Rome, *after all her impudence, is aſhamed of, and are at this day generally diſcountenanced all* France *over. Queen* Mary *here in* England *in the time of Popery, ſet her ſelf effectually to root them out. And that they ſhould be ſtill found among* Proteſtants, *and in ſo Reformed a Church, is a ſcandal that may juſtly make us bluſh. All the honeſt Prelates at the Council of* Trent *endeavoured to get* Reſidence *declared to be of Divine Right, and ſo not to be diſpenſed with upon any conſideration whatſoever: and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the moſt common impreſſions, which all Men have about matters of Religion, than that* Benefices *are given for the Office to which they are annexed: and if in matters of Mens Eſtates, or of their Health, it would be a thing of high ſcandal, for one to receive the Fees, and commit the Work to the care of ſome inferior or raw Practitioner, how much worſe is it to turn over ſo important a concernment, as the care of Souls muſt be confeſſed to be, to mean hands? And to conclude, thoſe who are guilty of ſuch diſorders, have much to anſwer for, both to* God, *for the neglect of thoſe Souls for which they are to give an account, and to the World, for the reproach they have brought on this Church and on the Sacred Functions, by their ill practiſes; nor could the diviſions of this Age ever have riſen to ſuch a height, if the People had not been poſſeſſed with ill impreſſions of* *ſome of the Clergy, from thoſe inexcuſable faults, that are ſo conſpicuous in too many that are called Shepherds* : Who Cloath themſelves with the Wool, but have not fed the Flock, that have not ſtrengthened the diſeaſed, nor Healed the ſick, nor bound up that which was broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, nor ſought that which was loſt, but have ruled them with force and cruelty : *And if we would look up to God who is viſibly angry with us, and has* made us baſe and contemptible among the People, *we ſhould find great reaſon to reflect on thoſe words of* Jeremy. The Paſtors are become Brutiſh , and have not ſought the Lord, therefore they ſhall not proſper, and all their Flocks ſhall be ſcattered.

But I were very unjuſt if having ventured on ſo plain and neceſſary a reprehenſion ; I ſhould not add, that God has not ſo left this Age and Church, but there is in it a great number in both the holy Functions, who are perhaps as Eminent in the exemplarineſs of their Lives, and as diligent in their Labours, as has been in any one Church in any Age ſince Miracles ceaſed. The humility and ſtrictneſs of Life in many of our Prelates and ſome that were highly Born, and yet have far outgone ſome others from whom more might have been expected, raiſes them far above cenſure, tho perhaps not above envy. And when ſuch think not the daily inſtructing their Neighbours a thing below them, but do it with as conſtant a care, as if they were to earn their Bread by it, when they are ſo affable to the meaneſt Clergy-men that come to them, when they are ſo nicely ſcrupulous about thoſe whom they admit into holy Orders, and ſo large in their Charities, that one would think they were furniſhed with ſome unſeen ways, theſe things muſt raiſe great eſteem for ſuch Biſhops, and ſeem to give ſome hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to ſpeak the more freely, ſince I am led to it by none of thoſe Bribes, either of gratitude, or fear, or hope, which are wont to Corrupt men to ſay what they do not think : But I were much to blame, if in a Work that may perhaps Live ſome time in the Word, I ſhould only find fault with what is amiſs, and not alſo acknowledge what is ſo very Commendable and Praiſe-Worthy. And when I look into the Inferior Clergy, there are, chiefly about this great City of London, *ſo many, ſo Eminent, both for the ſtrictneſs of their Lives, the conſtancy of their Labours, their Excellent and plain way of Preaching, (which is now perhaps brought to as great a Perfection, as ever was ſince men ſpoke as they received it immediately from the Holy-Ghoſt) the great gentleneſs of their Deportment, to ſuch as differ from them, their mutual Love and Charity, and in a Word for all the qualities that can adorn Miniſters or Chriſtians, that if ſuch a number of ſuch Men cannot prevail with this debauched Age, this one thing to me looks more diſmally than all the other affrighting Symptomes of our Condition ; that God having ſent ſo many faithful Teachers, their Labours are ſtill ſo ineffectual.*

I have now Examined all the prejudices that either occur to my thoughts, or that I have not met with in Books or Diſcourſes, againſt our Reformation ; and I hope upon a free enquiry into them, it will be found that ſome of them are of no force at all, and that the other, which are better Grounded, they amount to no more than this, that things were not managed with that care, or brought to that Perfection that were to be deſired : ſo that all the uſe we ought to make of theſe Objections, is to be directed by them, to do thoſe things which may compleat and adorn that Work, which was managed by Men ſubject to Infirmities, who neither could ſee every thing, nor were able to accompliſh all that they had Projected, and ſaw fit to be done.

But from the matter of the following Hiſtory, another Objection of another ſort may ariſe, which tho it has no Relation to the Reformation, yet leaves no ſmall Imputation on the Nation, as too apt to change, and be carryed about with every Religion in Vogue, ſince in little more than 20 years time, there were four great changes made in Religion; and in all theſe the main Body of the Nation turned with the Stream: and it was but a ſmall number that ſtood firm and ſuffered for their Conſciences. But if the State of the Nation be well conſidered, there will be nothing in all this ſo ſtrange as at firſt view it may perhaps appear: for in the times of Popery the People were kept in ſuch profound ignorance, that they knowing nothing of Religion, beyond the outward Forms and Pageantry, and being highly diſſatisfied with the ill Lives of the Clergy, and offended with their Cruelty againſt thoſe that contradicted their Opinions, it is no wonder that they were inclined to hear Preachers of any ſort, who laid out to them the reaſons of the Doctrine they delivered, and did not impoſe it on them in groſs, as the others had done. Theſe Teachers being alſo Men of Innocent tempers, and good Lives, and being recommended to the Compaſſion of the Nation, by their ſufferings, and to their eſteem, by their zeal and readineſs to run all hazards for their Conſciences, had great advantages to gain on the Belief and affections of the People. And to ſpeak freely I make no doubt, but if the Reformation had been longer a hatching under the heat of Perſecution, it had come forth perfecter than it was. This diſpoſition of the People, and King Henry's Quarrelling with the Pope, made the way eaſie for the firſt Change: But then the ſeverities about the Supremacy on one hand, and the ſix Articles on the other, made People to ſtagger and reel between the two Religions. And all People being fond of new things, and the diſcoveries of the Impoſtures of the Prieſts and lewdneſs of the Monks, encreaſing their diſlike of them, it was no wonder the Reformation went on with ſo little Tumult and Precipitation till King Edward's time. But tho there were then very Learned and Zealous Divines, who Managed and carryed on the changes that were made, yet ſtill the greater part of the Clergy was very Ignorant, and very Corrupt; which was occaſioned by the Penſions that were reſerved out of the Rents of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries to the Monks during their Lives, or till they were provided with livings. The Abbey Lands that were ſold with the Charge of theſe annexed to them, coming into the Hands of Perſons who had no mind to have that Burden lie longer on them, they got theſe Monks Provided with Benefices, that ſo they might be eaſed of that Charge. And for the other Abbies that ſtill remained with the Crown, the ſame Courſe was taken: for the Monks were put into all the ſmall Benefices that were in the Kings gift. So that the greateſt part of the Clergy, were ſuch as had been formerly Monks or Fryers, very Ignorant for moſt part, and generally addicted to their former Superſtition, tho otherwiſe Men, that would Comply with any thing rather than forfeit their Livings. Under ſuch Incumbents nothing but Ignorance and Unconcernedneſs in Religion could prevail. By this means it was that the greater part of the Na-

Nation was not well Inſtructed, nor Poſſeſſed with any warmth and ſincere Love to the Reformation, which made the following change under Queen Mary more eaſily effected. The Proceedings in King Edward's time were likewiſe ſo gentle and Moderate, flowing from the calm temper of Arch-Biſhop Cranmer, and the policy of others, who were willing to accept of any thing they could obtain; hoping that time would do the buſineſs, if the overdriving it did not precipitate the whole affair; that it was an eaſie thing for a Concealed Papiſt to weather the difficulties of that Reign. There were alſo great ſcandals given by the Indiſcretion of many of the New Preachers. The miſgovernment of Affairs under the Duke of Somerſet, with the reſtleſs Ambition of the Duke of Northumberland did alienate the Nation much from them; and a great averſion commonly begets an univerſal diſlike of every thing that is done by thoſe whom we hate.

All theſe things concurred to prepare the minds of the People to the change made by Queen Mary : but in her Reign Popery did more plainly diſcover it ſelf in the many repeated Burnings, and the other Cruelties then openly exerciſed. The Nation was alſo in ſuch danger of being brought under the uneaſie Yoak of Spaniſh Government, and they were many of them in fear of loſing their new gotten Church Lands; Theſe things, together with the loſs of Calais in the end of her Reign, which was Univerſally much reſented as a laſting diſhonour to the Nation, raiſed in them a far greater averſion to her Government, and to every thing that had been done in it, than they had to the former. The Genius of the Engliſh leads them to hate Cruelty and Tyranny; and when they ſaw theſe were the neceſſary Concomitants of Popery, no wonder it was thrown out with ſo general an agreement, that there was ſcarce any conſiderable Oppoſition made to it, except by ſome few of their Clergy, who having changed ſo oft, were aſhamed of ſuch repeated recantations : and ſo reſolved at laſt to ſtand their ground; which was the more eaſie to reſolve on under ſo merciful a Prince, who puniſht them only by a Forfeiture of their Benefices; and that being done, took care of their Subſiſtence for the reſt of their Lives : Bonner himſelf not being excepted, tho ſo deeply dyed in the Blood of ſo many Innocents.

All theſe things laid together, it will not ſeem ſtrange that ſuch great Alterations were ſo eaſily brought about in ſo ſhort a time. But from the days of Queen Elizabeth that the Old Monks were worn out, and New Men better Educated were placed in Churches, things did generally put on a new Viſage : and this Church has ſince that time continued to be the Sanctuary and ſhelter of all Forreigners, and the chief Object of the Envy and Hatred of the Popiſh Church, and the great Glory of the Reformation; and has wiſely avoided the ſplitting aſunder, on the high Points of the Divine Decrees, which have broken ſo many of the Reformed beyond Sea; but in theſe has left Divines to the freedom of their ſeveral Opinions : nor did ſhe run on that other Rock, of Defining at firſt ſo peremptorily the manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament, which divided the German and the Helvetian Churches, but in that did alſo leave a Latitude to Men of different perſwaſions. From this great temper it might have reaſonably been expected, that we ſhould have continued United at Home, and then for things Sacred, as well as Civil, we had been out of the Danger of what all our Forreign Enemies could have Contrived or done againſt us.

But the Enemy, while the Watchmen ſlept, ſowed his Tares even in this Fruitful Field; of which it may be expected I ſhould give ſome Account here, and the rather becauſe I end this Work at the time when thoſe unhappy differences firſt aroſe; ſo that I give them no part in this Hiſtory: and yet I have in the ſearch I. made, ſeen ſome things of great Importance, which are very little known, that give me a clearer light into the beginnings of theſe Differences than is commonly to be had; of which I ſhall diſcourſe ſo, as becomes one who has not blindly given himſelf up to any Party, and is not afraid to ſpeak the truth even in the moſt critical matters.

There were many Learned and Pious Divines in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, who being driven beyond Sea had obſerved the New Modells ſet up in Geneva, and other places, for the Cenſuring of Scandalous Perſons, of mixed Judicatories of the Miniſters and Laity: and theſe, reflecting on the great looſneſs of Life which had been univerſally Complain'd of in King Edward's time, thought ſuch a Platform might be an Effectual way for keeping out a return of the like diſorders. There were alſo ſome few Rites reſerved in this Church, that had been either uſed in the Primitive Church, or tho brought in of later time, yet ſeemed of excellent uſe to beget Reverence in Holy Performances: which had alſo this to be ſaid for them, that the keeping theſe ſtill, was done in Imitation of what Chriſt and his Apoſtles did in Symbolizing with the Jewiſh Rites, to gain the Jews thereby as much as could be; ſo it was Judged neceſſary to preſerve theſe, to let the World ſee that tho Corruptions were thrown out, yet the Reformers did not love to change only for change ſake, when it was not otherwiſe needful: and this they hoped might draw in many, who otherwiſe would not ſo eaſily have forſaken the Roman Communion. Yet theſe Divines excepted to thoſe, as Complyances with Popery, and tho they Profeſſed no great diſlike to the Ceremonies themſelves, or doubt of their Lawfulneſs, yet were they againſt their Continuance, upon that ſingle Account, which was indeed the chief reaſon why they were continued. But all this Debate was modeſtly Managed, and without violent Heat or Separation: afterwards ſome of the Queens Courtiers had an eye to the fair Mannours of ſome of the greater Sees, and being otherwiſe Men of ill Tempers and Lives, and probably of no Religion, would have perſwaded the Queen, that nothing could Unite all the Reformed Churches ſo effectually, as to bring the Engliſh Church to the Modell beyond Sea, and that it would much Enrich the Crown, if ſhe took the Revenues of Biſhopricks and Cathedrals into her own Hands. This made thoſe on the other hand who laid to Heart the true Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and therefore endeavoured to preſerve this Church in that ſtrong and well Modelled Frame to which it was brought (particularly the Lord Burleigh, the Wiſeſt Stateſ-man of that Age, and perhaps of any other) ſtudy how to Engage the Queen out of Intereſt to ſupport it, and they Demonſtrated to her that theſe New Modells would certainly bring with them a great Abatement of her Prerogative: ſince if the Concerns of Religion came into Popular Hands, there would be a Power ſet up diſtinct from hers, over which ſhe could have no Authority.

This ſhe perceived well, and therefore reſolved to Maintain the Antient Government of the Church, but by this means it became a matter *of Intereſt, and ſo theſe differences which might have been more eaſily reconciled before, grew now into formed Factions ; ſo that all Expedients were left unattempted which might have made up the Breach ; And it becoming the Intereſt of ſome, to put it paſt reconciling, this was too eaſily effected. Thoſe of the Diviſion finding they could not carry their main deſign, raiſed all the Clamours they could againſt the Churchmen ; and put in* Bills *into the Parliament againſt the abuſes of* Pluralities, Non-reſidences, *and the Exceſſes of the* Spiritual Courts. *But the Queen being poſſeſſed with this, that the Parliaments medling in theſe matters tended to the leſſening of her Authority, of which ſhe was extreamly ſenſible, got all theſe* Bills *to be thrown out. If the abuſes that gave ſuch occaſion to the mal-contented to complain, had been effectually redreſſed, that* Party *muſt have had little to work on : but theſe things furniſhed them with new Complaints ſtill : the* Market-Towns *being alſo ill provided for, there were Voluntary Contributions made, for* Lectures *in theſe places. The* Lecturers *were generally Men that overtopped the Incumbents in diligent and Zealous Preaching, and they depending on the bounty of the People for their Subſiſtence, were engaged to follow the humours of thoſe who Governed thoſe Voluntary Contributions. All theſe things tended to the encreaſe of the Party ; which owed its chief growth to the ſcandalous Maintenance of the Miniſters of great Towns, for which reaſon they were ſeldom of great Abilities ; and to the ſcandals given by the* Pluralities *and* Non-reſidences *of others, that were over-provided. Yet the Government in Civil matters was ſo ſteady all the* Queens *Reign, that they could do no great thing, after ſhe once declared her ſelf ſo openly and reſolutely againſt them.*

But upon King James*'s coming to the Crown, and the diviſions that came to be afterwards in Parliaments, between the too too often named Parties, for the Court and Country ; and Clergymen being linked to the intereſts of the Crown, all thoſe who in Civil matters Oppoſed the deſigns of the Court, reſolved to cheriſh thoſe of the Diviſion, under the Colour of their being hearty Proteſtants, and that it was the intereſt of the Reformed Religion to uſe them well ; and that all Proteſtants ſhould Unite : And indeed the differences between them were then ſo ſmall, that if great Art had not been uſed to keep them aſunder, they had certainly United of their own accord. But the late unhappy Wars, engaged thoſe who before only complained of Abuſes, into a formed ſeparation, which ſtill continues to the great danger and diſgrace of the Proteſtant Religion. I ſhall not make any Obſervations on latter Tranſactions which fall within all Mens View ; but it is plain that from the beginning there have been laboured deſigns to make Tools of the ſeveral Parties, and to make a great breach between them ; which lays us now ſo open to our common Enemy. And it looks like a ſad forerunner of Ruin, when we cannot after ſo long Experience of the miſchievous Effects of theſe Conteſts, learn to be ſo wiſe as to avoid the running on thoſe Rocks, on which our Fathers did ſo unforutnately ſplit ; but on the contrary many ſteer as ſteadily towards them, as if they were the only ſafe Harbours, where they may ſecurely weather every Storm.*

But being now to lead the Reader into ſo agreeable a Proſpect, as I hope the Reformation *of the Church will be to him, I will hold him yet a little longer before I open it, and deſire him for his better preparation to* it to reflect on the nature of Religion in general, and of the Chriſtian in particular. That Religion is chiefly deſigned for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and ſecuring the Peace of every Mans Conſcience, and of the ſocieties of Mankind in common, is a truth ſo plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be Judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; And ſince the Chriſtian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the moſt perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was deſigned. And all the additions that have been made to it, ſince it was firſt delivered to the World, are juſtly to be ſuſpected; eſpecially where it is manifeſt at firſt view that they were intended to ſerve carnal and ſecular ends. What can be reaſonably ſuppoſed in the Papacy, where the Popes are choſen by ſuch intrigues, either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of ſome aſpiring men, to entitle them to Infallibility or Univerſal Juriſdiction? What can we think of redeeming ſouls out of Purgatory, or preſerving them from it by tricks, or ſome mean Pageantry; but that it is a foul piece of Merchandiſe? What is to be ſaid of Implicit Obedience, the Prieſtly Dominion over Conſciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the peoples hands, and the Worſhip of God in a ſtrange Tongue? but that theſe are ſo many Arts to hoodwink the world, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of the ſuperſtition and idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman Worſhip? but that by theſe things the People are to be kept up in a groſs notion of Religion, as a ſplendid buſineſs, and that the Prieſts have a trick of ſaving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to ſum up all, what can we think of that conſtellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpoſe? but that it is an art to bring the World by whole ſale to renounce their reaſon and ſenſe, and to have a moſt wonderful veneration for a ſort of men who can with a word perform the moſt aſtoniſhing thing that ever was.

I ſhould grow too large for a Preface, if I would purſue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we muſt needs be convinced that we need go no where elſe out of this Church to find them; but are compleatly inſtructed in all parts of it, and furniſhed with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the end of our faith, the ſalvation of our ſouls. Here we have the Rules of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for paſt ſins clearly ſet before us: we believe all that Doctrine which Chriſt and his Apoſtles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: we have the comfort of all thoſe Sacraments which Chriſt inſtituted, and in the ſame manner that he appointed them: All the helps to devotion that the Goſpel offers are in every ones hand. So what can it be that ſhould ſo extravagantly ſeduce any who have been bred up in a Church ſo well conſtituted, unleſs a blind ſuperſtition in their temper, or a deſire to get heaven in ſome eaſier method than Chriſt has appointed, do ſtrangely impoſe on their underſtandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is ſo unaccountable that it looks like a curſe from heaven on thoſe who are given up to it, for their other ſins; for an ordinary meaſure of Infatuation cannot carry any one ſo far in folly. And it may be laid down for a certain Maxim, that ſuch as leave us, have *never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Chriſtianity in its main and chief Deſign; but take things in parcels, and without examining them ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by ſome prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.*

But if it is an high and unaccountable folly for any to forſake our Communion, and go over to thoſe of Rome, *it is at the ſame time an unexcuſable weakneſs in others who ſeem full of zeal againſt* Popery, *and yet upon ſome inconſiderable Objections do depart from the unity of this Body, and form ſeparated Aſſemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worſhip: But the moſt aſtoniſhing part of the wonder is, that in ſuch differences there ſhould be ſo little mutual forbearance or gentleneſs to be found: and that theſe ſhould raiſe ſuch heats as if the ſubſtance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a ſtroke from Heaven on both ſides, for their other ſins: We of the Church Communion have truſted too much to the ſupports we receive from the Law, we have done our duties too ſlightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to puniſh and awaken us has ſuffered ſo many of our People to be wreſted out of our hands: and thoſe of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themſelves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their ſeveral Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are puniſhed with this fatal blindneſs, not to ſee at this time the things that belong to our peace.*

And this leads me to Reflections of another ſort, with which I ſhall conclude this Preface, *which I have now drawn out to a greater length than at firſt I intended. It is apparent the Wrath of* God *hangs over our heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill condition are as ſad as they are viſible: and one of the worſt is, that each ſort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themſelves, and caſt it on others, with whom they are diſpleaſed: But no man ſays,* What have I done? *The Clergy accuſe the Laity, and the Laity condemn the Clergy. Thoſe in the City charge the Country, and the Country complains of the City: every one finds out ſomewhat wherein he thinks he is leaſt concerned, and is willing to fix on* that *all the Indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our ſelves have kindled againſt our ſelves. It cannot be denied, ſince it is ſo viſible, that univerſally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Goſpel has not had thoſe effects among us which might have been expected, after ſo long and ſo free a courſe as it has had in this* Iſland. *Our wiſe and worthy Progenitors reformed our Doctrine and Worſhip; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to underſtand the right Methods of worſhiping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without ſenſe and affection, which is as bad as a* Bead roll *of Prayers in what ever Language they be pronounced. What ſignifies our having the Sacraments purely adminiſtred among us, if we either contemptuouſly neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a ſenſe of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching ſignifie, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as ſet Diſcourſes, which they will cenſure or commend as they think they ſee cauſe, but are reſolved never to be the better for them? If to all theſe* *ſad Conſiderations we add the groſs ſenſuality and impurity, that is ſo avowedly practiſed that it is become a faſhion, ſo far it is from being a reproach; the oppreſſion, injuſtice, intemperance, and many other immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that theſe abominations receiving the higheſt aggravation they are capable of, from the clear light of the Goſpel which we have ſo long enjoyed, the juſt Judgments of Heaven, ſhould fall on us ſo ſignally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the meaſure of our iniquities, many have arriv'd at a new pitch of Impiety, by defying Heaven it ſelf, with their avowed Blaſphemies and Atheiſm: and if they are driven out of their Atheiſtical Tenets which are indeed the moſt ridiculous of any in the World, they ſet up their reſt on ſome general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Chriſtianity and the Scriptures, with open and impudent ſcorn, and are abſolutely inſenſible of any obligation of Conſcience in any thing whatſoever: and even in that Morality which they for decencies ſake magnifie ſo much, none are more bare-facedly and groſly faulty. This is a direct attempt againſt God himſelf, and can we think that he will not viſit for ſuch things, nor be avenged on ſuch a Nation? And yet the hypocriſie of thoſe who diſguiſe their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religion, is perhaps a degree above all; though not ſo ſcandalous till the Mask falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all ſo guilty, and when we are ſo allarumed by the black Clouds that threaten ſuch terrible and laſting Storms, what may be expected but that we ſhould be generally ſtruck with a deep ſenſe of our crying ſins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But if after all the loud awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will ſtill go on in our ſins, we may juſtly look for unheard-of Calamities, and ſuch miſeries as ſhall be proportioned to our offences: and then we are ſure they will be great and wonderful.*

Yet if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at leaſt if ſo many were rightly ſenſible of this, as, according to the proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did ſome way ballance the wickedneſs of the reſt, and if theſe were as zealous in the true methods of imploring Gods favour, as others are in procuring his diſpleaſure; and were not only mourning for their own ſins, but for the ſins of others; the Prayers and Sighs of many ſuch, might diſſipate that diſmal Cloud which our ſins have gathered; and we might yet hope to ſee the Goſpel take root among us: ſince that God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of compaſſion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us is ſtill ſo dear to him, that if we by our own unworthineſs do not render our ſelves incapable of ſo great a Bleſſing, we may reaſonably hope that he will continue that which at firſt was by ſo many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued Series of the ſame indulgent care advanc'd by degrees, and at laſt raiſed to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this World. But this will beſt appear in the enſuing Hiſtory, from which I fear I may have too long detained the Reader.

10. September
1680.

THE

THE CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

BOOK I.

OF *the Life and Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth.* Pag. 1.

BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of Queen Mary. Page 233.

BOOK III.

Of the Settlement of the Reformation in the beginning of Queen Elizabeths *Reign.* Page 373.

COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

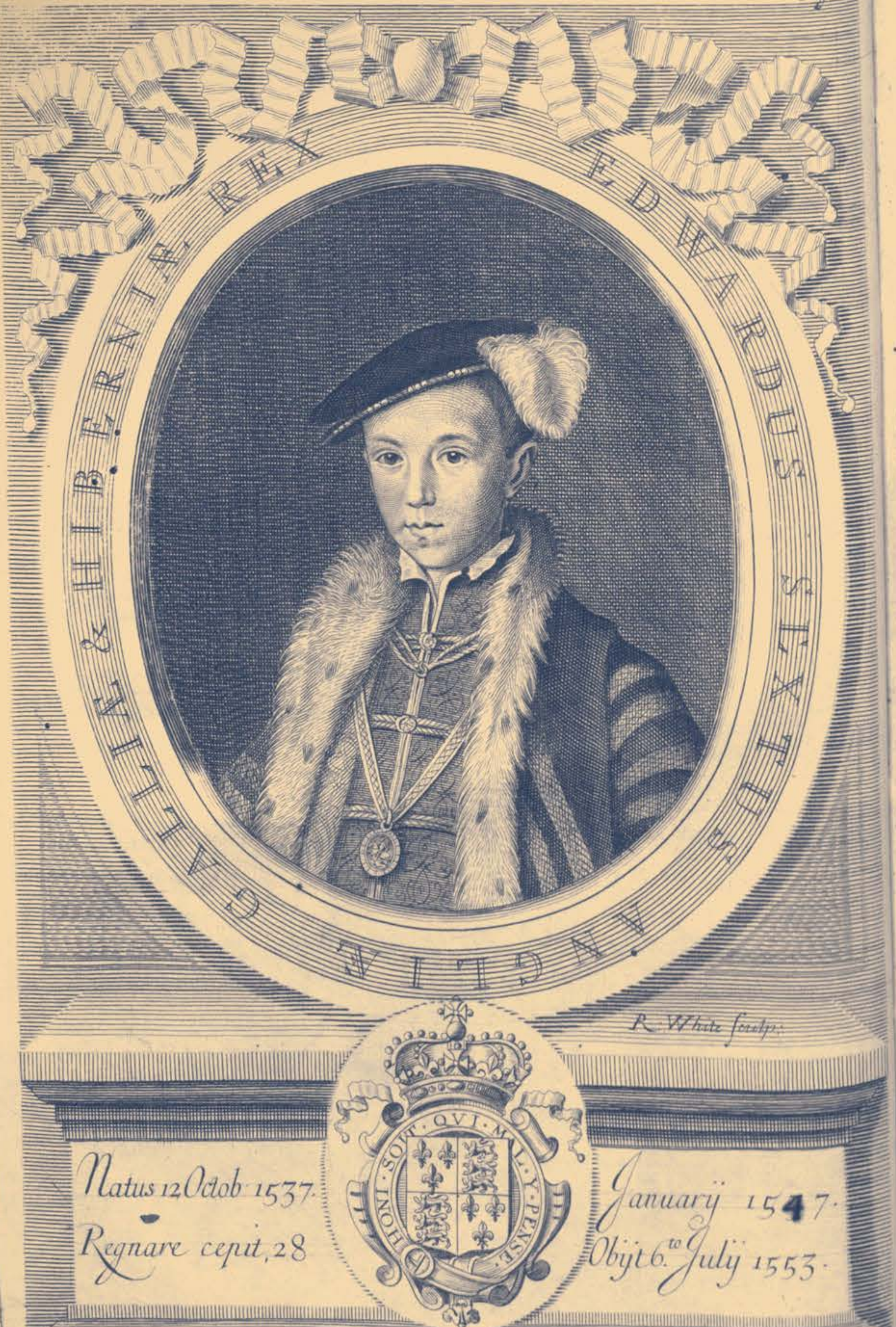
King Edwards *Journal and Remains.* Page 1.
Ad Librum Primum. *Page* 89.
Ad Librum Secundum. *Page* 239.
Ad Librum Tertium. *Page* 327.
An APPENDIX concerning the Errors and Falſhoods in Sanders's *Book of the* Engliſh *Schiſm.* Page 383.

ERRATA

ERRATA.

PAge 10. Line 22. *uſual* r. *unuſual.* p. 20. l. 15. *levy Taxes hand* r. *heavy Taxes laid.* p. 36. l. 47. after *it* r. *did.* p. 31. l. 31. dele *of.* p. 40. Marg. l. 7. after *In* r. *Cor.* p. 82. l. 43. dele the Marginal Note. *Ibid.* l. *ult.* *run uſed to* r. *uſed to run.* p. 94. l. 38. for *in* r. *the.* p. 136. l. 20. for *when* r. *where.* l. 41. ad Marg. r. *Collection Numb.* 42. ſo the Numbers 42, 43, 44, 45. are for Numb. 43, 44, 45, 46. p. 155. *Aleſſe* r. *Aleſſe.* p. 166. l. 20. *Pactors* r. *Paſtors.* p. 205. Marg. 23. r. 3. p. 219. l. 44. for *John* r. *Richard.* p. 220. l. 7. the ſame error. p. 237. l. 42. *Suffolk* r. *Suſſex.* p. 249. l. 21, *Ring* r. *King.* p. 252. l. 1. *Sanders* r. *Sandy.* p. 253. l. *penult.* *no* r. *on.* p. 283, 284, 285, 286. r. 267, 268, 269, 270. p. 273. Marg. *deſerve* r. *ſevere,* p. 274. Marg. dele *two.* p. 275. l. *ult.* *Wales* r. *Wells.* p. 277. l. 28. *racked* r. *raked.* p. 304. Marg. *conſidered* r. *cenſured.* p. 305. l. *ult.* dele *be.* p. 307. l. 44. before *where* r. *Fathers houſe.* l. 49. dele *Fathers houſe.* p. 319. Marg. *Numb.* 24. r. 23. the error in the Number continues to the end of the Book. p. 320 l. 16. before *that* r. *few.* l. 46. *Anne* r. *Elizabeth* *6th* r. *4th.* p. 396. l. 44. for *was ſo* r. *ſo was.* p. 412. l. 6. for *five* r. *free.*

Pag: 1.


EDWARDUS SEXTUS ANGLIÆ GALLIÆ & HIBERNIÆ REX
R. White sculp:
HONI · SOIT · QVI · MAL · Y · PENSE
Natus 12 Octob 1537.
Regnare cepit, 28 Januarij 1547.
Obijt 6to Julij 1553.

Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard.

The Second Part OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK I.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward *the Sixth.*

1547.

EDward, the Sixth King of *England* of that Name, was the only Son of King *Henry* the 8*th*, by his beſt beloved Queen *Jane Seimour*, or St. *Maur*, Daughter to Sir *John Seimour*, who was deſcended from *Roger St. Maur*, that married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Beauchamp* of *Hacche*. Their Anceſtors came into *England* with *William* the Conqueror, and had at ſeveral times made themſelves conſiderable by the Noble Acts they did in the Wars. *He was born at *Hampton-Court* on the 12*th* day of *October*, being St. *Edward*'s Eve, in the Year 1537. *and loſt his Mother the day after he was born; who died, not by the cruelty of the Chyrurgeons ripping up her Belly to make way for the Princes Birth, (as ſome Writers gave out, to repreſent King *Henry* barbarous and cruel in all his Actions; whoſe report has been ſince too eaſily followed:) but as the Original Letters that are yet extant, ſhew, ſhe was well delivered of him, and the day following was taken with a diſtemper incident to Women in that condition, of which ſhe died.

* 1537. *Oct.* 12. *Edward* VI. born.

* The Queen died on the 14*th*, ſay *Hall*, *Stow*, *Speed*, and *Herbert*: on the 15*th* ſaith *Hennings*: on the 17*th*, if the Letter of the Phyſicians be true in *Fullers* Church Hiſt. *p.* 422.

Cott. libr.

He was ſoon after Chriſtened, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* being his God-fathers, according to his

And Chriſtned.

1547.

own Journal, though *Hall* ſays the laſt was only his God-father when he was Biſhopped; He continued under the charge and care of the Women, till he was ſix years old; and then he was put under the Government of Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*: The one was to be his Preceptor for his Manners, and the knowledge of Philoſophy and Divinity: The other for the Tongues and Mathematicks. And he was alſo provided with Maſters for the *French*, and all other things becoming a Prince, the Heir of ſo great a Crown.

His diſpoſition.

He gave very early many indications of a good diſpoſition to Learning, and of a moſt wonderful probity of mind, and above all, of great reſpect to Religion, and every thing relating to it. So that when he was once in one of his childiſh diverſions, ſomewhat being to be reached at, that he and his Companions were too low for, one of them laid on the floor a great Bible that was in the Room, to ſtep on; which he beholding with indignation, took up the Bible himſelf, and gave over his play for that time. He was in all things ſubject to the Orders laid down for his Education, and profited ſo much in Learning, that all about him conceived great hopes of extraordinary things from him, if he ſhould live: But ſuch unuſual beginnings ſeemed rather to threaten the too early end of a Life, that by all appearance was likely to have produced ſuch aſtoniſhing things. He was ſo forward in his learning, that before he was eight years old he wrote Latine Letters to his Father, who was a Prince of that ſtern ſeverity, that one can hardly think thoſe about his Son durſt cheat him by making Letters for him. He uſed alſo at that Age to write both to his God-father the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and to his Unkle, who was firſt made Viſcount *Beauchamp*, as deſcended from that Family, and ſoon after Earl of *Hartford*. It ſeems *Q. Catherine Parr* underſtood Latin, for he wrote to her alſo in the ſame Language. But the full Character of this young Prince is given us by *Cardan*, who writ it after his death, and in *Italy*, where this Prince was accounted an Heretick, ſo that there was nothing to be got or expected by flattering him; and yet it is ſo Great, and withal ſo agreeing in all things to Truth, that as I ſhall begin my Collection of Papers at the end of this Volume with his words in *Latin*, ſo it will be very fit to give them here in *Engliſh*.

Collection. Number 1.

Cardanes Character of him.

“ All the Graces were in him. He had many Tongues when he was
“ yet but a Child: Together with the *Engliſh* his natural Tongue, he had
“ both *Latin* and *French*: nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the *Greek*,
“ *Italian*, and *Spaniſh*, and perhaps ſome more. But for the *Engliſh*,
“ *French* and *Latin*, he was exact in them; and apt to learn every thing.
“ Nor was he ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of natural Philoſophy,
“ nor of Muſick. The ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as became
“ a Mortal, his gravity becoming the Majeſty of a King, and his diſpoſition
“ ſuitable to his high degree. In ſum, that Child was ſo bred, had
“ ſuch Parts, was of ſuch expectation, that he looked like a Miracle of
“ a Man. Theſe things are not ſpoken Rhetorically, and beyond the
“ truth, but are indeed ſhort of it. And afterwards he adds, He was
“ a marvelous Boy: When I was with him, he was in the 15*th* Year of
“ his Age, in which he ſpake *Latin* as politely and as promptly as I did:
“ He asked me what was the Subject of my Books, *de rerum Varietate*,
“ which I had dedicated to him? I anſwered, That in the firſt Chapter
“ I gave the true cauſe of Comets, which had been long enquired into,

“but was never found out before. What is it, ſaid he? I ſaid, it was the concourſe of the light of wandring Stars. He anſwered, How can that be, ſince the Stars move in different Motions? How comes it that the Comets are not ſoon diſſipated, or do not move after them according to their Motions? To this I anſwered, They do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reaſon of the different Aſpect, as we ſee in a Chriſtal, or when a Rain-bow rebounds from the Wall: for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the King ſaid, How can that be, where there is no Subject to receive that Light, as the Wall is the Subject for the Rain-bow? To this I anſwered, That this was as in the Milky-way, or where many Candles were lighted, the middle place where their ſhining met was white and clear. From this little taſt it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity and ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition had raiſed in all good and learned Men the greateſt expectation of him poſſible. He began to love the Liberal Arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could uſe them: and in him there was ſuch an attempt of Nature, that not only *England*, but the World has reaſon to lament his being ſo early ſnatched away. How truly was it ſaid of ſuch extraordinary Perſons, That their Lives are ſhort, and ſeldom do they come to be old? He gave us an Eſſay of Vertue, though he did not live to give a Pattern of it. When the gravity of a King was needful, he carried himſelf like an Old Man; and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his Age. He played on the Lute: he medled in Affairs of State: and for Bounty, he did in that emulate his Father; though he even, when he endeavoured to be too good, might appear to have been bad: but there was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in the Son, whoſe mind was cultivated by the ſtudy of Philoſophy.

A deſign to create him Prince of *Wales.*

It has been ſaid in the end of his Fathers Life, that he then deſigned to create him Prince of *Wales*: For though he was called ſo, as the Heirs of this Crown are, yet he was not by a formal Creation inveſted with that dignity. This pretence was made uſe of to haſten forward the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*; ſince he had many Offices for life, which the King intended to diſpoſe of; and deſired to have them ſpeedily filled, in order to the creating of his Son Prince of *Wales*. In the mean time his Father died, and the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, were ſent by the Council to give him notice of it, being then at *Hartford*, and to bring him to the Tower of *London*; and having brought him to *Enfield*, with his Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth*, they let him know of his Fathers death, and that he was now their King: On the 31*ſt* of *January* the Kings Death was publiſhed in *London*, and he Proclaimed King.

King *Henry* dies.

Jan. 31.

King *Edward* came to the *Tower.*

At the *Tower*, his Fathers Executors, with the reſt of the Privy-Council, received him with the reſpects due to their King: So tempering their ſorrow for the death of their late Maſter, with their joy for his Sons happy ſucceeding him; that by an exceſs of joy they might not ſeem to have forgot the one ſo ſoon, nor to bode ill to the other by an extreme grief. The firſt thing they did, was the opening King *Henry's* Will: by which they found he had nominated ſixteen Perſons to be his Executors, and Governours to his Son, and to the Kingdom, till his Son was eighteen years of Age. Theſe were the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriotheſley* Lord Chancellor, the Lord St. *John* Great Maſter, the

King *Henry's* Will opened.

1547. Lord *Ruſſel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great Chamberlain, the Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Court of *Augmentations*, Sir *Edward Montague* Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Judge *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treaſurer of *Callice*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Theſe, or the major part of them, were to execute his Will, and to adminiſter the Affairs of the Kingdom. By their conſent, were the King, and his Siſters, to be diſpoſed of in Marriage. But with this difference, that it was only ordered, That the King ſhould marry by their Advice; but the two Siſters were ſo limited in their Marriage, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succeſſion, if they married without their conſent: it being of far greater importance to the Peace and Intereſt of the Nation who ſhould be their Huſbands, if the Crown did devolve on them, than who ſhould be the Kings Wife. And by the Act paſſed in the 35th Year of King *Henry*, he was empowered to leave the Crown to them, with what limitations he ſhould think fit. To the Executors, the King added by his Will, a Privy-Council who ſhould be aſſiſting to them. Theſe were, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Eſſex*, Sir *Thom. Cheyney* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thom. Seimour*, Sir *Richard Sowthwell*, and Sir *Edmund Peckham*. The King alſo ordered, That if any of the Executors ſhould die, the Survivors, without giving them a Power of ſubſtituting others, ſhould continue to adminiſter Affairs. He alſo charged them to pay all his Debts, and the Legacies he left, and to perfect any Grants he had begun, and to make good every thing that he had promiſed. The Will being opened and read, all the Executors, Judge *Bromley* and the two *Wottons* only excepted, were preſent, and did reſolve to execute the Will in all points, and to take an Oath for their faithful diſcharge of that Truſt.

Debate about chooſing a Protector.

But it was alſo propoſed, That for the ſpeedier diſpatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction of all Affairs, there ſhould be one choſen to be Head of the reſt, to whom Ambaſſadors and others might addreſs themſelves. It was added to caution this, That the Perſon to be raiſed to that Dignity, ſhould do nothing of any ſort without the Advice and Conſent of the greater part of the reſt. But this was oppoſed by the Lord Chancellour, who thought that the Dignity of his Office, ſetting him next the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who did not much follow Secular Affairs, he ſhould have the chief ſtroke in the Government; therefore he preſſed, That they might not depart from the Kings Will in any particular, neither by adding to it, nor taking from it. It was plain, the late King intended they ſhould be all alike in the Adminiſtration, and the raiſing one to a Title or Degree above the reſt was a great change from what he had ordered. And whereas it was now ſaid, that the Perſon to be thus nominated was to have no manner of Power over the reſt, that was only to exalt him into an high Dignity with the leſs envy or apprehenſion of danger; for it was certain great Titles always make way for high Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had ſo great a

1547.

The Earl of *Hartford* choſen.

Party among them, that it was agreed to, the Lord Chancellor himſelf conſenting when he ſaw his oppoſition was without effect, that one ſhould be raiſed over the reſt in Title to be called the *Protector of the Kings Realms, and the Governour of his Perſon:* The next Point held no long debate, who ſhould be nominated to this high Truſt; for they unanimouſly agreed, That the Earl of *Hartford*, by reaſon of his nearneſs of Blood to the King, and the great experience he had in Affairs, was the fitteſt Perſon. “So he was declared Protector of the Realm, and Governour to the Kings Perſon; but with that ſpecial and expreſs Condition, that he ſhould not do any Act but by the Advice and Conſent of the other Executors, according to the Will of the late King. Then they all went to take their Oaths, but it was propoſed, that it ſhould be delayed till the next day, that ſo they might do it upon better conſideration. More was not done that day, ſave that the Lord Chancellor was ordered to deliver up the Seals to the King, and to receive them again from his Hands; for King *Henry*'s Seal was to be made uſe of, either till a new one was made, or till the King was Crowned: He was alſo ordered to renew the Commiſſions of the Judges, the Juſtices of Peace, the Preſidents of the *North*, and of *Wales*, and of ſome other Officers. This was the iſſue of the firſt Council-day under this King: In which, the ſo eaſie advancement of the Earl of *Hartford* to ſo high a Dignity gave great occaſion to cenſure: it ſeeming to be a change of what King *Henry* had deſigned. But the Kings great kindneſs to his Unkle made it paſs ſo ſmoothly; For the reſt of the Executors, not being of the Ancient Nobility, but Courtiers, were drawn in eaſily to comply with that which was ſo acceptable to their young King. Only the Lord Chancellor, who had chiefly oppoſed it, was to expect ſmall favour at the new Protectors hands. It was ſoon apparent what emulation there was between them. And the Nation being then divided, between thoſe who loved the old Superſtition, and thoſe who deſired a more complete Reformation; The Protector ſet himſelf at the Head of the one, and the Lord Chancellor at the Head of the other Party.

Which is declared in Council.

The next day the Executors met again, and firſt took their Oaths moſt ſolemnly for their faithful executing the Will. They alſo ordered all thoſe who were by the late King named Privy-Councellors to come into the Kings Preſence, and there they declared to the King the choice they had made of his Unkle; who gave his Aſſent to it. It was alſo ſignified to the Lords of the Council, who likewiſe with one voice gave their Conſent to it. And Diſpatches were ordered to be ſent to the Emperour, the *French* King, and the Regent of *Flanders*, giving notice of the Kings Death, and of the Conſtitution of the Council, and the Nomination of the Protector during the Minority of their young King. All Diſpatches were ordered to be Signed only by the Protector; and all the Temporal Lords, with all the Biſhops about the Town, were commanded to come and ſwear Allegiance to the King. On the 2*d* of *Feb.* the Protector was declared Lord Treaſurer, and Earl Marſhal, theſe Places having been deſigned for him by the late King upon the Duke of *Norfolks* Attainder. Letters were alſo ſent to *Callice*, *Bulloigne*, *Ireland*, the Marches of *Scotland*, and moſt of the Counties of *England*, giving notice of the Kings Succeſſion, and of the order now ſetled. The Will was alſo ordered to be Enrolled, and every of the Executors

Feb. 2.

1547.

The Biſhops take out Commiſſions for their Biſhopricks.

Collection Number 2.

was to have an Exemplification of it under the Great Seal: and the Clerks of Council were alſo ordered to give to every of them an account of all things done in Council under their Hands and Seals. And the Biſhops were required to take out new Commiſſions of the ſame form with thoſe they had taken out in King *Henry's* time, (for which ſee Page 267. of the former Part;) only with this difference, That there is no mention made of a Vicar-General in theſe Commiſſions, as was in the former, there being none after *Cromwel* advanced to that Dignity. Two of theſe Commiſſions are yet extant, one taken out by *Cranmer*, the other taken out by *Bonner*. But this was only done by reaſon of the preſent juncture, becauſe the Biſhops being generally addicted to the former Superſtition, it was thought neceſſary to keep them under ſo arbitrary a Power as that ſubjected them to; for they hereby held their Biſhopricks only during the Kings pleaſure, and were to exerciſe them as his Delegates in his Name, and by his Authority. *Cranmer* ſet an Example to the reſt, and took out his Commiſſion, which is in the *Collection*. But this was afterwards judged too heavy a Yoak, and therefore the new Biſhops that were made by this King were not put under it; (and ſo *Ridley*, when made Biſhop of *London* in *Bonners* room, was not required to take out any ſuch Commiſſion;) but they were to hold their Biſhopricks during life.

The reaſon of the new Creation of many Noblemen.

There was a Clauſe in the Kings Will, requiring his Executors to make good all that he had promiſed in any manner of ways. Whereupon Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, were required to declare what they knew of the Kings Intentions and Promiſes; the former being the Secretary whom he had truſted moſt, and the other two thoſe that attended on him in his Bed-Chamber during his ſickneſs; though they were called Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; for the Service of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber was not then ſet up. *Paget* declared, That when the Evidence appeared againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, the King, who uſed to talk oft in private with him alone, told him, that he intended to beſtow their Lands liberally: and ſince by Attainders, and other ways, the Nobility were much decayed, he intended to create ſome Peers; and ordered him to write a Book of ſuch as he thought meeteſt: who thereupon propoſed the Earl of *Hartford* to be a Duke; the Earl of *Eſſex* to be a Marqueſs; the Viſcount *Liſle* to be an Earl; the Lords St. *John*, *Ruſſel*, and *Wriotheſley*, to be Earls; and Sir *Tho. Seimour*, Sir *Thom. Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Edmund Sheffield*, Sir *Jo. St. Leiger*, Sir *Wymbiſh*, Sir *Vernon* of the *Peak*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Danby*, to be Barons. *Paget* alſo propoſed a diſtribution of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Eſtate. But the King liked it not, and made Mr. *Gates* bring him the Books of that Eſtate; which being done, he ordered *Paget* to *tot upon the Earl of Hartford* (theſe are the words of his Depoſition) a Thouſand Merks; on the Lord *Liſle*, *St. John*, and *Ruſſel*, 200 Pounds a year; to the Lord *Wriotheſley* 100; and for Sir *Tho. Seimour* 300 Pounds a year. But *Paget* ſaid it was too little, and ſtood long arguing it with him: yet the King ordered him to propoſe it to the Perſons concerned, and ſee how they liked it. And he putting the King in mind of *Denny*, who had been oft a Suiter for him, but he had never yet in lieu of that obtained any thing for *Denny*, the

King ordered 200 Pounds for him, and 400 Marks for Sir *William Herbert*, and remembred ſome others likewiſe. But *Paget* having, according to the Kings Commands, ſpoken to theſe who were to be advanced, found that many of them deſired to continue in their former Ranks, and thought the Lands the King intended to give were not ſufficient for the maintenance of the Honour to be conferred on them: which he reported to the beſt advantage he could for every Man, and endeavoured to raiſe the Kings favour to them as high as he could. But while this was in conſultation, the Duke of *Norfolk*, very prudently apprehending the ruin of his Poſterity, if his Lands were divided into many Hands, out of which he could not ſo eaſily recover them; whereas if they continued in the Crown, ſome turn of Affairs might again eſtabliſh his Family; and intending alſo to oblige the King by ſo unuſual a Complement, ſent a deſire to him that he would be pleaſed to ſettle all his Lands on the Prince, (the now King) and not give them away: for, ſaid he, according to the Phraſe of that Time, *They are good and ſtately Gear*. This wrought ſo far on the King, that he reſolved to reſerve them for himſelf, and to reward his Servants ſome other way. Whereupon *Paget* preſſed him once to reſolve on the Honours he would beſtow, and what he would give with them, and they ſhould afterwards conſider of the way how to give it. The King growing ſtill worſe, ſaid to him, " That if ought " came to him but good, as he thought he could not long endure, he intended to place them all about his Son, as Men whom he truſted and " loved above all other: and that therefore he would conſider them the " more. So after many Conſultations he ordered the Book to be thus filled up, " The Earl of *Hartford* to be Earl Marſhal, and Lord Treaſurer, and to be Duke of *Somerſet*, *Exeter*, or *Hartford*, and his Son to " be Earl of *Wiltſhire*, with 800 *l.* a year of Land, and 300 *l.* a year " out of the next Biſhops Land that fell void; the Earl of *Eſſex* to be " Marqueſs of *Eſſex*; the Viſcount *Liſle* to be Earl of *Coventry*; the " Lord *Wriotheſly* to be Earl of *Wincheſter*; Sir *Tho. Seimour* to be a Baron and Lord Admiral; Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *Jo. St. Leiger*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Ed. Sheffield*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Danby*, to be Barons; with yearly Revenues to them, and ſeveral other Perſons. And having at the Suit of Sir *Edw. North* promiſed to give the Earl of *Hartford* ſix of the beſt Prebends that ſhould fall in any Cathedral, except Deanries and Treaſurerſhips; at his ſuit he agreed, that a Deanry and a Treaſurerſhip ſhould be in ſtead of two of the ſix Prebendaries. And thus all this being written as the King had ordered it, the King took the Book and put it in his Pocket, and gave the Secretary order to let every one know what he had determined for them. But before theſe things took effect the King died. Yet being on his Death-bed put in mind of what he had promiſed, he ordered it to be put in his Will, that his Executors ſhould perform every thing that ſhould appear to have been promiſed by him. All this *Denny* and *Herbert* confirmed, for they then waited in his Chamber; and when the Secretary went out, the King told them the ſubſtance of what had paſſed between them, and made *Denny* read the Book over again to him; whereupon *Herbert* obſerved that the Secretary had remembred all but himſelf; to which the King anſwered, He ſhould not forget him, and ordered *Denny* to write 400 *l.* a year for him. All theſe things being thus declared upon Oath, and the greateſt 1547.

part

1547.

part of them having been formerly ſignified to ſome of them, and the whole matter being well known and ſpread abroad, the Executors, both out of Conſcience to the Kings Will, and for their own Honours, reſolved to fulfil what the King had intended, but was hindred by death to accompliſh. But being apprehenſive both of Wars with the Emperour and *French* King, they reſolved not to leſſen the Kings Treaſure nor Revenue, nor to ſell his Jewels or Plate, but to find ſome other ways to pay them; and this put them afterwards on ſelling the Chantry Lands.

The Affairs of *Scotland.*

1547. *Feb.* 6. the King Knighted.

The buſineſs of *Scotland* was then ſo preſſing, that *Balnaves*, who was Agent for thoſe that had ſhut themſelves within the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, had this day 1180 *l.* ordered to be carried to them for an half years pay to the Soldiers of that Garriſon: There were alſo Penſions appointed for the moſt leading Men in that Buſineſs. The Earl of *Rothes* eldeſt Son had 280 Pound, Sir *James Kircaldy* had 200, and many others had ſmaller Penſions allowed them, *for their amity*, as it is expreſſed in the Council Books. That day the Lord Protector Knighted the King, being authorized to do it by Letters Pattents. So it ſeems, that as the Laws of Chivalry required that the King ſhould receive Knighthood from the Hand of ſome other Knight; ſo it was judged too great a preſumption for his own Subject to give it, without a Warrant under the Great Seal. The King at the ſame time Knighted Sir *John Hublethorn* the Lord Major of *London*. When it was known abroad what a diſtribution of Honour and Wealth the Council had reſolved on, it was much cenſured: many ſaying, that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead King of all his Treaſure, but that the firſt ſtep of their proceedings in their new Truſt was to provide Honour and Eſtates for themſelves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reſerved their Pretenſions till the King had come to be of Age. Another thing in the Atteſtations ſeemed much to leſſen the credit of the Kings Will, which was ſaid to be Signed the 30*th* of *Decemb.* and ſo did bear date: whereas this Narration inſinuates, that it was made a very little while before he died, not being able to accompliſh his deſign in theſe things which he had projected: but it was well known that he was not ſo ill on the 30*th* of *December.*

Secular Men had their Eccleſiaſtical Dignities.

It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that the Earl of *Hartford* had ſix good Prebends promiſed him; two of theſe being afterwards converted into a Deanry and a Treaſurerſhip. But it was ordinary at that time. The Lord *Cromwell* had been Dean of *Wells*; and many other Secular Men had theſe Eccleſiaſtical Benefices without Cure conferred on them. For which, there being no charge of Souls annexed to them, this might ſeem to be an excuſe. Yet even thoſe had a ſacred charge incumbent on them in the Cathedrals; and were juſt and neceſſary encouragements, either for ſuch as by Age or other defects were not fit for a Parochial Charge, and yet might be otherwiſe capable to do eminent ſervice in the Church; or for the ſupport of ſuch as in their Parochial labours did ſerve ſo well as to merit preferment, and yet perhaps were ſo meanly provided for as to need ſome farther help for their ſubſiſtence. But certainly they were never intended for the enriching of ſuch lazy and ſenſual Men, who having given themſelves up to a ſecular courſe of life, had little of a Church-man but the Habit and Name; and yet uſed to rail againſt Sacriledge in others, not conſidering how guilty themſelves were

of

1547.

of the ſame crime, enriching their Families with the Spoils of the Church, or with the Goods of it, which were put into their Hands for better uſes. And it was no wonder that when Clergy-men had thus abuſed theſe Endowments, Secular Men broke in upon them: obſerving plainly, that the Clergy who enjoyed them made no better uſe of them than Laicks might do. Though in ſtead of reforming an abuſe that was ſo generally ſpread, they, like Men that minded nothing more than the enriching of themſelves, took a certain courſe to make the miſchief perpetual, by robbing the Church of thoſe Endowments and Helps it had received from the Munificence of the Founders of its Cathedrals, who were generally the firſt Chriſtian Kings of this Nation; which had it been done by Law would have been a thing of very bad conſequence; but as it was done, was directly contrary to the *Magna Charta*, and to the Kings Coronation Oath.

But now they that were weary of the Popiſh Superſtitions obſerving that Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* had ſo great a ſhare of the young Kings affection, and that the Protector and he were in the ſame Intereſts, began to call for a further Reformation of Religion; and ſome were ſo full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the ſlow motions of the State. So the Curate and Church-wardens of St. *Martins* in *Ironmonger-lane* in *London*, took down the Images and Pictures of the Saints, and the Crucifix out of their Church, and painted many Texts of Scripture on the Walls; ſome of them *according to a perverſe Tranſlation*, as the Complaint has it; and in the place where the Crucifix was, they ſet up the Kings Arms with ſome Texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the Biſhop and Lord-Major of *London* complained to the Council. And the Curate and Church-wardens being cited to appear, anſwered for themſelves, That the Roof of their Church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the Crucifix and Images were ſo rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder: That the charge they had been at in repairing their Church was ſuch, that they could not buy new Images: That they had taken down the Images in the Chancel, becauſe ſome had been guilty of Idolatry towards them. In concluſion, they ſaid, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in any thing done amiſs, they asked pardon, and ſubmitted themſelves. Some were for puniſhing them ſeverely; for all the Papiſts reckoned that this would be a leading Caſe to all the reſt of this Reign: and if this was eaſily paſſed over, others would be from that remiſneſs animated to attempt ſuch things every where. But on the other hand, thoſe at Court who had deſigned to ſet forward a Reformation, had a mind only ſo far to check the heat of the People, as to keep it within compaſs, but not to diſhearten their Friends too much. *Cranmer* and his Party were for a general removing of all Images; and ſaid that in the late Kings time order being given to remove ſuch as were abuſed to Superſtition; Upon that there were great Conteſts in many Places what Images had been ſo abuſed, and what not; and that theſe Diſputes would be endleſs unleſs all were taken away.

Images removed without Authority out of one Church in *London*.

In the pureſt Times of Chriſtianity they had no Images at all in their Churches. One of the firſt Councils, namely that at *Elvira* in *Spain*, made a Canon againſt the painting what they worſhiped on the Walls. *Epiphanius* was highly offended when he ſaw a Vail hanging before the door of a Church with a Picture on it, which he conſidered ſo little as

An account of the Progreſs of Image-worſhip.

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1547. not to know well whoſe Picture it was, but thought it might be Chriſts, or ſome other Saints; yet he tore it, and gave them of that Place Money to buy a new Vail in its room. Afterwards, with the reſt of the pomp of Heatheniſm, Images came to be ſet up in Churches; yet ſo as that there was no ſort of Worſhip payed to them. But in the time of Pope *Gregory* the firſt, many went into extremes about them; ſome were for breaking them, and others worſhiped them; That Pope thought the middle way beſt, neither to break, nor to worſhip them, but to keep them only to put the People in mind of the Saints. Afterwards there being ſubtle Queſtions ſtarted about the Unity of Chriſts Perſon and Will, the Greek Emperours generally inclined to have the animoſities raiſed by theſe, removed by ſome comprehenſive words to which all might conſent: which the Intereſt of State as well as Religion ſeemed to require; for their Empire every day declining, all methods for uniting it were thought good and prudent. But the Biſhops were ſtiff and peremptory: So in the ſixth general Council they condemned all who differed from them. Upon this the Emperours that ſucceeded would not receive that Council, but the Biſhops of *Rome* ordered the Pictures of all the Biſhops who had been at that Council to be ſet up in the Churches: Upon which the Emperours contended againſt theſe or any Pictures whatſoever in Churches. And herein that happened which is not uſual, that one Controverſie riſing occaſionally out of another, the Parties forſake the firſt Conteſt, and fall into ſharp Conflicts about the occaſional differences. For now the Emperours and Popes quarrelled moſt violently about the uſe of Images, and ill Names going a great way tomards the defaming an Opinion, the Popes and their Party accuſed all that were againſt Images, as favouring Judaiſm, or Mahometaniſm, which was then much ſpread in *Aſia* and *Africk*: The Emperours and their Party accuſing the others of Gentiliſm and Heatheniſh Idolatry. Upon this occaſion *Gregory* the third firſt aſſumed the Rebellious Pretenſion to a Power to depoſe *Leo* the Emperour from all his Dominions in *Italy*. There was one General Council at *Conſtantinople* that condemned the uſe or worſhip of Images; and ſoon after another at *Nice* did eſtabliſh it: and yet at the ſame time *Charles* the Great, though not a little linked in Intereſt to the Biſhops of *Rome*, holding both the *French* and Imperial Crowns by the favour of the Popes, wrote, or imployed *Alcuinus* (a moſt learned Country-man of ours as theſe times went) to write in his Name againſt the Worſhip of Images. And in a Council at *Frankfort* it was condemned, which was alſo done afterwards in another Council at *Paris*. But in ſuch Ages of Ignorance and Superſtition any thing that wrought ſo much on the ſenſes and imaginations of the People was ſure to prevail in concluſion. And this had in a Courſe of ſeven more Ages been improved by the craft and impoſtures of the Monks, ſo wonderfully, that there was no ſign of Divine Adoration that could be invented that was not applied to theſe Images. So in King *Henry's* time that temper was found that ſuch Images as had been abuſed to Superſtition ſhould be removed; and for other Images external Worſhip, ſuch as kneeling, cenſing, and praying before them, was kept up, but the People were to be taught that theſe were not at all intended to the Image, but to that which was repreſented by it. And upon this there was much ſubtle arguing. Among *Cranmers* Papers I

have

1547.

have ſeen ſeveral Arguments for a moderate uſe of Images. But to all theſe they oppoſed the ſecond Commandment as plainly forbidding all viſible Objects of Adoration, together with what was in the Scriptures againſt the Idolatry of the Heathens, and what the Fathers had written againſt the *Gentiles.* And they added, that how excuſable ſoever that practice might have been in ſuch dark and barbarous Ages in which the People knew little more of Divine Matters than what they learned from their Images, yet the horrible abuſes that followed on the bringing them into Churches, made it neceſſary now to throw them all out. It was notorious that the People every where doted on them, and gave them Divine Honour: Nor did the Clergy, who were generally too guilty themſelves of ſuch abuſes, teach them how to diſtinguiſh aright: and the Acts of Worſhip that were allowed, were ſuch, that beſide the ſcandal ſuch Worſhip had in it, and the danger of drawing People into Idolatry, it was in it ſelf inexcuſable to offer up ſuch external parts of Religious Adoration to Gold or Silver, Wood or Stone. So *Cranmer* and others, being reſolved to purge the Church of this abuſe, got the worſt part of the Sentence that ſome had deſigned againſt the Curate and Church-wardens, to be mitigated into a Reprimend; and as it is entred in the Council Books, " In reſpect of their ſubmiſſion, and of ſome o-" ther Reaſons which did mitigate their offence, (Theſe were *Cranmers* " Arguments againſt Images) they did pardon their Impriſonment, which " was at firſt determined, and ordered them to provide a Crucifix, or at " leaſt ſome painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of ſuch " raſhneſs for the future. But no mention is made of the other Images.

Many begin to pull down Images,

The carriage of the Council in this matter diſcovering the inclinations of the greateſt part of them, and Dr. *Ridley* having in his Lent Sermon preached againſt the Superſtition that was generally had to Images and Holy Water, it raiſed a great heat over *England*: So that *Gardiner* hearing that on *May*-day the People of *Portſmouth* had removed and broken the Images of Chriſt and the Saints, writ about it with great warmth to one Captain *Vaughan*, that waited on the Protector, and was then at *Portſmouth.* " He deſired to know whether he ſhould ſend one " to preach againſt it; though he thought that was the caſting Precious " Stones to Hogs, or worſe than Hogs, as were theſe *Lollards.* He ſaid " that *Luther* had ſet out a Book againſt thoſe who removed Images, and " himſelf had ſeen them ſtill in the Lutheran Churches: and he thought " the removing Images was on deſign to ſubvert Religion and the ſtate " of the World: he argues for them from the Kings Image on the Seal, " *Cæſars* Image on the Coin brought to Chriſt, the Kings Arms carried by " the Heralds: he condemns falſe Images; but for thoſe that were againſt " true Images, he thought they were poſſeſt with the Devil. *Vaughan* ſent his Letter to the Protector, with one from *Gardiner* to himſelf, who finding the reaſoning in it not ſo ſtrong but that it might be anſwered, wrote to him himſelf, " That he allowed of his zeal againſt Innovations, " but that there were other things that needed to be looked to as much. " Great difference there was between the Civil reſpect due to the Kings " Arms, and the Worſhip given to Images. There had been a time in " which the abuſe of the *Scriptures* was thought a good reaſon to take " them from the People, yea and to burn them: though he looked on " them as more ſacred than Images; which if they ſtood meerly as Re-

At which *Gardiner* is much offended.

The Protector writ to him about it.

The Letters are in *Fox's* Acts and Monuments.

1547. “membrancers, he thought the hurt was not great; but it was known
“that for the moſt part it was otherwiſe: and upon abuſe the Brazen Serpent
“was broken, though made at Gods Commandment: and it being
“pretended that they were *the Books of the People*, he thought the Bible
“a much more intelligible and uſeful Book. There were ſome too raſh,
“and others too obſtinate. The Magiſtrate was to ſteer a middle Courſe
“between them; not conſidering the Antiquity of things ſo much, as
“what was good and expedient. *Gardiner* writ again to the Protector,
“complaining of *Bale* and others, who publiſhed Books to the diſhonour
“of the late King; and that all were running after Novelties; and often
“inculcates it, that things ſhould be kept in the ſtate they were in, till
“the King were of Age: and in his Letters reflects both on the Archbiſhop
“of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *Dureſme* for conſenting to ſuch
“things.

Gardiner writ to *Ridley* who had preached againſt Images.

But finding his Letters had no effect on the Protector, he wrote to *Ridley*: “That by the Law of *Moſes* we were no more bound not to
“have Images than not to eat Blood-Puddings. Image and Idol might
“have been uſed promiſcuouſly in former times, as King and Tyrant
“were; yet there was a great difference between theſe, according to the
“Notions we now have. He cites Pope *Gregory* who was againſt both
“adoring and breaking them: and ſays the Worſhip is not given to the
“Image, ſo there is no Idolatry but to him repreſented by it: and as the
“ſound of Speech did by the Ear beget Notions in us, ſo he did not ſee
“but the ſight of an Image might ſtir up devotion. He confeſſed there
“had been abuſes, as there is in every thing that is in Mens Hands: he
“thinks Imagery, and Graving, to be of as good uſe for inſtruction, as
“Writing or Printing: and becauſe *Ridley* had alſo preached againſt
“the Superſtition of Holy Water to drive away Devils, he added, That
“a Vertue might be in Water, as well as in Chriſts Garment, St. *Peters*
“Shadow, or *Eliſha*'s Staff. Pope *Marcellus* ordered *Equitius* to uſe it,
“and the late King uſed to bleſs Cramp-Rings both of Gold and Silver,
“which were much eſteemed every where, and when he was abroad
“they were often deſired from him. This Gift he hoped the young King
“would not neglect. He believed the Invocation of the Name of God
“might give ſuch a Vertue to Holy Water as well as to the Water of
“Baptiſm. For *Ridley*'s Anſwer to this, I never ſaw it; ſo theſe things muſt here paſs without any Reply: though it is very probable an ordinary Reader will with a very ſmall meaſure of common Senſe and Learning, ſee how they might have been anſwered. The thing moſt remarkable here is about theſe Cramp-Rings which King *Henry* uſed to bleſs, of which I never met with any thing before I ſaw this Letter; but ſince I underſtand the Office of Bleſſing of theſe Rings is extant, as it was prepared for Queen *Maries* uſe, as ſhall be told in her Reign: It muſt be left to conjecture whether he did it as a practice of former Kings, or whether upon his being made *Supream Head*, he thought fit to take on him, as the Pope did, to conſecrate ſuch things, and ſend them about. Where to be ſure Fancy and Flattery would raiſe many Stories of the wonderful effects of what he had ſo bleſſed; and perhaps theſe might have been as true as the Reports made of the Vertues of *Agnus Dei's*, touched Beads, bleſſed Peebles, with ſuch other goodly Ware which the Friars were wont to carry about and diſtribute to their Benefactors as things highly ſanctified.

This

1547.

This I ſet down more fully, and have laid ſome things together that fell not out till ſome months after this, being the firſt ſtep that was made towards a Reformation in this Reign.

1547. *Feb.* 12. The Commiſſion of the Juſtices of the Peace.

Upon this occaſion it is not unlikely that the Council wrote their Letters to all the Juſtices of Peace of *England*, on the 12*th* of *Feb.* letting them know, that they had ſent down new Commiſſions to them for keeping the Peace: ordering them to aſſemble together, and firſt to call earneſtly on God for his Grace to diſcharge their Duties faithfully according to the Oaths which they were to take: and that they ſhould impartially, without corruption, or ſiniſter affection, execute their Office, ſo that it might appear that they had God and the good of their King and Country before their Eyes: and that they ſhould divide themſelves into the ſeveral Hundreds, and ſee to the publick Peace: and that all Vagabonds and diſturbers of the Peace ſhould be duly puniſhed; and that once every ſix weeks they ſhould write to the Lord Protector and Council the ſtate in which the County was, till they were otherwiſe commanded. That which was ſent into the County of *Norfolk* will be found in the Collection.

Collection Number 3.

But now the Funeral of the deceaſed King, and the Coronation of his Son were to be diſpatched. In the Coronation-Ceremonies that had been formerly uſed, there were ſome things that did not agree with the preſent Laws of the Land: as the Promiſe made to the Abbots for maintaining their Lands and Dignities: They were alſo ſo tedious, that a new Form was ordered to be drawn, which the Reader will find in the Collection. The moſt material thing in it is the firſt Ceremony, whereby, the King being ſhewed to the People at the four Corners of the Stage, the Arch-biſhop was to demand their Conſent to it: and yet in ſuch terms as ſhould demonſtrate he was no Elective Prince; “for he “being declared the rightful and undoubted Heir both by the Laws of “God and Man, they were deſired to give their good Wills and Aſſents “to the ſame, as by their Duty of Allegiance they were bound to do.

Collection Number 4.

1547. *Feb.* 13. King *Henry* buried.

This being agreed on the 13*th* of *Feb.* on the day following King *Henry*'s Body was with all the pomp of a Royal Funeral removed to *Sheen* in the way to *Windſor*. There great obſervation was made on a thing that was no extraordinary matter: He had been extreme corpulent, and dying of a Dropſie, or ſome thing like it, it was no wonder if a fortnight after, upon ſo long a motion, ſome putrid Matter might run thorough the Coffin. But *Sheen* having been a Houſe of Religious Women, it was called a ſignal Mark of the diſpleaſure of Heaven, that ſome of his Blood and Fat droped through the Lead in the night: and to make this work mightily on weak People, it was ſaid, that the Dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in Commendation of Friar *Peto*, afterwards made Cardinal, who (as was told *Page* 151. of the former Part) had threatned him in a Sermon at *Greenwich*, *That the Dogs ſhould lick his Blood.* Though to conſider things more equally, it had been a Wonder indeed if it had been otherwiſe. But having met with this Obſervation in a *MS.* written near that time, I would not envy the World the Pleaſure of it. Next day he was brought to *Windſor*, and interred in St. *George*'s Chappel. And he having by his Will left that Church 600 *l.* a year for ever for two Prieſts to ſay Maſs at his Tomb daily, for four *Obits* yearly, and a Sermon at every *Obit*, with 10 *l.* to the

Poor,

1547 Poor, and for a Sermon every *Sunday*, together with the maintenance of thirteen poor Knights; The Judges were conſulted how this ſhould be well ſetled in Law. Who adviſed that the Lands which the King had given, ſhould be made over to that Colledge by Indentures Tripartite, the King being one Party, the Protector and the other Executors a ſecond, and the Dean and Chapter of *Windſor* a third Party. Theſe were to be Signed with the Kings Hand, and the Great Seal put to them, with the Hands and Seals of all the reſt: and then Patents were to be given for the Lands, founded on the Kings Teſtament, and the Indentures Tripartite.

Soul-Maſſes examined.

But the Pomp of this Buſineſs miniſtred an occaſion of enquiring into the uſe and lawfulneſs of Soul-Maſſes and *Obits*, which came to be among the firſt things that were reformed. Chriſt had inſtituted the Sacrament to be celebrated in remembrance of his Death, and it was a Sacrament only to thoſe who did participate in it: but that the conſecrating the Sacrament could be of any uſe to departed Souls, ſeemed a thing not eaſie to be conceived. For if they are the Prayers of the Living that profit the Dead, then theſe would have done as well without a Maſs. But the People would not have eſteemed bare Prayers ſo much, nor have payed ſo dear for them. So that the true original of Soul-Maſſes was thought to have been only to encreaſe the Eſteem and Wealth of the Clergy. It is true, in the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Saints departed in the *Daily Sacrifice*, ſo they termed the Communion, and ſuch as had given any offence at their death were not remembred in it: So that for ſo ſlight an offence, as the leaving a Prieſt Tutor to ones Children, which might diſtract them from their Spiritual care, ones Name was to be left out of that Commemoration in *Cyprians* time; which was a very diſproportioned puniſhment to that offence, if ſuch Commemorations had been thought uſeful or neceſſary to the Souls departed. But all this was nothing to the private Maſſes for them, and was indeed nothing at firſt but an honourable mention of ſuch as had died in the Faith. And they believing then generally that there was a Glorious Thouſand Years to be on Earth, and that the Saints ſhould riſe ſome ſooner and ſome later to have their part in it, they prayed in general for their quiet Reſt, and their ſpeedy Reſurrection. Yet theſe Prayers growing, as all ſuperſtitious devices do, to be more conſidered, ſome began to frame an Hypotheſis to juſtifie them by; that of the Thouſand Years being generally exploded. And in St. *Auſtin*'s time they began to fancy there was a ſtate of puniſhment even for the Good in another Life, out of which ſome were ſooner and ſome later freed, according to the meaſure of their Repentance for their Sins in this Life. But he tells us, this was taken up without any ſure ground, and that it was no way certain. Yet by Viſions, Dreams, and Tales, the belief of it was ſo far promoted, that it came to be generally received in the next Age after him: and then as the People were told that the Saints interceded for them, ſo it was added that they might intercede for their departed Friends. And this was the Foundation of all that Trade of Soulſ-Maſſes and *Obits*. Now the deceaſed King had acted like one who did not believe that theſe things ſignified much; otherwiſe he was to have but ill reception in Purgatory, having by the ſubverſion of the Monaſteries deprived the departed Souls of the benefit of the many Maſſes that

were

1547.

were ſaid for them in theſe Houſes: yet it ſeems at his death he would make the matter ſure, and to ſhew he intended as much benefit to the Living, as to himſelf being dead, he took care that there ſhould be not only Maſſes and *Obits*, but ſo many Sermons at *Windſor*, and a frequent diſtribution of Alms for the relief of the Poor. But upon this occaſion it came to be examined what value there was in ſuch things. Yet the Arch-biſhop plainly ſaw that the Lord Chancellor would give great oppoſition to every motion that ſhould be made for any further alteration; for which he and all that Party had this ſpecious pretence always in their Mouths; That their late Glorious King was not only the moſt learned Prince, but the moſt learned Divine in the World, (for the flattering him did not end with his Life) and that therefore they were at leaſt, to keep all things in the condition wherein he had left them, till the King were of Age. And this ſeemed alſo neceſſary on Conſiderations of State; For Changes in matter of Religion might bring on Commotions and Diſorders, which they as faithful Executors ought to avoid. But to this it was anſwered, That as their late King was infinitely learned, (for both Parties flattered him dead, as well as living) ſo he had reſolved to make great Alterations, and was contriving how to change the Maſs into a Communion: that therefore they were not to put off a thing of ſuch conſequence, wherein the Salvation of Peoples Souls was ſo much concerned, but were immediately to ſet about it. But the Lord Chancellor gave quickly great advantage againſt himſelf to his Enemies, who were reſolved to make uſe of any Error he might be guilty of, ſo far as to eaſe themſelves of the trouble he was like to give them.

The Creation of Peers.

The Kings Funeral being over, order was given for the Creation of Peers. The Protector was to be Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Eſſex* to be Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Viſcount *Liſle* to be Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*; beſide the new Creation of the Lords *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and *Sheffield*: the reſt it ſeems excuſing themſelves from new Honours, as it appeared from the Depoſition of *Paget*, that many of thoſe on whom the late King had intended to confer Titles of Honour had declined it formerly. On the 20*th* of *Feb.* being *Shrove-Sunday* the King was Crowned by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, according to the form that was agreed to. The Protector ſerving in it as Lord Steward, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* as Lord Conſtable, and the Earl of *Arundel* as Earl Marſhal, deputed by the Protector. A Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pole*, and ſome others were excepted.

1547. *Feb.* 20. Coronation.

The Lord Chancellor is removed from his Office.

The firſt Buſineſs of importance after the Coronation, was the Lord Chancellors fall. Who, reſolving to give himſelf wholly to Matters of State, had on the 18*th* of *Feb.* put the Great Seal to a Commiſſion, "directed to Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Rolls, *John Tregonnel* "Eſq; Maſter of *Chancery*, and to *John Oliver*, and *Anthony Bellaſis*, "Clerks, Maſters of *Chancery*; ſetting forth, that the Lord Chancellor "being ſo employed in the Affairs of State, that he could not attend on "the hearing of Cauſes in the Court of *Chancery*, theſe three Maſters, or "any two of them, were empowered to execute the Lord Chancellors "Office in that Court, in as ample manner as if he himſelf were preſent: "only their Decrees were to be brought to the Lord Chancellor to be "Signed by him, before they were Enrolled. This being done without

any

1547. any Warrant from the Lord Protector, and the other Executors, it was judged a high preſumption in the Lord Chancellor thus to devolve on others that Power which the Law had truſted in his Hands. The Perſons named by him encreaſed the offence which this gave, two of them being Canoniſts, ſo that the common Lawyers looked upon this as a Preſident of very high and ill conſequence. And being encouraged by thoſe who had no good will to the Chancellor, they petitioned the Council in this Matter, and complained of the evil conſequences of ſuch a Commiſſion, and ſet forth the fears that all the Students of the Law were under, of a Change that was intended to be made of the Laws of *England*. The Council remembred well they had given no Warrant at all to the Lord Chancellor for the iſſuing out any ſuch Commiſſion; ſo they ſent it to the Judges, and required them to examine the Commiſſion with the Petition grounded upon it: Who delivered their Opinions on the laſt of *Feb. 28.* *Feb.* That the Lord Chancellor ought not without Warrant from the Council to have ſet the Seal to it; and that by his ſo doing he had by the Common Law forfeited his Place to the King, and was liable to Fine and *March 6.* Impriſonment at the Kings pleaſure. This lay ſleeping till the ſixth of *March*, and then the Judges Anſwer being brought to the Council, Signed with all their Hands, they entred into a debate how far it ought to be puniſhed. The Lord Chancellor carried it very high; and as he had uſed many Menaces to thoſe who had petitioned againſt him, and to the Judges for giving their Opinions as they did, ſo he carried himſelf inſolently to the Protector, aud told him he held his Place by a better Authority than he held his: That the late King being empow'red to it by Act of Parliament, had made him not only Chancellor, but one of the Governours of the Realm during his Sons Minority; and had by his Will given none of them Power over the reſt to throw them out at pleaſure: and that therefore they might declare the Commiſſion void if they pleaſed, to which he ſhould conſent, but they could not for ſuch an error turn him out of his Office, nor out of his ſhare of the Government. To this it was anſwered, That by the late Kings Will they, or the major part of them, were to Adminiſter till the King was of Age; That this ſubjected every one of them in particular to the reſt; That otherwiſe if any of them broke out into Rebellion, he might pretend he could not be attainted nor put from the Government: Therefore it was agreed on, That every of them in particular was ſubject to the greater part. Then the Lord Chancellor was required to ſhew what Warrant he had for that he had done: Being now driven from that which he chiefly relied on, he anſwered for himſelf, That he had no Warrant; yet he thought by his Office he had Power to do it; that he had no ill intention in it, and therefore ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy, and to the gracious conſideration of the Protector and the Council; and deſired that in reſpect of his paſt Services he might forego his Office with as little ſlander as might be; and that as to his Fine and Impriſonment they would uſe moderation. So he was made to withdraw. “ The Councellors (as it is en- “ tred in the Council-Book) conſidering in their Conſciences his abuſes “ ſundry ways in his Office, to the great prejudice and utter decay of “ the Common Laws, and the prejudice that might follow by the Seals “ continuing in the Hands of ſo ſtout and arrogant a Perſon, who would “ as he pleaſed put the Seals to ſuch Commiſſions without Warrant, did

“ agree,

1547.

“agree, That the Seal ſhould be taken from him, and he be deprived of “his Office, and be further fined as ſhould be afterwards thought fitting; “only they excuſed him from Impriſonment. So he being called in, and heard ſay all he could think of for his own juſtification, they did not judge it of ſuch importance as might move them to change their mind. Sentence was therefore given, That he ſhould ſtay in the Council-Chamber and Cloſet till the Sermon was ended, that then he ſhould go home with the Seal to *Ely* Houſe where he lived: but that after Supper, the Lord *Seimour*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Edw. North*, ſhould be ſent to him, and that he ſhould deliver the Seal into their Hands; and be from that time deprived of his Office, and confined to his Houſe during pleaſure, and pay what Fine ſhould be laid on him. To all which he ſubmitted, and acknowledged the juſtice of their Sentence. So the next day the Seal was put into the Lord *St. Johns* Hands, till they ſhould agree on a fit Man to be Lord Chancellor; and it continued with him ſeveral months. On the day following, the late Kings Will being in his Hands for the granting of Exemplifications of it under the Great Seal, it was ſent for, and ordered to be laid up in the Treaſury of the *Exchequer*: and the Earl of *Southampton* continued in his Confinement till the *29th* of *June*, but then he entred into a Recogniſance of 4000 *l.* to pay what Fine they ſhould impoſe on him, and upon that he was diſcharged of his Impriſonment. But in all this Sentence, they made no mention of his forfeiting his being one of the late Kings Executors, and of the preſent Kings Governours; either judging that, being put in theſe Truſts as he was Lord Chancellor, the diſcharging him of his Office did by conſequence put an end to them; or perhaps they were not willing to do any thing that might ſeem to change the late Kings Will; and therefore by keeping him under the fear of a ſevere Fine, they choſe rather to oblige him to be abſent, and to carry himſelf quietly, than by any Sentence to exclude him from his ſhare in that Truſt. Which I encline the rather to believe, becauſe I find him afterwards brought to Council without any Order entred about it: So that he ſeems to have come thither rather on a former Right than on a new choice made of him. Thus fell the Lord Chancellor, and in him the Popiſh Party loſt their chief ſupport, and the Protector his moſt emulous Rival. The Reader will find the Commiſſion with the Opinion of the Judges about it in the *Collection*, from which he will be better able to judge of theſe Proceedings againſt him. Which were ſummary, and ſevere, beyond the uſage of the Privy Council, and without the common forms of legal Proceſſes. But the Councils Authority had been raiſed ſo high, by the Act mentioned *Page* 263. of the former *Part*, that they were empowerd ſufficiently for Matters of that nature.

Collection Number 5.

The Protector holds his Office by Patent.

That which followed a few days after made this be the more cenſured, ſince the Lord Protector, who hitherto held his Office but by the choice of the reſt, and under great reſtrictions, was now reſolved to hold it by Patent, to which the late Chancellor had been unwilling to conſent. The pretence for it was, That the Forreign Miniſters, the *French* Ambaſſador in particular, deſired to be ſatisfied concerning his Power, and how far they might treat with him, and depend on the aſſurances and promiſes he gave. So the Protector and Council did on the *13th* of *March* petition the King that they might act by a Commiſſion under the Great

March 13.

1547. Seal, which might empower and juſtifie them in what they were to do. And that was to be done in this manner. The King and the Lords were to Sign the Warrant for it, upon which the Lord *St. John* (who, though he had the keeping of the Great Seal, was never deſigned to be Lord Keeper, nor was empow'red to hear Cauſes) ſhould ſet the Seal to it. The Original Warrant was to be kept by the Protector, and Exemplifications of it were to be given to Forreign Miniſters. To this Order Sir *Thom. Cheyney* ſet his Hand, upon what Authority I do not ſo clearly ſee, ſince he was none of the Executors. By this Commiſſion, (which will be found in the *Collection*) it is ſet forth, "That the King being "under Age, was deſired by divers of the Nobles and Prelates of the "Realm to name and authorize one above all others, to have the Charge "of the Kingdom, with the Government of his Perſon; whereupon he "had formerly by word of mouth named his Unkle to be Protector and "Governour of his Perſon; yet for a more perfect Declaration of that, "he did now ratifie and approve all he had done ſince that Nomination, "and conſtituted him his Governour and the Protector of his Kingdom "till he ſhould attain the full Age of 18 years: giving him the full Authority that belonged to that Office, to do every thing as he by his Wiſdom ſhould think for the Honour, Good, and Proſperity of the King "and Kingdoms: and that he might be furniſhed with a Council for his "aid and aſſiſtance, he did by the advice of his Unkle and others, Nobles, Prelates, and wiſe Men, accept of theſe Perſons for his Councellors, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *St. John* Preſident, the "Lord *Ruſſel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls "of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lord *Seimour*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, "the Lord *Rich*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Joh. Gage*, Sir *Anth. Brown*, "Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Ralph* "*Sadler*, Sir *John Baker*, Doctor *Wotton*, Sir *Anth. Denny*, Sir *William* "*Herbert*, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Ed. Montague*, Sir *Ed. Wotton*, Sir *Edm.* "*Peckham*, Sir *Tho. Bromley*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*: giving the Protector Power to ſwear ſuch other Commiſſioners as he ſhould think fit: "and that he, with ſo many of the Council as he ſhould think meet, "might annul and change what they thought fitting: reſtraining the "Council to act only by his Advice and Conſent. And thus was the Protector fully ſetled in his Power, and no more under the curb of the Co-executors, who were now mixed with the other Councellors, that by the late Kings Will were only to be conſulted with as they ſaw cauſe. But as he depreſſ[illegible] them to an equality with the reſt of the Councellors, ſo he highly obliged the others who had been formerly under them, by bringing theſe equally with them into a ſhare of the Government. He had alſo obtained to himſelf an high Authority over them; ſince they could do nothing without his conſent, but he was only bound to call for ſo many of them as he thought meet, and was not limited to act as they adviſed, but cloathed with the full Regal Power: and had it in his Hands to oblige whom he would, and to make his Party greater by calling into the Council ſuch as he ſhould nominate." How far this was legal I ſhall not enquire. It was certainly contrary to King *Henry*'s Will. And that being made upon an Act of Parliament, which empowred him to limit the Crown and the Government of it at his pleaſure, this Commiſſion, that did change the whole Government during the Kings Minority, ſeems

Collection Number 6.

1547.

capable of no other defence, but that it being made by the conſent of the major part of the Executors, it was ſtill warrantable even by the Will, which devolved the Government on them, or the major part of them.

All this I have opened the more largely, both becauſe none of our Hiſtorians have taken any notice of the firſt Conſtitution of the Government during this Reign, and being ignorant of the true account of it, they have committed great errors: and becauſe having obtained, by the favour of that moſt induſtrious Collector of the Tranſactions of this Age Mr. *Ruſhworth*, the Original Council-Book, for the two firſt years of this Reign, I had a certain Authority to follow in it: the exactneſs of that Book being beyond any thing I ever met with in all our Records. For every Council-day the Privy-Councellors that were preſent ſet their Hands to all that was ordered; judging ſo great caution neceſſary when the King was under Age. And therefore I thought this a Book of too great conſequence to lie in private Hands: ſo the owner having made a Preſent of it to me, I delivered it to that Noble and Vertuous Gentleman Sir *John Nicolas*, one of the Clerks of the Council, to be kept with the reſt of their Books.

The ſtate of Affairs in *Germany*.

And having now given the Reader a clear Proſpect of the ſtate of the Court, I ſhall next turn to the Affairs that were under their conſideration. That which was firſt brought before them was concerning the ſtate of *Germany*. *Francis Burgartus* Chancellor to the Duke of *Saxe*, with others from the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were ſent over upon the news of the former Kings death to ſollicit for Aids from the new King toward the carrying on the War with the Emperor. In order to the clearing of this, and to give a juſt account of our Councils in reference to Forreign Affairs, eſpecially the cauſe being about Religion, I ſhall give a ſhort view of the ſtate of *Germany* at this time. The Emperor, having formed a deſign of an Univerſal Monarchy, laid hold on the differences of Religion in *Germany*, as a good mean to cover what he did, with the ſpecious pretence of puniſhing Hereſie, and protecting the Catholicks. But before he had formed this deſign, he procured his Brother to be choſen King of the *Romans*, and ſo declared his Succeſſor in the Empire; which he was forced to do, being obliged to be much in *Spain* and his other hereditary Dominions; and being then ſo young as not to enter into ſuch deep Counſels as he afterwards laid. But his Wars in *Italy* put him oft in ill terms with the Pope; and being likewiſe watched over in all his Motions by *Francis* the I. and *Henry* VIII. and the *Turk* often breaking into *Hungary* and *Germany*, he was forced to great compliances with the Princes of the Empire: Who being animated by the two great Crowns, did enter into a League for their mutual defence againſt all Aggreſſors. And at laſt in the Year 1544. in the *Diet* held at *Spire*, the Emperour, being engaged in War with *France* and the *Turk*, both to ſecure *Germany*, and to obtain Money of the Princes, was willing to agree to the Edict made there; which was, That till there was a free Council in *Germany*, or ſuch an Aſſembly in which Matters of Religion might be ſetled, there ſhould be a general Peace, and none was to be troubled for Religion; the free exerciſe of both Religions being allowed; and all things were to continue in the ſtate they were then in. And the Imperial Chamber at *Spire* was to be reformed: for the Judges of

1531. *Jan.* 11. *Ferdinand* Crown'd King of the *Romans*.

1544. *Feb.* 20. *Diet* began at *Spire*.

1547.

1544. *Sept.* 24. Emperor has Peace with *France.*

1545. *Oct.* Peace with *Turk.*

that Court being all Papiſts, there were many Proceſſes depending at the Suit of the Eccleſiaſticks againſt the Proteſtant Princes who had driven them out of their Lands: and the Princes expecting no fair dealing from them, all theſe Proceſſes were now ſuſpended, and the Chamber was to be filled up with new Judges, that ſhould be more favourable to them. They obtaining this Decree, contributed very liberally to the Wars the Emperour ſeemed to be engaged in. Who having his Treaſure thus filled, preſently made Peace both with *France* and the Grand *Seigniour*, and reſolved to turn his Wars upon the Empire, and to make uſe of that Treaſure and Force they had contributed, to invade their Liberties, and to ſubdue them entirely to himſelf. Upon this he entred into a Treaty with the Pope, that a Council ſhould be opened in *Trent*; upon which he ſhould require the Princes to ſubmit to it, which if they refuſed to do, he ſhould make War on them. The Pope was to aſſiſt him with 10000 Men, beſides levy Taxes laid on his Clergy; to which he willingly conſented. But the Emperour knowing, That if Religion were declared to be the ground of the War, all the Proteſtants would unite againſt him, who were the much greater number of the Empire; reſolved to divide them among themſelves, and to pretend ſomewhat elſe than Religion as the cauſe of the War. There were then four of the Electors of that Religion; the Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Saxe*, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and the Arch-biſhop of *Colen*; beſides the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Duke of *Wittemberg*, and many leſſer Princes: and almoſt all the Cities of the Empire. *Bohem* and the other hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* were alſo generally of the ſame Religion. The Northern Kings and the *Swiſs Cantons* were firmly united to them: The two Crowns of *England* and *France* were likewiſe concerned in Intereſt to ſupport them againſt the *Auſtrian* Family. But the Emperour got *France* and *England* engaged in a War between themſelves. So that he was now at leiſure to accompliſh his deſigns on the Empire; where ſome of the Princes being extreme old, as the Count *Palatine*, and *Herman* Arch-biſhop of *Colen*, others being of ſoft and unactive tempers, as the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and others diſcontented and ambitious, as *Maurice* of *Saxony*, and the Brothers of *Brandenburg*, he had indeed none of the firſt Rank to deal with, but the Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*. Who were both great Captains, but of ſuch different tempers, that where they were in equal Command, there was no great probability of ſucceſs. The former was a Prince of the beſt compoſition of any in that Age, he was ſincerely religious, and one of the moſt equally tempered Men that was then alive, neither lifted up with ſucceſs, nor caſt down with misfortunes: He had a great capacity, but was ſlow in his reſolutions. The Landgrave on the other hand had much more heat, was a quicker Man, and of an impatient temper, on which the accidents of Life made deep impreſſions.

When the Emperour began to engage in this deſign, the Pope, being jealous of his greatneſs, and deſirous to entangle him in a long and expenceful War, publiſhed the ſecret ends of the League; and opened the Council in *Trent* in *Novem.* 1545. where a few Biſhops and Abbots, with his Legates preſiding over them, uſurped the moſt Glorious Title of *The moſt Holy Oecumenical Council repreſenting the Catholick Church.* They entred by ſuch ſlow ſteps, as were directed from *Rome*, into the diſcuſſion of Articles of Doctrine, which were, as they were pleaſed to call it, explained to them by ſome Divines, for moſt part Friars, who amuſed the more ignorant Biſhops with the nice ſpeculations with which they had been exerciſed in the Schools; where hard and barbarous words ſerved in good ſtead to conceal ſome things not ſo fit to be propoſed bare-faced, and in plain terms. The Emperour having done enough towards his deſign, that a Council was opened in *Germany*, endeavoured to keep them from determining Points of Doctrine, and preſſed them to examine ſome abuſes in the Government of the Church, which had, at leaſt given occaſion to that great alienation of ſo many from the See of *Rome* and the Clergy. There were alſo divers wiſe and learned Prelates, chiefly of *Spain*, who came thither, full of hopes of getting theſe abuſes redreſſed. Some of them had obſerved, That in all times, Hereſies and Schiſms did owe their chief growth to the ſcandals, the ignorance, and negligence of the Clergy, which made the Laity conceive an ill opinion of them, and ſo diſpoſed them both in inclination and intereſt to cheriſh ſuch as oppoſed them; and therefore they deſigned to have many great corruptions caſt out: and obſerving that Biſhops Non-reſidence was a chief occaſion of all thoſe evils, they endeavoured to have Reſidence declared to be of Divine Right: intending thereby to leſſen the Power of the Papacy, which was grown to that height, that they were ſlaves to that See, taxed by it at pleaſure, and the care of their Dioceſſes extorted out of their hands by the ſeveral ranks of exempted Prieſts; and alſo to raiſe the Epiſcopal Authority to what it was anciently, and to cut off all theſe encroachments which the See of *Rome* had made on them at firſt by craft, and which they ſtill maintained by their Power: But the Court of *Rome* was to loſe much by all Reformations, and ſome Cardinals openly declared, That every Reformation gave the Hereticks great advantages, and was a Confeſſion that the Church had erred, and that theſe very things ſo much complained of were the chief Nerves of the Popedom, which being cut, the greatneſs of their Court muſt needs fall: and therefore they did oppoſe all theſe motions, and were ſtill for proceeding in eſtabliſhing the Doctrine. And though the oppoſing a Decree to oblige all to Reſidence was ſo groſly ſcandalous that they were aſhamed of it, yet they intended to ſecure the greatneſs of the Court by a *Salvo* for the Popes Priviledge and Dignity in granting Diſpenſations. Theſe Proceedings at *Trent* diſcovered what was to be expected from that Council, and alarum'd all the Proteſtants to think what they were to look for, if the Emperour ſhould force them to ſubmit to the Decrees of ſuch an Aſſembly, where thoſe whom they called Hereticks could expect little, ſince the Emperour himſelf could not prevail ſo far as to obtain or hinder delays, or to give preference for Matters of Diſcipline to Points of Doctrine. So the Proteſtants met at *Frankfort*, and entred into Councils for their common ſafety, in caſe any of them ſhould be diſturbed about Religion; chiefly for preſerving the Elector of *Colen* whom the Pope had cited to *Rome* for Hereſie. They wrote to the Emperors Miniſters, That they heard from all Hands that the Emperor was raiſing great Forces, and deſigning a War againſt them; who thought themſelves ſecured by the Edict of *Spire*, and deſired nothing but the confirmation of that, and the regulation of the Imperial Chamber, as was then agreed on. A Meeting being propoſed between the Emperor and the Landgrave, the Land-

1546. *January*, Princes meet at *Frankfort*.

1547. Landgrave went to him to *Spire*, where the Emperor denied he had any deſign of a War, with which the other charged him: only he ſaid he had with great difficulty obtained a Council in *Germany*, and therefore he hoped they would ſubmit to it. But after ſome expoſtulations on both hands, the Landgrave left him; and now the thing was generally underſtood, though the Emperor did ſtill deny it, and ſaid he would make no War about Religion, but only againſt the diſturbers of the Peace of the Empire. By this means he got the Elector *Palatine* to give little or no aid to the other Princes. The Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* was become jealous of the greatneſs of *Saxe*, and ſo was at firſt Neuter, but afterwards openly declared for the Emperor. But *Maurice* the Duke of *Saxe*'s near Kinſman, who by that Dukes means was ſetled in a fair Principality, which his Unkle *George* had left him only on condition that he turned Papiſt, notwithſtanding which he got him to be poſſeſſed of it; was made uſe of by the Emperor as the beſt Inſtrument to work his ends. To him therefore he promiſed the Electoral Dignity with the Dominions belonging to the Duke of *Saxe*, if he would aſſiſt him in the War againſt his Kinſman the preſent Elector; and gave him aſſurance under his Hand and Seal, That he would make no change in Religion, but leave the Princes of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion the free exerciſe of their Religion. And thus the Emperor ſingled out the Duke of *Saxe* and the *Landgrave* from the reſt, reckoning wiſely, that if he once maſtered them, he ſhould more eaſily overcome all the reſt. He pretended ſome other quarrels againſt them, as that of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who having begun a War with his Neighbours was taken Priſoner, and his Dominions poſſeſſed by the *Landgrave*. That with ſome old Quarrels was pretended the ground of the War. Upon which the Princes publiſhed a Writing to ſhew that it was Religion only, and a ſecret deſign to ſubdue *Germany*, that was the true cauſe of the War; and thoſe alledged were ſought Pretences to excuſe ſo infamous a breach of Faith, and of the publick Decrees: that the Pope who deſigned the deſtruction of all of that Confeſſion, had ſet on the Emperor to this; who eaſily laid hold on it, that he might maſter the liberty of *Germany*. Therefore they warned all the Princes of their danger. The Emperors Forces being to be drawn together out of ſeveral Places in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, and *Boheme*, they whoſe Forces lay nearer had a great advantage if they had known how to uſe it: For in *June* they brought into the Field 70000 Foot and 15000 Horſe, and might have driven the Emperor out of *Germany*, had they proceeded vigorouſly at firſt. But the divided Command was fatal to them, for when one was for Action, the other was againſt it. So they loſt their opportunity, and gave the Emperor time to gather all his Forces about him, which were far inferior to theirs in ſtrength: but the Emperor gained by time, whereas they who had no great Treaſure loſt much. All the Summer and a great deal of the Winter was ſpent without any conſiderable Action, though the two Armies were oft in view one of another. But in the beginning of the Winter, the Emperor having proſcribed the Duke of *Saxe*, and promiſed to beſtow the Principality on *Maurice*, he fell into *Saxony*, and carried a great many of the Cities which were not prepared for any ſuch impreſſion. This made the Duke ſeparate his Army, and return to the defence of his own Country; which he quickly recovered, and drove *Maurice* almoſt out of all

1546. *June*, The Elector and Landgrave arm.

1546. *Jul.* 20. Duke of *Saxe* and Landgrave proſcribed.

Nov. 23. The Elector returns into *Saxony*.

all his own Principality. The States of *Boheme* alſo declared for the Elector of *Saxony*.

This was the ſtate of Affairs there. The Princes thought they had a good Proſpect for the next Year, having mediated a Peace between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, whoſe Forces falling into *Flanders* muſt needs have bred a great diſtraction in the Emperors Councils. But King *Henry*'s death gave them great apprehenſions, and not without cauſe. For when they ſent hither for an Aid in Money to carry on the War, the Protector and Council ſaw great dangers on both hands: if they left the *Germans* to periſh, the Emperor would be then ſo lifted up, that they might expect to have an uneaſie Neighbour of him: on the other hand it was a thing of great conſequence to engage an Infant King in ſuch a War. Therefore their Succours from hence were like to be weak and very ſlow. Howſoever the Council ordered *Paget* to aſſure them that within three or four Months they ſhould ſend 50000 Crowns to their aſſiſtance: which was to be covered thus; The Merchants of the Stil-yard were to borrow ſo much of the King, and to engage to bring home Stores to that value; they having the Money, ſhould ſend it to *Hamburg*, and ſo to the Duke of *Saxe*. But the Princes received a ſecond Blow in the loſs of *Francis* the firſt of *France*. Who having lived long in a familiarity and friendſhip with King *Henry*, not ordinary for Crowned Heads, was ſo much affected with the news of his death, that he was never ſeen cheerful after it. He made Royal Funeral Rites to be performed to his memory in the Church of *Noſtredame*: to which the Clergy (who one would have thought ſhould have been glad to have ſeen his Funerals Celebrated in any faſhion) were very averſe. But that King had emancipated himſelf to a good degree from a ſervile ſubjection to them, and would be obeyed. He out-lived the other not long, for he died the laſt of *March*. He was the chief Patron of Learned Men and advancer of Learning that had been for many Ages. He was generally unſucceſsful in his Wars, and yet a great Commander. At his death he left his Son an Advice to beware of the Brethren of *Lorain*, and to depend much on the Councellors whom he had employed. But his Son, upon his coming to the Crown, did ſo deliver himſelf up to the charms of his Miſtreſs *Diana*, that all things were ordered as Men made their Court to her; which the Miniſters that had ſerved the former King ſcorning to do, and the Brothers of the Houſe of *Lorain* doing very ſubmiſſively, the one were diſcharged of their employments, and the other governed all the Councils. *Francis* had been oft fluctuating in the buſineſs of Religion. Sometimes he had reſolved to ſhake off the Popes Obedience, and ſet up a Patriarch in *France*; and had agreed with *Henry* the *8th* to go on in the ſame Councils with him. But he was firſt diverted by his Alliance with *Clement* the *7th*; and afterwards by the Aſcendant which the Cardinal of *Tournon* had over him, who engaged him at ſeveral times into ſeverities againſt thoſe that received the Reformation. Yet he had ſuch a cloſe Eye upon the Emperors motions, that he kept a conſtant good underſtanding with the Proteſtant Princes, and had no doubt aſſiſted them if he had lived. But upon his death new Councils were taken; the Brothers of *Lorain* were furiouſly addicted to the Intereſts of the Papacy, one of them being a Cardinal, who perſwaded the King rather to begin his Reign with the recovery of *Bul-*

1546. *Jan.* 7. Peace concluded between *England* and *France*.

1557. *Mar.* 31. *Francis* I. died.

1547. *loine* out of the hands of the *Engliſh*. So that the ſtate of *Germany* was almoſt deſperate before he was aware of it. And indeed the *Germans* loſt ſo much in the death of theſe two Kings, upon whoſe aſſiſtance they had depended, that it was no wonder they were eaſily over-run by the Emperor. Some of their Allies, the Cities of *Ulm* and *Frankfort*, and the Duke of *Wittemberg*, ſubmitting themſelves to the Emperors mercy, the reſt were much diſheartned: which is a conſtant forerunner of the ruine of a Confederacy. Such was the ſtate of Religion abroad.

The deſign laid for a further Reformation at home.

At home Mens minds were much diſtracted. The People, eſpecially in Market Towns and Places of Trade, began generally to ſee into many of the corruptions of the Doctrine and Worſhip, and were weary of them; Some preached againſt ſome abuſes: *Glaſier* at *Pauls* Croſs taught, that the obſervance of *Lent* was only a Poſitive Law; others went further, and plainly condemned moſt of the former abuſes; But the Clergy were as much engaged to defend them. They were for the moſt part ſuch as had been bred in Monaſteries and Religious Houſes. For there being Penſions reſerved for the Monks, when their Houſes were ſurrendred and diſſolved, till they ſhould be otherwiſe provided; The Court of *Augmentations* took care to eaſe the King of that Charge, by recommending them to ſuch ſmall Benefices as were at the Kings diſpoſal; and ſuch as purchaſed thoſe Lands of the Crown, with that Charge of paying the Penſions to the Monks, were alſo careful to eaſe themſelves by procuring Benefices for them. The Benefices were generally very ſmall, ſo that in many Places three or four Benefices could hardly afford enough for the maintenance of one Man. And this gave ſome colour for that abuſe of one Man's having many Benefices that have a care of Souls annexed to them; and that not only where they are ſo contiguous, that the duty can be diſcharged by one, and ſo poor that the maintenance of both will ſcarce ſerve for the encouragement of one Perſon, but even where they are very remote, and of conſiderable value. This Corruption that crept in, in the dark Ages of the Church, was now practiſed in *England* out of neceſſity. By an Act made in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s time none might hold two Benefices without a Diſpenſation, but no Diſpenſation could enable one to hold three: yet that was not at this time much conſidered. The excuſes made for this were, That in ſome Places they could not find good Men for the Benefices, but in moſt Places the Livings were brought to nothing. For while the Abbies ſtood, the Abbots allowed thoſe whom they appointed to ſerve the Cure in the Churches that belonged to them, (which were in value above the half of *England*) a ſmall Stipend, or ſome little part of the Vicarage Tithes; and they were to raiſe their ſubſiſtence out of the Fees they had by the Sacraments, and other Sacramentals; and chiefly by the ſinging Maſſes for the Poor that died; for the Abbies had the profit of it from the Rich. And Maſſes went generally for 2 *d.* a Groat was thought a great Bounty. So they all concluded themſelves undone if theſe things were withdrawn. This engaged them againſt any Reformation, ſince every ſtep that was made in it took their Bread out of their Mouths. But they being generally very ignorant could oppoſe nothing with the force of Reaſon or Learning. So although they were reſolved to comply with any thing, rather than forfeit their Benefices; yet in their hearts they ab-

horred all Reformation, and murmured againſt it where they thought 1547.
they might do it ſafely; ſome preached as much for the old abuſes, as others did againſt them. Dr. *Peru* at St. *Andrews Underſhaft* juſtified the Worſhip of Images on the 23*d* of *April:* yet on the 19*th* of *June* he preached a Recantation of that Sermon. Beſides theſe, there were great Prelates, as *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonſtall*, whoſe long experience in Affairs, they being oft employed in Forreign Ambaſſies, together with their high preferment, gave them great Authority; and they were againſt all Alterations in Religion. But that was not ſo decent to profeſs, therefore they ſet up on this pretence, That till the King, their Supream Head, were of Age, ſo as to conſider things himſelf, all ſhould continue in the ſtate in which King *Henry* had left them: and theſe depended on the Lady *Mary* the Kings eldeſt Siſter as their Head, who now profeſſed her ſelf to be in all Points for what her Father had done: and was very earneſt to have every thing Enacted by him, but chiefly the ſix Articles, to continue in force.

On the other hand *Crvnmer*, being now delivered from that too awful ſubjection that he had been held under by King *Henry*, reſolved to go on more vigorouſly in purging out abuſes. He had the Protector firmly united to him in this deſign. Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, who were about the young King, were alſo very careful to infuſe right Principles of Religion into him; and as he was very capable of underſtanding what was laid before him, ſo he had an early liking to all good and generous Principles; and was of ſo excellent a temper of mind, that as he naturally loved Truth, ſo the great probity of his Manners made him very inclinable to love and cheriſh true Religion. *Cranmer* had alſo ſeveral Biſhops of his ſide; *Holgate* of *York*, *Holbeach* of *Lincoln*, *Goodrick* of *Ely*, and above all *Ridley* Elect of *Rocheſter*, deſigned for that See by King *Henry*, but not Conſecrated till *September* this Year. Old *Latimer* was now diſcharged of his Impriſonment, but had no mind to return to a more publick Station, and did chooſe rather to live private, and employ himſelf in Preaching. He was kept by *Cranmer* at *Lambeth*, where he ſpent the reſt of his days, till he was impriſoned in Queen *Maries* time, and attained the glorious end of his innocent and pious Life. But the apprehenſions of his being reſtored again to his old Biſhoprick, put *Heath*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, into great anxieties; ſometimes he thought if he conſented to the Reformation, then *Latimer*, who left his Biſhoprick on the account of the ſix Articles, muſt be reſtored, and this made him joyn with the Popiſh Party; at other times, when he ſaw the Houſe of Commons moved to have *Latimer* put in again, then he joyned in the Councils for the Reformation, to ſecure Friends to himſelf by that compliance. Journal of the Houſe of Commons. Others of the Biſhops were ignorant and weak Men, who underſtood Religion little, and valued it leſs; and ſo, although they liked the old Superſtition beſt, becauſe it encouraged Ignorance moſt, and that was the only ſure Support of their Power and Wealth, yet they reſolved to ſwim with the Stream. It was deſigned by *Cranmer* and his Friends to carry on the Reformation but by ſlow and ſafe degrees, not hazarding too much at once. They truſted in the Providence of God, that he would aſſiſt them in ſo good a Work. They knew the corruptions they were to throw out to be ſuch that they ſhould eaſily ſatisfie the People with what they did, and they had many Learned

1547.

A Viſitation is made over *England*.

Collection Number 7.

Men among them who had now for divers years been examining theſe matters. There were alſo many that declared they had heard the late King expreſs his great regret for leaving the ſtate of Religion in ſo unſetled a condition; and that he had reſolved to have changed the Maſs into a Communion, beſides many other things. And in the Act of Parliament which he had procured, (ſee *Pag.* 263. firſt *Part*) for giving force and Authority to his Proclamations, a Proviſo was added; That his Sons Councellors while he ſhould be under Age might ſet out Proclamations of the ſame Authority with theſe which were made by the King himſelf. This gave them a full Power to proceed in that Work; in which they reſolved to follow the method begun by the late King of ſending Viſitors over *England* with Injunctions and Articles. They ordered them ſix ſeveral Circuits or Precincts. The firſt was *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Norwich*, and *Ely*. The ſecond *Rocheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, and *Wincheſter*. The third *Sarum*, *Exeter*, *Bath*, *Briſtol*, and *Gloceſter*. The fourth *York*, *Durham*, *Carliſle*, and *Cheſter*. The fifth *Peterborough*, *Lincoln*, *Oxford*, *Coventry*, and *Litchfield*. And the ſixth *Wales*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*. For every Circuit there were two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Regiſter. They were deſigned to be ſent out in the beginning of *May*, as appears by a Letter to be found in the *Collection*, written the fourth of *May* to the Arch-biſhop of *York*. (There is alſo in the Regiſters of *London* another of the ſame ſtrain.) Yet the Viſitation being put off for ſome Months, this Inhibition was ſuſpended on the *16th* of *May*, till it ſhould be again renued. The Letter ſets forth, That the King being ſpeedily to order a Viſitation over his whole Kingdom, therefore neither the Arch-biſhop nor any other ſhould exerciſe any juriſdiction while that Viſitation laſted. And ſince the minds of the People were held in great ſuſpence by the Controverſies they heard ſo variouſly toſſed in the Pulpits, that for quieting theſe the King did require all Biſhops to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that all other Clergy-men ſhould not preach but in their Collegiate or Parochial Churches, unleſs they obtained a ſpecial Licence from the King to that effect. The deſign of this was to make a diſtinction between ſuch as preached for the Reformation of abuſes, and ſuch as did it not. The one were to be encouraged by Licences to preach whereever they deſired to do it, but the others were reſtrained to the Places where they were Incumbents. But that which of all other things did moſt damp thoſe who deſigned the Reformation, was the miſery to which they ſaw the Clergy reduced, and the great want of able Men to propagate it over *England*. For the Rents of the Church were either ſo ſwallowed up by the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes, to whom the Tithes were generally appropriated, or ſo baſely alienated by ſome lewd or ſuperſtitious Incumbents, who, to preſerve themſelves, being otherwiſe obnoxious, or to purchaſe Friends, had given away the beſt part of their Revenues and Benefices; that there was very little encouragement left for thoſe that ſhould labour in the Work of the Goſpel. And though many Projects were thought on for remedying this great abuſe, yet thoſe were all ſo powerfully oppoſed, that there was no hope left of getting it remedied, till the King ſhould come to be of Age, and be able by his Authority to procure the Church-men a more proportioned maintenance.

1547.

Some Homilies compiled.

Two things only remained to be done at preſent. The one was to draw up ſome *Homilies* for the inſtruction of the People, which might ſupply the defects of their Incumbents, together with the providing them with ſuch Books as might lead them into the underſtanding of the Scripture. The other was to ſelect the moſt eminent Preachers they could find and ſend them over *England* with the Viſitors, who ſhould with more Authority inſtruct the Nation in the Principles of Religion. Therefore ſome were appointed to compile thoſe *Homilies*; and Twelve were at firſt agreed on, being about thoſe Arguments which were in themſelves of the greateſt importance. The 1*ſt* was about the uſe of the Scriptures. The 2*d* of the miſery of Mankind by ſin. 3*d*. Of their Salvation by Chriſt. 4*th*. Of True and Lively Faith. 5*th*. Of Good Works. 6*th*. Of Chriſtian Love and Charity. 7*th*. Againſt Swearing, and chiefly Perjury. 8*th*. Againſt Apoſtacy, or declining from God. 9*th*. Againſt the fear of Death. 10*th*. An Exhortation to Obedience. 11*th*. Againſt Whoredom and Adultery, ſetting forth the ſtate of Marriage how neceſſary and honourable it was. And the 12*th* againſt Contention, chiefly about Matters of Religion. They intended to ſet out more afterwards, but theſe were all that were at this time finiſhed. The chief deſign in them was to acquaint the People with the method of Salvation according to the Goſpel; in which there were two dangerous Extremes at that time that had divided the World. The greateſt part of the ignorant Commons ſeemed to conſider their Prieſts as a ſort of People who had ſuch a ſecret trick of ſaving their Souls, as Mountebanks pretend in the curing of Diſeaſes; and that there was nothing to be done but to leave themſelves in their hands, and the buſineſs could not miſcarry. This was the chief Baſis and ſupport of all that ſuperſtition which was ſo prevalent over the Nation. The other Extreme was of ſome corrupt Goſpellers, who thought if they magnified Chriſt much, and depended on his Merits and Interceſſion, they could not periſh, which way ſoever they led their Lives. In theſe Homilies therefore ſpecial care was taken to rectifie theſe errors. And the Salvation of Mankind was on the one hand wholly aſcribed to the Death and Sufferings of Chriſt, to which Sinners were taught to fly, and to truſt to it only, and to no other devices for the pardon of ſin. They were at the ſame time taught that there was no Salvation through Chriſt, but to ſuch as truly repented, and lived according to the Rules of the Goſpel. The whole matter was ſo ordered to teach them, that avoiding the hurtful errors on both hands, they might all know the true and certain way of attaining Eternal Happineſs. For the underſtanding the New Teſtament *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, was thought the moſt profitable and eaſieſt Book. Therefore it was reſolved, that together with the Bible there ſhould be one of theſe in every Pariſh-Church over *England*. They next conſidered the Articles and Injunctions that ſhould be given to the Viſitors. The greateſt part of them were only the renewing what had been ordered by King *Henry* during *Cromwel*'s being Vicegerent, which had been much neglected ſince his fall. For as there was no Vicegerent, ſo there was few Viſitations appointed after his death by the Kings Authority; but the executing former Injunctions was left to the ſeveral Biſhops, who were for the moſt part more careful about the ſix Articles, than about the Injunctions.

1547

Articles and Injunctions for the Viſitation.

“So now all the Orders about renouncing the Popes Power, and aſſerting the Kings Supremacy, about Preaching, teaching the Elements of Religion in the Vulgar Tongue, about the Benefices of the Clergy, and the Taxes on them for the Poor, for Scholars, and their Manſion-Houſes, with the other Injunctions for the ſtrictneſs of Church-mens Lives, and againſt Superſtitions, Pilgrimages, Images, or other Rites of that kind, and for Regiſter-Books, were renewed. And to theſe, many others were added: as, That Curates ſhould take down ſuch Images as they knew were abuſed by Pilgrimages or Offerings to them; but that private Perſons ſhould not do it. That in the Confeſſions in *Lent* they ſhould examine all People whether they could recite the Elements of Religion in the *Engliſh* Tongue. That at High-Maſs they ſhould read the Epiſtle and Goſpel in *Engliſh*, and every *Sunday* and Holy-day they ſhould read at Mattins one Chapter out of the New Teſtament, and at Even-ſong another out of the Old in *Engliſh*. That the Curates ſhould often viſit the Sick, and have many places of the Scripture in *Engliſh* in readineſs wherewith to comfort them. That there ſhould be no more Proceſſions about Churches, for avoiding contention for precedence in them. And that the Letany formerly ſaid in the Proceſſions, ſhould be ſaid thereafter in the Quire in *Engliſh*, as had been ordered by the late King. That the Holy-day being inſtituted at firſt that Men ſhould give themſelves wholly to God, yet God was generally more diſhonoured upon it than on the other days, by idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and quarrelling, the People thinking that they ſufficiently honoured God by hearing Maſs and Mattins, though they underſtood nothing of it to their edifying; therefore thereafter the Holy-day ſhould be ſpent, according to Gods Holy Will, in hearing and reading his Holy Word, in publick and private Prayers, in amending their Lives, receiving the Communion, Viſiting the Sick, and reconciling themſelves to their Neighbours. Yet the Curates were to declare to their People, that in Harveſt-time they might upon the Holy and Feſtival-days labour in their Harveſt: That Curates were to admit none to the Communion, who were not reconciled to their Neighbours: That all dignified Clergy-men ſhould preach perſonally twice a year. That the People ſhould be taught not to deſpiſe any of the Ceremonies not yet abrogated, but to beware of the Superſtition of ſprinkling their Beds with Holy Water, or the ringing of Bells, or uſing of Bleſſed Candles for driving away Devils. That all Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be removed out of the Walls or Windows of Churches, and that there ſhould be a Pulpit in every Church for preaching: That there ſhould be a Cheſt with a hole in it for the receiving the Oblations of the People for the Poor, and that the People ſhould be exhorted to Almſ-giving as much more profitable than what they formerly beſtowed on Superſtitious Pilgrimages, Trentals, and decking of Images. That all Patrons who diſpoſed of their Livings by Simoniacal Pactions ſhould forfeit their Right for that vacancy to the King. That the Homilies ſhould be read. That Prieſts ſhould be uſed charitably and reverently for their Office ſake. That no other Primer ſhould be uſed but that ſet out by King *Henry*. That the Prime and the Hours ſhould be omitted where there was a Sermon or Homily. That they ſhould in Bidding the Prayers remember the King their Supream Head, the Queen Dowa-

“ ger, the Kings two Siſters, the Lord Protector, and the Council, the Lords, the Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm; and to pray for Souls departed this life, that at the laſt day we with them may reſt both Body and Soul. All which Injunctions were to be obſerved, under the pains of Excommunication, Sequeſtration, or Deprivation, as the Ordinaries ſhould anſwer it to the King, the Juſtices of Peace being required to aſſiſt them.

Injunctions to the Biſhops.

Beſides theſe, there were other Injunctions given to the Biſhops. “ That they ſhould ſee the former put in execution, and ſhould preach four times a year in their Dioceſſes: once at their Cathedral, and three times in other Churches, unleſs they had a reaſonable excuſe for their omiſſion. That their Chaplains ſhould be able to preach Gods Word, and ſhould be made labour oft in it: That they ſhould give Orders to none but ſuch as would do the ſame; and if any did otherwiſe, that they ſhould puniſh him, and recall their Licence. Theſe are the chief Heads of the Injunctions, which being ſo often printed, I ſhall refer the Reader that would conſider them more carefully, to the Collection of theſe and other ſuch curious things made by the Right Reverend Father in God *Anthony Sparrow* now Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Theſe were much cenſured.

Theſe being publiſhed, gave occaſion to thoſe who cenſured all things of that nature to examine them.

The removing Images that had been abuſed, gave great occaſion of quarrel; and the thing being to be done by the Clergy only, it was not like that they, who lived chiefly by ſuch things, would be very zealous in the removing them. Yet on the other hand, it was thought neceſſary to ſet ſome reſtraints to the heats of the People, who were otherwiſe apt to run too far where Bounds were not ſet to them.

The Article about the ſtrict obſervance of the *Holy-day* ſeemed a little doubtful, whether by the Holy-day was to be underſtood, only the Lords-day, or that and all other Church-Feſtivals. The naming it ſingularly the *Holy-day*, and in the end of that Article adding Feſtival-days to the Holy-day, ſeemed to favour their opinion that thought this ſtrict obſervance of the Holy-day was particularly intended for the Lords-day, and not for the other Feſtivals. And indeed the ſetting aſide of large portions of time on that day for our Spiritual Edification, and for the Service of God, both in publick and private, is ſo neceſſary for the advancement of true Piety, that great and good effects muſt needs follow on it. But ſome came afterwards, who not content to preſs great ſtrictneſs on that day, would needs make a Controverſie about the Morality of it, and about the fourth Commandment, and framed many Rules for it, which were ſtricter than themſelves or any other could keep, and ſo could only load Mens Conſciences with many ſcruples. This drew an oppoſition from others who could not agree to theſe ſeverities, and theſe Conteſts were, by the ſubtilty of the Enemies of the Power and Progreſs of Religion ſo improved, that in ſtead of all Mens obſerving that time devoutly as they ought, ſome took occaſion from the ſtrictneſs of their own way, to cenſure all as irreligious, who did not in every thing agree to their notion concerning it: Others by the heat of contradiction did too much ſlacken this great Bond and Inſtrument of Religion; which is ſince brought under ſo much neglect, that it is for moſt part a

1547. day only of Reſt from Mens bodily labours, but perhaps worſe employed than if they were at work: So hard a thing it is to keep the due mean, between the Extremes of Superſtition on the one hand, and of Irreligion on the other.

The corruption of Lay-Patrons in their Simoniacal Bargains, was then ſo notorious, that it was neceſſary to give a Check to it, as we find there was by theſe Injunctions. But whether either this, or the Oath afterwards appointed to be taken, has effectually delivered this Church of that great abuſe, I ſhall not determine. If thoſe who beſtow Benefices, did conſider, that the charge of Souls being annexed to them, they ſhall anſwer to God ſeverely for putting ſo ſacred a Truſt in mean or ill hands, upon any baſe or ſervile accounts, it would make them look a little more carefully to a thing of ſo high conſequence; and neither expoſe ſo holy a thing to ſale, nor gratifie a Friend or Servant by granting them the next Advowſon, or be too eaſily overcome with the ſollicitations of impudent Pretenders.

The Form of Bidding Prayer was not begun by King *Henry*, as ſome have weakly imagined; but was uſed in the times of Popery, as will appear by the Form of *Bidding the Beads* in King *Henry* the 7*th*'s time, which will be found in the *Collection*. Where the way was, firſt for the Preacher to name and open his Text, and then to call on the People to go to their Prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for; after which, all the People ſaid their Beads in a general ſilence, and the Miniſter kneeled down likewiſe, and ſaid his. All the change King *Henry* the 8*th* made in this, was, That the Pope and Cardinals names being left out, he was ordered to be mentioned with the addition of his Title of *Supream Head*, that the People hearing that oft repeated by their Prieſts, might be better perſwaded about it, but his other Titles were not mentioned. And this Order was now renewed. Only the Prayer for departed Souls was changed from what it had been. It was formerly in theſe words. "Ye ſhall pray for the Souls that be departed, abiding "the Mercy of Almighty God, that it may pleaſe him, the rather at the "contemplation of our Prayers, to grant them the Fruition of his Pre-"ſence; which did imply their being in a ſtate where they did not enjoy the Preſence of God; which was avoided by the more general words now preſcribed.

Collection Number 8.

The Injunctions given the Biſhops directed them to that which, if followed carefully, would be the moſt effectual means of Reforming, at leaſt the next Age, if not that wherein they lived. For if Holy Orders were given to none, but to thoſe who are well qualified, and ſeem to be internally called by a Divine Vocation, the Church muſt ſoon put on a new face: whereas, when Orders are too eaſily given, upon the credit of emendicated Recommendations, or Titles, and after a ſlight trial of the knowledge of ſuch Candidates, without any exact ſcrutiny into their ſenſe of things, or into the diſpoſition of their minds; no wonder if by the means of Clergy-men ſo ordained, the Church loſe much in the eſteem and love of the People, who being poſſeſſed with prejudices againſt the whole Society for the faults which they ſee in particular Perſons, become an eaſie prey to ſuch as divide from it.

1547.
Auguſt.

The Protector went into *Scotland.*

Thus were the Viſitors inſtructed, and ſent out to make their Circuits, in *Auguſt*, about the time that the Protector made his Expedition into *Scotland*. For the occaſion of it I ſhall refer the Reader to what is already ſaid in the former part of this Work. Before they engaged deeper in the War, Sir *Francis Brian* was ſent over to *France*, to congratulate the new King, and to ſee if he would confirm theſe Propoſitions that were agreed to during his Fathers life; and if he would pay the Penſion that was to be given yearly till *Bulloigne* were reſtored; and chiefly to obtain of him to be neutral in the War of *Scotland:* complaining of that Nation that had broken their Faith with *England* in the matter of the Marriage. To all which the *French* King anſwered, That for theſe Articles they mentioned he thought it diſhonourable for him to confirm them; and ſaid his Fathers Agent *Poligny* had no Warrant to yield to them, for by them the *Engliſh* were at liberty to fortifie what they had about *Bulloigne*, which he would never conſent to; That he was willing to pay what was agreed to by his Father, but would have firſt the conditions of the delivery of *Bulloigne* made more clear; As for the *Scots*, they were his perpetual Allies, whom he could not forſake if they were in any diſtreſs. And when it was preſſed on him, and his Ambaſſador at *London*, That *Scotland* was ſubject to the Crown of *England*, they had no regard to it. When the Council deſired the *French* Ambaſſador to look on the Records which they ſhould bring him for proving their Title: He excuſed himſelf, and ſaid his Maſter would not interpoſe in a Queſtion of that nature, nor would he look back to what was pretended to have been done two or three hundred years ago; but was to take things as he found them; and that the *Scots* had Records likewiſe to prove their being a free Kingdom. So the Council ſaw they could not engage in the War with *Scotland*, without drawing on a War with *France*; which made them try their Intereſt with their Friends this year to ſee if the Marriage could be obtained. But the Caſtle of St. *Andrews* was now loſt by the aſſiſtance of that *Leo Strozi* brought from *France*. And though they in *England* continued to ſend Penſions to their Party, (for in *May* 1300 *l.* was ſent down by *Henry Balnaves*, and in *June* 125 *l.* was ſent to the Earl of *Glencairn* for an half years payment of his Penſion) yet they could gain no ground there; for the *Scots* now thought themſelves ſafer than formerly; the Crown of *England* being in the hands of a Child, and the Court of *France* being much governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. They gave way to the Borderers to make In-rodes; of whom about 2000 fell into the Weſtern Marches, and made great Depredations. The *Scots* in *Ireland* were alſo very ill Neighbours to the *Engliſh* there. There were many other Complaints of Pyracies at Sea, and of a Ship-Royal that robbed many *Engliſh* Ships; but how theſe came to be complained of, I do not ſee, for they were in open War, and I do not find any Truce had been made. The *French* Agent at *London* preſſed much that there might be a Treaty on the Borders before the Breach were made wider. But now the Protector had given Orders for raiſing an Army; ſo that he had no mind to loſe that Summer. Yet to let the *French* King ſee how careful they were of preſerving his Friendſhip, they appointed the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, to give the *Scotch* Commiſſioners a Meeting on the Borders the 4*th* of *Auguſt:* but with theſe ſecret Inſtructions, That if the

Thuanus.

Queſtions made, whether *Scotland* was a free Kingdom or Subject to *England.*

1547. the *Scots* would confirm the Marriage, all other things ſhould be preſently forgiven, and Peace be immediately made up; but if they were not empow'red in that particular, and offered only to treat about Reſtitutions, that then they ſhould immediately break off the Treaty. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* was alſo ordered to carry down with him the Exemplifications of many Records, to prove the Subjection of the Crown of *Scotland* to *England*: ſome of theſe are ſaid to have been under the Hands and Seals of their Kings, their Nobles, their Biſhops, Abbots, and Towns. He was alſo ordered to ſearch for all the Records that were lying at *Dureſme*, where many of them were kept, to be ready to be ſhewed to the *Scots* upon any occaſion that might require it. The Meeting on the Borders came to a quick iſſue, for the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners had no Power to treat about the Marriage. But *Tonſtall* ſearching the Regiſters of his See, found many Writings of great conſequence to clear that Subjection, of which the Reader will ſee an account, in a Letter he writ to the Council, in the *Collection* of Papers. The moſt remarkable of theſe was, the Collection Number 9. Homage King *William* of *Scotland* made to *Henry* the ſecond, by which he granted, That all the Nobles of his Realm ſhould be his Subjects, and do Homage to him: and that all the Biſhops of *Scotland* ſhould be under the Arch-biſhops of *York*: and that the King of *England* ſhould give all the Abbeys and Honours in *Scotland*, at the leaſt they ſhould not be given without his conſent, with many other things of the like nature. It was ſaid that the Monks in thoſe days, who generally kept the Records, were ſo accuſtomed to the forging of Stories and Writings, that little credit was to be given to ſuch Records as lay in their keeping. But having ſo faithfully acknowledged what was alledged againſt the freedom of *Scotland*, I may be allowed to ſet down a Proof on the other ſide, for my Native Country, copied from the Original Writing yet extant under the Hands and Seals of many of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom. It is a Letter to the Pope: and it was ordinary that of ſuch publick Letters there were Duplicates Signed; The one of which was ſent, and the other laid up among the Records, of which I have met with ſeveral Inſtances. So that of this Letter the Copy which was reſerved being now in Noble Hands, was communicated to me, and is in the *Collection*. It was upon the Popes engaging with the King of Collection Number 10. *England* to aſſiſt him to ſubdue *Scotland* that they writ to him, and did aſſert moſt directly that their Kingdom was at all times free and independent. But now theſe Queſtions being waved, the other difference about the Marriage was brought to a ſharper deciſion.

Aug. 21. On the 21*ſt* of *Auguſt* the Protector took out a Commiſſion to be General, and to make War on *Scotland*: and did devolve his Power during his abſence on the Privy Council; and appointed his Brother to be Lord-Lieutenant for the *South*, and the Earl of *Warwick* (whom he carried with him) Lord-Lieutenant for the *North*; and left a Commiſſion of Array to the Marqueſs of *Northampton* for *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; to the Earl of *Arundel*, for *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Hampſhire*, and *Wiltſhire*; and to Sir *Thom. Cheyney* for *Kent*. All this was in caſe of any Invaſion from *France*. Having thus ſetled Affairs during his abſence, he ſet out for *Newcaſtle*, having ordered his Troops to march thither Aug. 27. before: and coming thither on the 27*th* of that Month, he ſaw his Ar- 28. my muſtered on the 28*th*, and marched forward to *Scotland*. The

Lord

1547.

Sept. 2.

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Sept. 9.

Lord *Clinton* commanded the Ships that ſailed on as the Army marched; which was done, that Proviſions and Ammunition might be brought by them from *Newcaſtle* or *Berwick*, if the Enemy ſhould at any time fall in behind their Army. He entred into *Scotch* Ground the ſecond of *September*, and advanced to the *Paths* the 5*th*, where the Paſſage being narrow and untoward, they looked for an Enemy to have diſputed it, but found none; the *Scots* having only broken the Ways, which in that dry Seaſon ſignified not much, but to ſtop them ſome hours in their March. When they had paſſed theſe, ſome little Caſtles, *Dunglas*, *Thornton*, and *Innerwick*, having but a few ill provided Men in them, rendred to them. On the 9*th* they came to *Falſide*, where there was a long Fight in ſeveral Parties, in which there were 1300 of the *Scots* ſlain. And now they were in ſight of the *Scotch* Army, which was for numbers of Men one of the greateſt that they had ever brought together, conſiſting of 30000 Men: of which 10000 were commanded by the Governour, 8000 by the Earl of *Angus*, 8000 by the Earl of *Huntley*, and 4000 by the Earl of *Argile*, with a fair Train of Artillery, nine Braſs, and 21 Iron Guns. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted of about 15000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, but all well appointed. The *Scots* were now heated with the old National Quarrel to *England*. It was given out that the Protector was come with his Army to carry away their Queen, and to enſlave the Kingdom. And for the encouraging of the Army it was alſo ſaid, that 12 Gallies and 50 Ships were on the Sea from *France*, and that they looked for them every day.

The Protectors Offers to the *Scots*.

The Protector finding an Army brought together ſo ſoon, and ſo much greater than he expected, began to be in ſome apprehenſion, and therefore he writ to the *Scots* to this effect: That they ſhould remember they were both Chriſtians, and ſo ſhould be tender of the effuſion of ſo much Blood; that this War was not made with any deſign, but for a perpetual Peace, by the Marriage of their two Princes which they had already agreed, and given their publick Faith upon it; and that the *Scots* were to be much more gainers by it than the *Engliſh*: The Iſland ſeemed made for one Empire; It was pity it ſhould be more diſtracted with ſuch Wars, when there was ſo fair and juſt a way offered for uniting it: and it was much better for them to marry their Queen to a Prince of the ſame Language, and on the ſame Continent, than to a Forreigner: but if they would not agree to that, he offered that their Queen ſhould be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the *French*, nor to any other Forreigner, till ſhe came of Age, that by the conſent of the Eſtates ſhe might chooſe a Husband for her ſelf. If they would agree to this, he would immediately return with his Army out of *Scotland*, and make ſatisfaction for the damages the Country had ſuffered by the Invaſion. This Propoſition ſeems to juſtifie what the *Scotch* Writers ſay, though none of the *Engliſh* mention it, That the Protector, what for want of Proviſions, and what from the apprehenſions he had of ſo numerous an Army of the *Scots*, was in great ſtraits, and intended to have returned back to *England*, without hazarding an Engagement. But the *Scots* thought they were ſo much ſuperior to the *Engliſh*, and that they had them now at ſuch a diſadvantage, that they reſolved to fall upon them next day. And that the fair offers made by the Protector might not raiſe diviſion among them,

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1547.

Rejected by them.

the Governour having communicated theſe to a few whom he truſted, was by their advice perſwaded to ſuppreſs them; but he ſent a Trumpeter to the *Engliſh* Army with an Offer to ſuffer them to return without falling upon them: which the Protector had reaſon to reject, knowing that ſo mean an Action in the beginning of his Adminiſtration, would have quite ruined his Reputation. But to this, another that came with the Trumpeter added a Meſſage from the Earl of *Huntley*, That the Protector and he with ten or twenty of a ſide, or ſingly, ſhould decide the Quarrel by their Perſonal Valour. The Protector ſaid, This was no private Quarrel, and the Truſt he was in obliged him not to expoſe himſelf in ſuch a way: and therefore he was to fight no other way but at the Head of his Army. But the Earl of *Warwick* offered to accept the Challenge. The Earl of *Huntley* ſent no ſuch Challenge, as he afterwards purged himſelf when he heard of it. For as it was unreaſonable for him to expect the Protector ſhould have anſwered it, ſo it had been an affronting the Governour of *Scotland* to have taken it off of his hands, ſince he was the only Perſon that might have challenged the Protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter was, a Gentleman that went along with the Trumpeter, made him do it without Warrant, fancying the Anſwer to it would have taken up ſome time, in which he might have viewed the Enemies Camp.

Sept. 10.

The Battel of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh.*

On the 10*th* of *September* the two Armies drew out, and fought in the Field of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*. The *Engliſh* had the advantage of the Ground. And in the beginning of the Action, a Canon Ball from one of the *Engliſh* Ships killed the Lord *Grames* eldeſt Son, and 25 Men more; which put the Earl of *Argiles* Highlanders into ſuch a fright, that they could not be held in order. But after a Charge given by the Earl of *Angus*, in which the *Engliſh* loſt ſome few Men, the *Scots* gave ground; and the *Engliſh* obſerving that, and breaking in furiouſly upon them, the *Scots* threw down their Arms and fled: The *Engliſh* purſued hard, and

A great defeat given the *Scots.*

ſlew them without mercy. There were reckoned to be killed about 14000 and 1500 taken Priſoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and 500 Gentlemen; and all the Artillery was taken. This loſs quite diſheartned the *Scots*, ſo that they all retir'd to *Strivling*, and left the whole Country to the Protectors mercy. Who the next day went and took *Lieth*, and the Soldiers in the Ships burnt ſome of the Sea-Towns of *Fife*, and re-took ſome *Engliſh* Ships that had been taken by the *Scots*, and burnt the reſt. They alſo put a Garriſon in the Iſle of St. *Columba* in the *Frith* of about 200 Soldiers, and left two Ships to wait on them. He alſo ſent the Earl of *Warwick*'s Brother Sir *Ambroſe Dudley* to take *Broughty*, a Caſtle in the Mouth of *Tay*; in which he put 200 Soldiers. He waſted *Edenburgh*, and uncovered the Abbey of *Holyrood-houſe*, and carried away the Lead and the Bells belonging to it. But he neither took the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, nor did he go on to *Strivling* where the Queen with the ſtraglers of the Army lay. And it was thought, that in the conſternation wherein the late defeat had put them, every Place would have yielded to him. But he had ſome private reaſons that preſſed his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and ſo gave the *Scots* time to bring Succours out of *France*; whereas he might eaſily have made an end of the War now at once, if he had followed his ſucceſs vigorouſly. The Earl of *Warwick*, who had a great ſhare in the Honour

1547.

Honour of the Victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminiſh the Protectors glory, which had been otherwiſe raiſed to an unmeaſurable height, was not diſpleaſed at it. So on the 18*th* of *September* the Protector drew his Army back into *England*, and having received a Meſſage from the Queen and the Governour of *Scotland* offering a Treaty, he ordered them to ſend Commiſſioners to *Berwick* to treat with thoſe he ſhould appoint. As he returned through the *Merch*, and *Teviotdale*, all the chief Men in theſe Counties came in to him, and took an Oath to King *Edward*, the Form whereof will be found in the *Collection*, and delivered into his hands all the Places of ſtrength in their Counties. He left a Garriſon of 200 in *Home* Caſtle, under the Command of Sir *Edw. Dudley*; and fortified *Roxburgh*, where, for encouraging the reſt, he wrought two hours with his own hands, and put 300 Soldiers and 200 Pioneers into it, giving Sir *Ralph Bulmer* the Command. At the ſame time the Earl of *Lennox* and the Lord *Wharton* made an in-road by the Weſt Marches; but with little effect.

Sept. 18.

Collection Number II.

On the 29*th* of *September* the Protector returned into *England* full of Honour, having in all that Expedition loſt not above 60 Men, as one that then writ the account of it ſays: The *Scotch* Writers ſay he loſt between 2 and 300. He had taken 80 Piece of Canon, and bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom by the Garriſons he left in them; and had left many Garriſons in the ſtrong Places on the Frontier. And now it may be eaſily imagined how much this raiſed his reputation in *England*; ſince Men commonly make Auguries of the Fortune of their Rulers, from the Succeſſes of the firſt Deſigns they undertake. So now they remembred what he had done formerly in *Scotland*; and how he had in *France* with 7000 Men, raiſed the *French* Army of 20000 that was ſet down before *Bulloigne*, and had forced them to leave their Ordnance, Baggage, and Tents, with the loſs of one Man only in the year 1544, and that next year he had fallen into *Picardy*, and built *New-haven* with two other Forts there. So that they all expected great ſucceſs under his Government. And indeed if the breach between his Brother and him, with ſome other errors, had not loſt him the advantages he now had, this proſperous Action had laid the foundation of great Fortunes to him.

Sept. 29. The Protector returned to *England*.

He left the Earl of *Warwick* to treat with thoſe that ſhould be ſent from *Scotland*. But none came; for that Propoſition had been made only to gain time. The Queen Mother there, was not ill pleaſed to ſee the intereſt of the Governour ſo much impaired by that misfortune, and perſwaded the chief Men of that Kingdom to caſt themſelves wholly into the Arms of *France*, and to offer their young Queen to the Dolphin, and to think of no Treaty with the *Engliſh*. So the Earl of *Warwick* returned to *London*, having no ſmall ſhare in the Honour of this Expedition. He was Son to that *Dudley*, who was attainted and executed the firſt year of King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign. But whether it was that the King afterwards repented of his ſeverity to the Father, or that he was taken with the qualities of the Son, he raiſed him by many degrees to be Admiral and Viſcount *Liſle*. He had defended *Bulloigne*, when it was in no good condition, againſt the Dolphin, whoſe Army was believed 50000 ſtrong; and when the *French* had carried the Baſſetown, he recovered it, and killed 800 of their Men: The Year after that, being in

1547. Command at Sea, he offered the *French* Fleet Battel; which they declining, he made a deſcent upon *Normandy* with 5000 Men, and having burnt, and ſpoiled, a great deal, he returned to his Ships with the loſs only of one Man. And he ſhewed he was as fit for a Court as a Camp; For being ſent over to the *French* Court upon the Peace, he appeared there with much Splendour, and came off with great Honour. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, had not inſatiable ambition with profound diſſimulation ſtained his other Noble Qualities.

The Viſitors execute the Injunctions.

Acts and Monuments.

But they were not well received by *Bonner*.

Collection Number 12.

Nor by *Gardiner*.

Collection Number 13.

Sept. 15.

The Protector at his return was adviſed preſently to meet the Parliament, (for which the Writs had been ſent out before he went into *Scotland*) now that he was ſo covered with Glory, to get himſelf eſtabliſhed in his Authority, and to do thoſe other things which required a Seſſion. He found the Viſitors had performed their Viſitation, and all had given obedience. And thoſe who expounded the ſecret Providences of God, with an Eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this; that on the ſame day in which the Viſitors removed, and deſtroyed, moſt of the Images in *London*, their Armies were ſo ſucceſsful in *Scotland* in *Pinkey* Field. It is too common to all Men to magnifie ſuch Events much, when they make for them; but if they are againſt them, they turn it off by this, That Gods Ways are paſt finding out. So partially do Men argue where they are once engaged. *Bonner* and *Gardiner* had ſhewed ſome diſlike of the Injunctions. *Bonner* received them with a Proteſtation, that he would obſerve them, if they were not contrary to Gods Law and the Ordinances of the Church. Upon which Sir *Anthony Cook*, and the other Viſitors, complained to the Council. So *Bonner* was ſent for, where he offered a ſubmiſſion, but full of vain *Quiddities*, (ſo it is expreſſed in the Council-Book,) But they not accepting of that, he made ſuch a full one as they deſired, which is in the *Collection*. Yet for giving terror to others he was ſent to lie for ſome time in the Priſon called the *Fleet*. *Gardiner* ſeeing the *Homilies*, was alſo reſolved to proteſt againſt them. Sir *John Godſalve*, who was one of the Viſitors, wrote to him not to ruine himſelf, nor loſe his Biſhoprick by ſuch an Action. To whom he wrote a Letter, that has more of a Chriſtian, and of a Biſhop in it, than any thing I ever ſaw of his. He expreſſes in handſome terms a great contempt of the World, and a reſolution to ſuffer any thing rather than depart from his Conſcience. Beſides that, (as he ſaid) the things being againſt Law, he would not deliver up the Liberties of his Country, but would petition againſt them. This Letter will be found in the *Collection*, for I am reſolved to ſuppreſs nothing of conſequence on what ſide ſoever it may be. On the 25*th* of *September* it being informed to the Council, that *Gardiner* had written to ſome of that Board, and had ſpoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the Kings Viſitation; and that he intended to refuſe to ſet forth the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*; he was ſent for to the Council. Where being examined, he ſaid, he thought they were contrary to the Word of God, and that his Conſcience would not ſuffer him to obſerve them. He excepted to one of the *Homilies* that it exclude Charity from juſtifying Men, as well as Faith. This he ſaid was contrary to the *Book* ſet out in the late Kings time, which was afterwards confirmed in Parliament in the Year 1542. he ſaid further, that he could never ſee one place of Scripture nor any ancient Doctor that favoured it. He alſo ſaid *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe was bad enough

in

1547. in *Latin*, but much worſe in *Engliſh*, for the Tranſlator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of deſign, miſrendred him palpably, and was one that neither underſtood *Latin* nor *Engliſh* well. He offered to go to *Oxford* to diſpute about Juſtification with any they ſhould ſend him to, or to enter in conference with any that would undertake his Inſtruction in Town. But this did not ſatisfie the Council. So they preſſed him to declare what he intended to do when the Viſitors ſhould be with him. He ſaid, he did not know; he ſhould further ſtudy theſe Points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him; and he was ſure he would ſay no worſe than that he ſhould obey them as far as could conſiſt with Gods Law and the Kings. The Council urged him to promiſe that he would without any limitation ſet forth the *Homilies* and the *Injunctions*,which he refuſing to do, was ſent to the *Fleet*.Some days after that *Cranmer* went to ſee the *Dean* of St. *Pauls*,having the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Rocheſter* with Dr. *Cox* and ſome others with him. He ſent for *Gardiner* thither, and entred into diſcourſe with him about that Paſſage in the Homily, excluding Charity out of our Juſtification: and urged thoſe Places of St. *Paul*, *That we are juſtified by Faith without the Works of the Law:* He ſaid his deſign in that Paſſage was only to draw Men from truſting in any thing they did: and to teach them to truſt only to Chriſt. But *Gardiner* had a very different Notion of Juſtification. For as he ſaid, Infants were juſtified by Baptiſm, and Penitents by the Sacrament of Penance: and that the Conditions of the juſtifying of thoſe of Age were Charity as well as Faith, as the three Eſtates make a Law all joyned together: for by this Simile he ſet it out in the report he writ of that Diſcourſe to the Lord Protector, reckoning the King one of the three Eſtates, (a way of Speech very ſtrange, eſpecially in a Biſhop, and a Lawyer.) For *Eraſmus* it was ſaid, that though there were faults in his Paraphraſe, as no Book beſides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was the beſt for that uſe they could find: and they did chooſe rather to ſet out what ſo learned a Man had written, than to make a new one which might give occaſion to more Objections; and he was the moſt indifferent Writer they knew. Afterwards *Cranmer* knowing what was likely to work moſt on him, let fall ſome words (as *Gardiner* writ to the Protector) of bringing him into the Privy-Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the *Fleet*.

There were alſo many complaints brought by ſome Clergy-men, of ſuch as had uſed them ill for their obeying the Kings Injunctions, and for removing Images. Many were upon their ſubmiſſion ſent away with a ſevere rebuke; others that offended more hainouſly were put in the *Fleet* for ſome time,and afterwards giving Bond for their good behaviour were diſcharged. But upon the Protectors return, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* writ him a long Letter in his own vindication. He complained “ of the Viſitors proceeding in his abſence in ſo great a matter. He ſaid “ the *Injunctions* were contrary to themſelves, for they appointed the “ *Homilies* to be read, and *Eraſmus*'s *Paraphraſe* to be put in all Churches: ſo he ſelected many paſſages out of theſe, that were contrary to “ one another. He alſo gathered many things out of *Eraſmus*'s *Paraphraſe* that were contrary to the Power of Princes, and ſeveral other “ cenſurable things in that Work, which *Eraſmus* wrote when he was

“ young,

1547. " young, being of a far different ſtrain from what he writ when he " grew older, and better acquainted with the World. But he concluded his Letter with a diſcourſe of the extent of the King and Councils

Collection Number 14. " Power, which is all I tranſcribed of it, being very long, and full of " things of no great conſequence. He queſtions how far the King could " command againſt Common or Statute Law: of which himſelf had " many occaſions to be well informed. Cardinal *Wolſey* had obtained " his Legatine Power at the Kings deſire, but notwithſtanding that, he " was brought into a *Præmunire:* and the Lawyers upon that Argument " cited many Precedents of Judges that were fined when they tranſgreſſed the Laws, though commanded by Warrants from the King; and Earl " *Typteſt*, who was Chancellor, loſt his Head for acting upon the Kings " Warrant againſt Law. In the late Kings time the Judges would not ſet " Fines on the breakers of the Kings Proclamations, when they were " contrary to Law, till the *Act* concerning them was paſſed, about " which there were many hot words when it was debated. He mentions " a Diſcourſe that paſſed between him and the Lord *Audley* in the Parliament concerning the Kings Supremacy. *Audley* bid him look the Act " of Supremacy, and he would ſee the Kings doings were reſtrained to " Spiritual Juriſdiction: and by another Act no Spiritual Law could take " place againſt the Common Law or an Act of Parliament: otherwiſe " the Biſhops would ſtrike in with the King, and by means of the Supremacy would order the Law as they pleaſed: but we will provide, ſaid " he, that the *Præmunire* ſhall never go off of your backs. In ſome late " Caſes he heard the Judges declare what the King might do againſt an " Act of Parliament, and what danger they were in that medled in ſuch " matters. Theſe things being ſo freſh in his memory he thought he might " write what he did to the Lords of Council. But by this it appears, that no ſort of Men is ſo much for the Kings Prerogative, but when it becomes in any inſtance uneaſie to them, they will ſhelter themſelves under the Law. He continued afterwards by many Letters to the Protector to complain of his ill uſage: " That he had been then ſeven weeks in the " *Fleet* without Servants, a Chaplain, or a Phyſician: that though he " had his Writ of Summons, he was not ſuffered to come to the Parliament, which might be a ground afterwards of queſtioning their Proceedings: He adviſed the Protector not to make himſelf a Party in " theſe matters, and uſed all the inſinuations of decent flattery that he " could invent, with many ſharp reflections on *Cranmer*, and ſtood much on " the force of Laws, that they could not be repealed by the Kings Will. " Concerning which he mentions a Paſſage that fell out between *Cromwel* " and himſelf before the late King. *Cromwel* ſaid, That the King might " make or repeal Laws as the *Roman* Emperors did, and asked his opinion " about it, whether the Kings Will was not a Law? To which he anſwered facetiouſly, That he thought it was much better for the King to " make the Law his Will, than to make his Will a Law. But notwithſtanding all his Letters, (which are printed in the ſecond Volume of *Acts* and *Monum. Edit.* 1641.) yet he continued a Priſoner till the Parliament was over, and then by the Act of Pardon he was ſet at liberty. This was much cenſured as an invaſion of Liberty; and it was ſaid theſe at Court durſt not ſuffer him to come to the Houſe, leſt he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining Juſtification with ſo much nicety in Homilies that were to be read to the People, was thought a needleſs ſubtilty. But the former abuſes, of truſting to the Acts of Charity that Men did, by which they fancied they bought Heaven, made *Cranmer* judge it neceſſary to expreſs the matter ſo nicely; though the expounding thoſe Places of St. *Paul*, was, as many thought, rather according to the ſtrain of the *Germans*, than to the meaning of theſe Epiſtles. And upon the whole matter, they knew *Gardiners* haughty temper, and that it was neceſſary to mortifie him a little, though the pretence on which they did it ſeemed too ſlight for ſuch ſeverities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once reſolved on, to make uſe of the firſt occaſion that offers for effecting it. The Party that oppoſed the Reformation, finding theſe attempts ſo unſucceſsful, engaged the Lady *Mary* to appear for them. She therefore wrote to the *Protector*, that ſhe thought all changes in Religion till the King came to be of Age, were very much contrary to the reſpect they owed the memory of her Father, if they went about to ſhake what he had ſetled; and againſt their duty to their young Maſter, to hazard the Peace of his Kingdom, and engage his Authority in ſuch Points before he was capable of judging them. I gather this to have been the ſubſtance of her *Letter*, from the Anſwer which the *Protector* wrote, which is in the *Collection.* In it he wrote, "That he believed her Letter flowed not "immediately from her ſelf, but from the inſtigation of ſome malicious "Perſons. He proteſts they had no other deſign, but the Glory of "God, and the Honour and Safety of the King, and that what they had "done was ſo well conſidered, that all good Subjects ought rather to re"joyce at it than find fault with it. And whereas ſhe had ſaid, That "her Father had brought Religion to a godly order and quietneſs, to "which both Spiritualty and Temporalty did without compulſion give "their aſſent; he remembers her what oppoſition the ſtiff-necked Papiſts "gave him; and what Rebellions they raiſed againſt him; which he won"ders how ſhe came ſo ſoon to forget: Adding, that death had prevent"ed him before he had finiſhed theſe Godly Orders which he had deſign"ed; and that no kind of Religion was perfected at his death, but all "was left ſo uncertain, that it muſt inevitably bring on great diſorders, if "God did not help them; and that himſelf and many others could wit"neſs what regret their late Maſter had, when he ſaw he muſt die before "he had finiſhed what he intended. He wond'red that ſhe, who had "been well bred, and was learned, ſhould eſteem true Religion, and the "knowledge of the Scriptures, *Newfangledneſs, or Fantaſie.* He deſired "ſhe would turn the Leaf, and look on the other ſide, and would with "an humble Spirit, and by the aſſiſtance of the Grace of God, conſider "the matter better.

The Lady *Mary* diſſatiſfied with the Reformation.

The Protector writ to her.

Collection Number 15.

The Parliament meets.

Novemb. 3.

Rot. Pat. 1. *Reg.* 7. *Part.*

Thus things went on, till the Parliament met, which was ſummoned to meet the fourth of *November*. The day before it met, the Protector gave too publick an inſtance how much his proſperous ſucceſs had lifted him up. For by a Patent under the Great Seal, he was warranted to ſit in Parliament on the Right Hand of the Throne under the Cloath of State; and was to have all the Honours and Priviledges that at any time any of the Unkles of the Kings of *England*, whether by the Fathers or Mothers ſide, had enjoyed; with a *Non obſtante* to the Statute of Precedence. The Lord *Rich* had been made Lord Chancellor on the 24*th* of *October*; but whether the Protector, or he, opened the Parliament

by

1547. by any Speech, does not appear from the *Journal* of the Lords Houſe. On
Decemb. 10. the 10*th* of *Decemb.* a Bill was brought in for the repealing ſeveral Statutes. It was read the ſecond time on the 12*th*, and the third time on the
19. 16*th* day. On the 19*th* ſome Proviſoes were added to it, and it was ſent
23. *Dec.* down to the Commons, who ſent it up the 23*d* of *December*, to which the Royal Aſſent was given. The Commons had formed a new Bill for repealing theſe Statutes, which upon ſome Conferences they were willing to let fall; only ſome Proviſoes were added to the old one; upon which, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*, diſ-
An Act repealing former ſevere Laws. ſented. The Preamble of it ſets forth, "That nothing made a Government happier than when the Prince governed with much clemency, and the Subjects obeyed out of love. Yet the late King and ſome of his Progenitors, being provoked by the unrulineſs of ſome of their People, had made ſevere Laws; but they judging it neceſſary now to recommend the Kings Government to the affections of the People, repealed all Laws that made any thing to be Treaſon, but what was in the Act of 25 of *Edw.* the 3*d*, as alſo two of the Statutes about Lollardies, together with the Act of the ſix Articles, and the other Acts that followed in explanation of that. All Acts in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s time declaring any thing to be Felony that was not ſo declared before, were alſo repealed, together with the Acts that made the Kings Proclamations of equal Authority with Acts of Parliament. It was alſo Enacted, That all who denied the Kings Supremacy, or aſſerted the Popes, in words, ſhould for the firſt offence forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and ſuffer Impriſonment during pleaſure; For the ſecond offence ſhould incur the Pain of *Præmunire*; and for the third offence be attainted of Treaſon. But if any did in Writing, Printing, or by any overt Act or Deed, endeavour to deprive the King of his Eſtate, or Titles, particularly of his Supremacy; or to confer them on any other, after the firſt of *March* next, he was to be adjudged guilty of High Treaſon: and if any of the Heirs of the Crown ſhould uſurp upon another, or did endeavour to break the Succeſſion of the Crown, it was declared high Treaſon, in them, their Aiders and Abettors. And all were to enjoy the Benefit of Clergy, and the Priviledge of Sanctuary, as they had it before King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign; excepting only ſuch as were guilty of Murder, Poiſoning, Burglary, Robbing on the High-way, the ſtealing of Cattel, or ſtealing out of Churches or Chappels. Poiſoners were to ſuffer as other Murderers. None were to be accuſed of Words, but within a Month after they were ſpoken. And thoſe who called the *French* King by the Title of King of *France*, were not to be eſteemed guilty of the Pains of tranſlating the Kings Authority, or Titles, on
In Ch. Coll. Camb. among *Parkers* Papers. any other. This Act was occaſioned by a Speech that Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* had in Convocation, in which he exhorted the Clergy to give themſelves much to the ſtudy of the Scripture, and to conſider ſeriouſly what things were in the Church that needed Reformation, that ſo they might throw out all the Popiſh traſh, that was not yet caſt out. Upon this ſome intimated to him, that as long as the ſix Articles ſtood in force, it was not ſafe for them to deliver their Opinions. This he reported to the Council, upon which they ordered this Act of Repeal. By it the Subjects were delivered from many fears they were under, and had good hopes of a mild Government, when in ſtead of procuring new ſevere Laws,

1547.

Law, the old ones were let fall. The Council did alſo free the Nation of the jealouſies they might have of them by ſuch an abridgment of their own Power. But others judged it had been more for the intereſt of the Government, to have kept up theſe Laws ſtill in force, but to have reſtrained the execution of them. This Repeal drew on another, which was ſent from the Commons on the 20*th* of *December*, and was agreed to by the Lords on the 21*ſt*. It was of an Act in the 28*th* year of the laſt King by which all Laws made while his Son was under 24 years of Age might be by his Letters Patents, after he attained that Age, annulled as if they had never been. Which they altered thus, That the King, after that Age, might by his Letters Patents void any Act of Parliament for the future; but could not ſo void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling of it, which were ſtill to be lawful Deeds.

Act about the Communion.

The next Bill of a publick nature was concerning the Sacrament. Which was brought in, and read the firſt time, on the 12*th* of *Novemb.* the ſecond time on the 15*th*, and was twice read on the 17*th*. And on the 24*th* a Bill was brought in for the Communion to be received in both kinds; on the third of *December* it was read the ſecond time, and given to the Protector; on the 5*th* read again, and given to two Judges; on the 7*th* it was read again, and joyned to the other Bill about the Sacrament. And on the 10*th* the whole Bill was agreed to by all the Peers, except the Biſhops of *London*, *Hereford*, *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and ſent down to the Commons. On the 17*th* a *Proviſo* was ſent after it, but was rejected by the Commons, ſince the Lords had not agreed to it. On the 20*th* it was ſent up agreed to, and had afterwards the Royal Aſſent. "By it, firſt, the value of the Holy Sacrament, commonly called "*the Sacrament of the Altar*, and in the Scripture the *Supper* and *Table of* "*the Lord*, was ſet forth; together with its firſt Inſtitution; but it having "been of late marvellouſly abuſed, ſome had been thereby brought to a "contempt of it, which they had expreſſed in Sermons, Diſcourſes, and "Songs, (*in words not fit to be repeated*;) therefore whoſoever ſhould "ſo offend after the firſt of *May* next was to ſuffer Fine and Impriſon-"ment at the Kings Pleaſure; and the Juſtices of the Peace were to take "Information, and make Preſentments of Perſons ſo offending within "three Months after the offences ſo committed, allowing them Witneſ-"ſes for their own purgation. And it being more agreeable to Chriſts firſt "Inſtitution, and the practice of the Church for 500 years after Chriſt, "that the Sacrament ſhould be given in both the kinds of Bread and "Wine, rather than in one kind only; Therefore it was Enacted, That it "ſhould be commonly given in both kinds, except neceſſity did otherwiſe "require it. And it being alſo more agreeable to the firſt Inſtitution, and "the primitive Practice, that the People ſhould receive with the Prieſt, "than that the Prieſt ſhould receive it alone; therefore the day before "every Sacrament, an Exhortation was to be made to the People, to "prepare themſelves for it, in which the benefits and danger of worthy "and unworthy receiving were to be expreſſed, and the Prieſts were "not without a lawful cauſe to deny it to any who humbly aske "it.

Communion appointed in both kinds.

This was an Act of great conſequence, ſince it reformed two abuſes that had crept into the Church. The one was the denying the Cup to

1547. the Laity, the other was the Prieſts communicating alone. In the firſt Inſtitution it is plain, that as *Chriſt* bad all drink of the Cup, and his Diſciples all drank of it, ſo St. *Paul* directed every one to *examine himſelf that he might eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup.* From thence the Church for many Ages continued this practice: and the Superſtition of ſome who received only in one kind was ſeverely cenſured, and ſuch were appointed either to receive the whole Sacrament or to abſtain wholly. It continued thus till the belief of the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt was ſet up; and then the keeping and carrying about the Cup in Proceſſions, not being ſo eaſily done, ſome began to lay it aſide. For a great while the Bread was given dipt in the Cup, to repreſent a bleeding Chriſt, as it is in the *Greek* Church to this day. In other Places the Laity had the Cup given them, but they were to ſuck it through Pipes that nothing of it ſhould fall to the ground. But ſince they believed that Chriſt was in every crumb of Bread, it was thought needleſs to give the Sacrament in both kinds: So in the Council of *Conſtance* the Cup was ordered to be denied the Laity, though they acknowledged it to have been inſtituted and practiſed otherwiſe. To this the *Bohemians* would never ſubmit; though to compel them to it much Blood was ſhed in this Quarrel. And now in the Reformation this was every where one of the firſt things with which the People were poſſeſſed, the oppoſition of the *Roman* Church herein to the Inſtitution of Chriſt being ſo manifeſt.

And all private Maſſes put down.

At firſt this Sacrament was alſo underſtood to be a Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, of which many were to be partakers: while the fervor of devotion laſted, it was thought a ſcandalous and cenſurable thing if any had come unto the Chriſtian Aſſemblies, and had not ſtayed to receive theſe Holy Myſteries: and the denying to give any one the Sacrament was accounted a very great puniſhment. So ſenſible were the Chriſtians of their ill condition when they were hindred to participate of it. But afterwards the former Devotion ſlackening, the good Biſhops in the *4th* and *5th Centuries* complained oft of it, that ſo few came to Receive: yet the Cuſtom being to make Oblations before the Sacrament, out of which the Clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the Church, the Prieſts had a great mind to keep up the conſtant uſe of theſe Oblations; and ſo perſwaded the Laity to continue them, and to come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it: and in proceſs of time they were made to believe that the Prieſt received in behalf of the whole People. And whereas this Sacrament was the Commemoration of Chriſts Sacrifice on the Croſs, and ſo by a Phraſe of Speech was called a *Sacrifice*, they came afterwards to fancy that the Prieſts conſecrating and conſuming the Sacrament was an Action of it ſelf-expiatory, and that both for the Dead and the Living. And there roſe an infinite number of ſeveral ſorts of Maſſes; ſome were for commemorating the Saints, and thoſe were called the Maſſes of ſuch Saints; others for a particular Bleſſing, for Rain, Health, *&c.* and indeed for all the accidents of Humane Life, where the addition or variation of a Collect made the difference: So that all that Trade of Maſſing was now removed. An Intimation was alſo made of Exhortations to be read in it, which they intended next to ſet about. Theſe abuſes in the Maſs gave great advantages to thoſe who intended to change it into a Communion. But many in ſtead of managing them prudently, made unſeemly Jeſts about

1547

about them: and were carried by a lightneſs of temper to make Songs, and Plays, of the Maſs: for now the Preſs went quick, and many Books were printed this year about matters of Religion; the greateſt number of them being concerning the Maſs; which were not written in ſo decent and grave a ſtyle as the matter required. Againſt this Act only five Biſhops proteſted. Many of that Order were abſent from the Parliament, ſo the oppoſition made to it was not conſiderable.

An Act about the Admiſſion of Biſhops.

The next Bill brought into the Houſe of Lords, was concerning the admiſſion of Biſhops to their Sees by the Kings Letters Patents. Which being read, was committed to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburies* care on the fifth of *November*, and was read the ſecond time on the 10*th*, and committed to ſome of the Judges, and was read the third time on the 28*th* of *November*, and ſent down to the Commons on the 5*th* of *December*: There was alſo another Bill brought in, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the Biſhops Courts, on the 17*th* of *November*, and paſs'd, and ſent down on the 13*th* of *December*. But both theſe Bills were put in one, and ſent up by the Commons on the 20*th* of that Month, and aſſented to by the King. By this Act it was ſet forth, "That the way of chooſing Biſhops by *Conge d'Eſlire* was tedious and expenceful, that there was only a ſhadow of Election in it, and that therefore Biſhops ſhould thereafter be made by the Kings Letters Patents, upon which they were to be conſecrated: And whereas the Biſhops did exerciſe their Authority, and carry on Proceſſes, in their own Names, as they were wont to do in the time of Popery; and ſince all Juriſdiction both Spiritual and Temporal was derived from the King, that therefore their Courts and all Proceſſes ſhould be from henceforth carried on in the Kings Name, and be ſealed by the Kings Seal, as it was in the other Courts of Common-Law, after the firſt of *July* next; excepting only the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury's* Courts, and all Collations, Preſentations, or Letters of Orders, which were to paſs under the Biſhops proper Seals as formerly. Upon this Act great advantages were taken to diſparage the Reformation, as ſubjecting the Biſhops wholly to the pleaſure of the Court.

The ancient ways of electing Biſhops.

At firſt, Biſhops were choſen and ordained by the other Biſhops in the Countries where they lived. The Apoſtles, by that Spirit of diſcerning, which was one of the extraordinary gifts they were endued with, did ordain the firſt Fruits of their Labours; and never left the Election of Paſtors to the diſcretion of the People: Indeed when they were to ordain Deacons, who were to be truſted with the diſtribution of the publick Alms, they appointed ſuch as the People made choice of; but when St. *Paul* gave directions to *Timothy* and *Titus* about the choice of Paſtors, all that depended on the People by them was that they ſhould be *blameleſs* and *of good report*. But afterwards, the poverty of the Church being ſuch, that Church-men lived only by the free bounty of the People, it was neceſſary to conſider them much; ſo that in many Places the choice began among the People; and in all Places it was done by their approbation and good liking. But great diſorders followed upon this, as ſoon as by the Emperors turning Chriſtians, the Wealth of Church-benefices made the Paſtoral Charge more deſirable: and the vaſt numbers of thoſe who turned Chriſtians with the Tide, brought in great Multitudes to have their Votes in theſe Elections. The inconvenience of this was felt

1547. early in *Phrygia*, where the Council of *Laodicea* made a Canon againſt theſe Popular Elections. Yet in other parts of *Aſia*, and at *Rome*, there were great and often Conteſts about it. In ſome of theſe many Men were killed. In many Places the inferior Clergy choſe their Biſhops. But in moſt Places the Biſhops of the Province made the choice, yet ſo as to obtain the conſent of the Clergy and People. The Emperors by their Laws made it neceſſary that it ſhould be confirmed by the Metropolitans: They reſerved the Elections of the great Sees to themſelves, or at leaſt the Confirmation of them. Thus it continued till *Charles* the Great's time. But then the nature of Church-employments came to be much altered. For though the Church had Predial Lands with the other Rights that belonged to them by the *Roman* Law, yet he firſt gave Biſhops and Abbots great Territories, with ſome branches of Royal Juriſdiction in them, who held theſe Lands of him, according to the Fewdal Laws. This, as it carried Church-men off from the humility and abſtraction from the World which became their Function, ſo it ſubjected them much to the Humours and Intereſts of thoſe Princes on whom they had their dependance. The Popes, who had made themſelves Heads of the Hierarchy, could not but be glad to ſee Church-men grow rich and powerful in the World; but they were not ſo well pleaſed to ſee them made ſo much the more dependent on their Princes: and no doubt by ſome of thoſe Princes that were thus become Patrons of Churches, the Biſhopricks were either given for Money, or charged with reſerved Penſions. Upon this the Popes filled the World with the complaints of Simony, and of enſlaving Church-men to court Intereſts; and ſo would not ſuffer them to accept of Inveſtitures from their Princes; but ſet up for free Elections, as they called them, which they ſaid were to be confirmed by the See-Apoſtolick. So the Canons Secular or Regular in Cathedral Churches were to chooſe the Biſhops, and their Election was to be confirmed at *Rome:* yet Princes in moſt Places got ſome hold of thoſe Elections, ſo that ſtill they went as they had a mind they ſhould. Which was oft complained of as a great ſlavery on the Church; and would have been more univerſally condemned, if the World had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there ſhould have been ſet up either the Popular or Synodical Elections, in which Faction was like to ſway all. King *Henry* had continued the old way of the Elections by the Clergy, but ſo, as that it ſeemed to be little more than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the King, rather than under the thin covert of an involuntary Election.

For the other Branch about Eccleſiaſtical Courts, The Cauſes before them concerning Wills and Marriages, being matters of a mixed nature, and which only belong to theſe by the Laws of the Land, and being no parts of the Sacred Functions; it was thought no Invaſion of the Sacred Offices to have theſe tried in the Kings Name. But the Collation of Benefices, and giving of Orders, which are the chief parts of the Epiſcopal Function, were to be performed ſtill by the Biſhops in their own Names. Only Excommunication, by a fatal neglect, continued to be the puniſhment for contempts of theſe Courts; which belonging only to the Spiritual Cogniſance, ought to have been reſerved for the Biſhop with the aſſiſtance of his Clergy. But the Canoniſts had ſo confounded all the Ancient Rules about the Government of the Church, that the Reformers being called away by Conſiderations that were more obvious and preſſing, there was not that care taken in this that the thing required. And theſe errors or overſights in the firſt concoction have by a continuance grown ſince into ſo formed a ſtrength, that it is eaſier to ſee what is amiſs, than to know how to rectifie it.

An Act againſt Vagabonds.

On the 29*th* of *November* the Bill againſt Vagabonds was brought in. By this it was Enacted, “That all that ſhould any where loiter without “work, or without offering themſelves to work, three days together; or “that ſhould run away from work, and reſolve to live idly, ſhould be ſeized “on, and whoſoever ſhould preſent them to a Juſtice of Peace, was to have “them adjudged to be his Slaves for two years; and they were to be mark“ed with the Letter *V.* imprinted with a hot Iron on their Breaſt. A great many Proviſoes follow concerning Clerks ſo convict, which ſhew that this Act was chiefly levelled at the idle Monks and Friars, who went about the Country, and would betake themſelves to no employment; but finding the People apt to have compaſſion on them, they continued in that courſe of life. Which was of very ill conſequence to the State. For theſe Vagrants did every where alienate the Peoples Minds from the Government, and perſwaded them that things would never be well ſetled, till they were again reſtored to their Houſes. Some of theſe came often to *London*, on pretence of ſuing for their Penſions; but really to practiſe up and down through the Country: To prevent this, there was a Proclamation ſet out on the 18*th* of *September*, requiring them to ſtay in the Places where they lived, and to ſend up a Certificate where they were, to the Court of *Augmentations*; who ſhould thereupon give order for their conſtant payment. Some thought this Law againſt Vagabonds was too ſevere, and contrary to that common liberty, of which the *Engliſh* Nation has been always very ſenſible, both in their own, and their Neighbours particulars. Yet it could not be denied but extream Diſeaſes required extream Remedies: and perhaps there is no puniſhment too ſevere for Perſons that are in health, and yet prefer a loitering courſe of life to an honeſt employment. There followed in the Act many excellent Rules for providing for the truly poor and indigent in the ſeveral Places where they were born, and had their abode. Of which this can only be ſaid, That as no Nation has laid down more effectual Rules for the ſupplying the Poor, than *England*, ſo that indeed none can be in abſolute want; ſo the neglect of theſe Laws is a juſt and great reproach on thoſe who are charged with the execution of them, when ſuch numbers of poor Vagabonds ſwarm every where without the due reſtraints that the Laws have appointed.

An Act giving the Chantries to the King.

On the 6*th* of *December* the Bill for giving the Chantries to the King was brought into the Houſe of Lords. It was read the ſecond time on the 12*th*, the third time on the 13*th*, and the fourth time on the 14*th* of that Month. It was much oppoſed, both by *Cranmer* on the one hand, and the Popiſh Biſhops on the other. The late Kings Executors ſaw they could not pay his Debts, nor ſatisfie themſelves in their own pretenſions formerly mentioned, out of the Kings Revenue; and ſo intended to have theſe to be divided among them. *Cranmer* oppoſed it long. For the Clergy being much empoveriſhed by the Sale of the impropriated Tithes, that ought in all reaſon to have return'd into the Church, but

upon

1547. upon the diſſolution of the Abbies were all ſold among the Laity; he ſaw no probable way remaining for their ſupply, but to ſave theſe Endowments till the King were of Age, being confident he was ſo piouſly diſpoſed, that they ſhould eaſily perſwade him to convert them all to the bettering of the Condition of the poor Clergy that were now brought into extream miſery. And therefore he was for reforming and preſerving theſe Foundations, till the Kings full Age. The Popiſh Biſhops liked theſe Endowments ſo well, that upon far different Motives, they were for continuing them in the ſtate they were in. But thoſe who were to gain by it were ſo many that the Act paſſed; the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, diſſenting. So it being ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, was there much oppoſed by ſome Burgeſſes; who repreſented that the Boroughs, for which they ſerved, could not maintain their Churches, and other publick Works of the Guilds and Fraternities, if the Rents belonging to them were given to the King, for theſe were likewiſe in the Act. This was chiefly done by the Burgeſſes of *Linn*, and *Coventry*; who were ſo active, that the whole Houſe was much ſet againſt that part of the Bill for the Guild-Lands. Therefore thoſe who managed that Houſe for the Court, took theſe off by an aſſurance that their Guild-Lands ſhould be reſtored to them. And ſo they deſiſted from their oppoſition, and the Bill paſſed on the promiſe given to them, which was afterwards made good by the Protector. In the Preamble of the Act it is ſet forth, "That the great ſuperſtition of Chriſtians, riſing out of " their ignorance of the true way of Salvation by the death of Chriſt, " in ſtead of which they had ſet up the vain conceits of Purgatory, and " Maſſes ſatisfactory, was much ſupported by Trentals and Chantries. " And ſince the converting theſe to godly uſes, ſuch as the endowing of " Schools, Proviſions for the Poor, and the augmenting of Places in the " Univerſities, could not be done by Parliament; they therefore com- " mitted it to the care of the King. And then reciting the Act made in " the 37*th* year of his Fathers Reign, they give the King all ſuch Chan- " tries, Colledges, and Chappels, as were not poſſeſſed by the late King, " and all that had been in being any time theſe five years laſt paſt: as " alſo all Revenues belonging to any Church, for Anniverſaries, Obits, " and Lights; together with all Guild-Lands, which any Fraternity of " Men enjoyed, for Obits, or the like: and appoint theſe to be convert- " ed to the maintenance of Gramar-Schools, or Preachers, and for the " encreaſe of Vicarages. After this followed the Act giving the King the Cuſtoms known by the Name of Tonnage and Poundage, beſides ſome other Laws, of Matters that are not needful to be remembred in this Hiſtory. Laſt of all came the Kings general Pardon; with the common mon Exceptions, among which, one was of theſe who were then Priſoners in the Tower of *London*, in which the Duke of *Norfolk* was included. So all buſineſs being ended, the Parliament was Prorogued from the 24*th* of *December* to the 20*th* of *April* following.

Acts that were propoſed but not carried.

But having given this account of theſe Bills that were paſſed, I ſhall not eſteem it an unfruitful piece of Hiſtory to ſhew what other Bills were deſigned. There were put into the Houſe of Lords, two Bills that were ſtifled. The one was, for the uſe of the Scriptures, which came not to a ſecond reading. The other was a Bill for erecting a new Court of

Chancery

1547.

Chancery for Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Cauſes, which was committed to ſome Biſhops and Temporal Lords, but never more mentioned. The Commons ſent up alſo ſome Bills, which the Lords did not agree to. One was about Benefices with Cure, and Reſidence. It was committed, but never reported. Another was for the Reformation of divers Laws, and of the Courts of Common-Law; and a third was, that married Men might be Prieſts, and have Benefices. To this the Commons did ſo readily agree, that it being put in on the 19*th* of *December*, and read then for the firſt time, it was read twice the next day, and ſent up to the Lords on the 21*ſt*. But being read there once, it was like to have raiſed ſuch debates, that, it being reſolved to end the Seſſion before *Chriſtmas*, the Lords laid it aſide.

The Convocation meets.

But while the Parliament was ſitting, they were not idle in the Convocation; though the Popiſh Party was yet ſo prevalent in both Houſes, that *Cranmer* had no hopes of doing any thing, till they were freed of the trouble which ſome of the great Biſhops gave them. The moſt important thing they did, was the carrying up four Petitions to the Biſhops, which will be found in the *Collection*. 1. That according to the Statute made in the Reign of the late King there might be Perſons empow'red for reforming the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. The ſecond, That according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Nation, and the Tenor of the Biſhops Writ to the Parliament, the inferior Clergy might be admitted again to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, or that no Acts concerning matters of Religion might paſs without the ſight and aſſent of the Clergy. The third, That ſince divers Prelates, and other Divines, had been in the late Kings time appointed to alter the Service of the Church; and had made ſome progreſs in it, that this might be brought to its full perfection. The fourth, That ſome conſideration might be had for the maintenance of the Clergy, the firſt year they came into their Livings, in which they were charged with the Firſt-fruits; to which they added, a deſire to know whether they might ſafely ſpeak their minds about Religion, without the danger of any Law. For the firſt of theſe four Petitions, an account of it ſhall be given hereafter. As to the ſecond it was a thing of great conſequence, and deſerves to be farther conſidered in this place.

The lower Houſe made ſome Petitions. Number 16.

The Inferior Clergy deſire to be admited to have Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons.

Anciently, all the free Men of *England*, or at leaſt thoſe that held of the Crown *in chief*, came to Parliament; and then the inferior Clergy had Writs as well as the Superior, and the firſt of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom were the Biſhops, the other Prelates and the Inferior Clergy. But when the Parliament was divided into two Houſes, then the Clergy made likewiſe a Body of their own, and ſate in Convocation, which was the third Eſtate. But the Biſhops having a double capacity, the one of Eccleſiaſtical Prelature, the other of being the Kings Barons, they had a Right to ſit with the Lords as a part of their Eſtate, as well as in the Convocation. And though by parity of reaſon it might ſeem that the reſt of the Clergy, being Freeholders as well as Clarks, had an equal Right to chooſe, or be choſen, into the Houſe of Commons; yet whether they were ever in poſſeſſion of it, or whether according to the Clauſe *Premonentes* in the Biſhops Writ, they were ever a part of the Houſe of Commons, is a juſt doubt. For beſides this aſſertion in the Petition that was mentioned, and a more large one in the ſecond Petition, which they preſented to the ſame purpoſe, which is likewiſe in the *Collection*, I have never

Number 17.

1547. never met with any good reaſon to ſatisfie me in it. There was a general Tradition in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, that the Inferior Clergy departed from their Right of being in the Houſe of Commons; when they were all brought into the *Præmunire* upon Cardinal *Wolſey's* Legatine Power, and made their ſubmiſſion to the King. But that is not credible: for as there is no footſtep of it, which in a time of ſo much writing and printing muſt have remained, if ſo great a change had been then made; ſo it cannot be thought, that thoſe who made this Addreſs but 17 years after that Submiſſion, (many being alive in this, who were of that Convocation, *Polidore Virgil* in particular, a curious obſerver ſince he was maintained here to write the Hiſtory of *England*) none of them ſhould have remembred a thing that was ſo freſh, but have appealed to Writs and ancient Practiſes. But though this deſign of bringing the Inferior Clergy into the Houſe of Commons did not take at this time, yet it was again ſet on foot, in the end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and Reaſons were offered to perſwade her to ſet it forward. Which not being then ſucceſsful, theſe ſame Reaſons were again offered to King *James*, to induce him to endeavour it. The Paper that diſcovers this was communicated to me by Dr. *Borlace* the Worthy Author of the Hiſtory of the *Iriſh* Rebellion. It is corrected in many places by the Hand of Biſhop *Ravis*, then Biſhop of *London*, a Man of great Worth. This, for the affinity of the matter, and the curioſity of the thing, I have put into Number 18. the *Collection*, with a large Marginal Note, as it was deſigned to be tranſcribed for King *James*. But whether this Matter was ever much conſidered, or lightly laid aſide, as a thing unfit and unpracticable, does not appear; certain it is, that it came to nothing. Upon the whole matter it is not certain what was the Power or Right of theſe Proctors of the Clergy in former times: Some are of opinion, that they were only aſſi- *Coke* 4. *Inſt.* 3. 4 ſtants to the Biſhops, but had no Voice in either Houſe of Parliament. This is much confirmed by an Act paſs'd in the Parliament of *Ireland*, in the 28*th* Year of the former Reign, which ſets forth in the Preamble, "That though the Proctors of the Clergy were always ſummoned to " Parliament, yet they were no part of it; nor had they any right to " Vote in it, but were only Aſſiſtants in caſe Matters of Controverſie or " Learning came before them, as the Convocation was in *England*, " which had been determined by the Judges of *England* after much en- " quiry made about it. But the Proctors were then pretending to ſo " high an Authority, that nothing could paſs without their conſents; " and it was preſumed they were ſet on to it by the Biſhops, whoſe " Chaplains they were for the moſt part. Therefore they were by that " Act declared to have no right to Vote.

From this ſome infer, they were no other in *England*, and that they were only the Biſhops Aſſiſtants and Council. But as the Clauſe *Premonentes* in the Writ, ſeems to make them a part of the Parliament; ſo theſe Petitions ſuppoſe that they ſate in the Houſe of Commons anciently, where it cannot be imagined they could ſit, if they came only to be Aſſiſtants to the Biſhops, for then they muſt have ſate in the Houſe of Lords rather; as the Judges, the Maſters of *Chancery*, and the Kings Council do. Nor is it reaſonable to think they had no Voice: for then their ſitting in Parliament had been ſo inſignificant a thing, that it is not likely they would have uſed ſuch endeavours to be reſtored to it ſince their coming to Parliament, upon ſuch an account muſt have been only a charge to them. 1547.

There is againſt this Opinion an Objection of great force from the Acts paſs'd in the 21*ſt* Year of *Richard* the ſecond's Reign. In the ſecond Act of that Parliament it is ſaid, “That it was firſt prayed by the Commons, and that the Lords Spiritual, and the Proctors of the Clergy, did aſſent to it, upon which the King, by the aſſent of all the Lords and Commons, did enact it. The 12*th* Act of that Parliament was a Repeal of the whole Parliament that was held in the 11*th* Year of that Reign; and concerning it, it is expreſſed, “That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Proctors of the Clergy, and the Commons, being ſeverally examined, did all agree to it. From hence it appears, that theſe Proctors were then not only a part of the Parliament, but were a diſtinct Body of Men that did ſeverally from all the reſt deliver their Opinions. It may ſeem ſtrange, that if they were then conſidered as a part of either Houſe of Parliament, this ſhould be the only time in which they ſhould be mentioned as bearing their ſhare in the Legiſlative Power. In a matter that is ſo perplexed and dark, I ſhall preſume to offer a Conjecture which will not appear perhaps improbable. In the 129*th* Page of the former part, I gave the Reaſons that made me think the lower Houſe of Convocation conſiſted at firſt only of the Proctors of the Clergy. So that by the Proctors of the Clergy, both in the Statute of *Ireland*, and in thoſe made by *Richard* the ſecond, is perhaps to be underſtood the lower Houſe of Convocation: and it is not unreaſonable to think, that upon ſo great an occaſion as the annulling a whole Parliament, to make it paſs the better, in an Age in which the People payed ſo blind a Submiſſion to the Clergy, the concurrence of the whole Repreſentative of the Church might have been thought neceſſary. It is generally believed, that the whole Parliament ſate together in one Houſe before *Edward* the thirds time, and then the Inferior Clergy were a part of that Body without queſtion. But when the Lords and Commons ſate a-part, the Clergy likewiſe ſate in two Houſes, and granted Subſidies as well as the Temporalty. It may paſs for no unlikely conjecture that the Clauſe *Premonentes* was firſt put in the Biſhops Writ for the ſummoning of the lower Houſe of Convocation, conſiſting of theſe Proctors, and afterwards, though there was a ſpecial Writ for the Convocation, yet this might at firſt have been continued in the Biſhops Writ by the neglect of a Clark, and from thence be ſtill uſed. So that it ſeems to me moſt probable, that the Proctors of the Clergy were both in *England* and *Ireland* the lower Houſe of Convocation. Now before the Submiſſion which the Clergy made to King *Henry*, as the Convocation gave the King great Subſidies, ſo the whole buſineſs of Religion lay within their Sphere. But after the Submiſſion they were cut off from medling with it, except as they were authorized by the King. So that having now ſo little power left them, it is no wonder they deſired to be put in the ſtate they had been in before the Convocation was ſeparated from the Parliament: or at leaſt that Matters of Religion ſhould not be determined till they had been conſulted, and had reported their Opinions and Reaſons. The Extreme of raiſing the Eccleſiaſtical Power too high in the Times of Popery, had now produced another of depreſſing it too much. For ſeldom is the Counterpoiſe

1547. ſo juſtly ballanced, that Extremes are reduced to a well-tempered Mediocrity.

For the third Petition, it was reſolved that many Biſhops and Divines ſhould be ſent to *Windſor* to labour in the Matter of the Church-Service. But that required ſo much conſideration, that they could not enter on it during a Seſſion of Parliament. And for the fourth, what Anſwer was given to it doth not appear.

On the 29*th* of *November* a Declaration was ſent down from the Biſhops concerning the Sacraments being to be received in both kinds. To which, *Jo. Tyler* the *Prolocutor*, and ſeveral others ſet their Hands; and being again brought before them, it was agreed to by all without a contradictory Vote: 64 being preſent, among whom I find *Polidore Virgil* was one. And on the 17*th* of *December* the Propoſition concerning the Marriage of the Clergy was alſo ſent to them, and ſubſcribed, by 35 affirmatively, and by 14 negatively: ſo it was ordered, that a Bill ſhould be drawn concerning it. I ſhall not here digreſs to give an account of what was alledged for, or againſt this, reſerving that to its proper place, when the thing was finally ſetled.

And this is all the account I could recover of this Convocation. I have chiefly gathered it from ſome Notes, and other Papers, of the then Dr. *Parker*, (afterwards Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*) which are carefully preſerved with his other *MSS.* in *Corpus Chriſti Colledge* Library, at *Cambridge*: To which Library I had free acceſs by the favour of the moſt learned Maſter Dr. *Spencer*, with the other Worthy Fellows of that Houſe: and from thence I collected many remarkable things in this Hiſtory.

The Parliament being brought to ſo good a Concluſion, the Protector took out a new Commiſſion, in which all the Addition that is made to that Authority he formerly had is, that in his abſence he is empow'red to ſubſtitute another to whom he might delegate his Power.

The ſtate of Affairs in *Germany*.

And thus this Year ended in *England*, but as they were carrying on the Reformation here, it was declining apace in *Germany*. The Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave were this Year to command their Armies apart. The Duke of *Saxe* kept within his own Country, but having there unfortunately divided his Forces, the Emperor overtook him near the *Alb* at *Mulberg*; where the Emperors Soldiers croſſing the River, and purſuing him with great fury, after ſome reſiſtance, in which he himſelf performed all that could be expected from ſo great a Captain, was taken Priſoner, and his Country all poſſeſſed by *Maurice*, who was now to be inveſted with the Electoral Dignity. He bore his misfortunes with a greatneſs and equality of mind that is ſcarce to be parallel'd in Hiſtory. Neither could the inſolence with which the Emperor treated him, nor the fears of death to which he adjudged him, nor that tedious impriſonment which he ſuffered ſo long, ever ſhake or diſorder a Mind that was raiſed ſo far above the inconſtancies of Humane Affairs. And though he was forced to ſubmit to the hardeſt Conditions poſſible, of renouncing his Dignity and Dominions, ſome few Places being only reſerved for his Family; yet no Entreaties nor Fears could ever bring him to yield any thing in Matters of Religion. He made the Bible his chief Companion and Comfort in his ſharp Afflictions; which he bore ſo, as if

1547. *Apr.* 24. Duke of *Saxe* taken.

he had been raiſed up to that end, to let the World ſee how much he was above it. It ſeemed unimitable; and therefore engaged *Thuanus*, with the other excellent Writers of that Age, to ſet it out with all the advantages that ſo unuſual a temper of mind deſerved. Yet had thoſe Writers lived in our Age, and ſeen a great King, not overpow'red by a Superior Prince, but by the meaneſt of his own People, and treated with equal degrees of malice and ſcorn, and at laſt put to death openly, with the Pageantry of Juſtice; and yet bearing all this with ſuch invincible Patience, Heroical Courage, and moſt Chriſtian Submiſſion to God, they had yet found a nobler Subject for their Eloquent Pens: but he ſaved the World the labour of giving a juſt Repreſentation of his behaviour in his Sufferings, having left his own Portraiture drawn by himſelf in ſuch lively and laſting Colours. 1547.

The Landgrave of *Heſſe* ſaw he could not long withſtand the Emperors Army, now ſo lifted up with ſucceſs; and therefore was willing to ſubmit to him on the beſt terms that his Sons-in-law the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and *Maurice* of *Saxe*, could obtain for him. Which were very hard, only he was to enjoy his Liberty, without any Impriſonment, and to preſerve his Dominions. But the Emperors Miniſters dealt moſt unfaithfully with him in this: For in the *German* Language there was but one Letters difference, and that only inverted, between perpetual Impriſonment, and any Impriſonment, (*Ewig* for *Emig*) ſo by this baſe Artifice, he was, when he came and ſubmitted to the Emperor, detained a Priſoner. He had not the Duke of *Saxes* temper, but was out of meaſure impatient, and did exclaim of his ill uſage: but there was no remedy, for the Emperor was now abſolute. All the Towns of *Germany*, *Magdeburg* and *Breme* only excepted, ſubmitted to him, and redeem'd his favour by great Sums of Money, and many Pieces of Ordnance. And the *Bohemians* were alſo forced to implore his Brothers mercy, who before he would receive them into his Hands, got his Revenue to be raiſed vaſtly. And now the Empire was wholly at the Emperors mercy. Nothing could withſtand him who had in one year turned out two Electors. For *Herman* Biſhop of *Colen*, as he was before condemned by the Pope, ſo was alſo degraded from that Dignity by the Emperor; and *Adolph*, whom he had procured to be made his *Coadjutor*, was declared Elector. Many of his Subjects and Neighbour Princes offered their Service, if he would ſtand to his own defence; but he was very old, and of ſo meek a temper, that he would ſuffer no Blood to be ſhed on his account; and therefore withdrew peaceably to a retirement in which he lived four years till his death. His Brother that was Biſhop of *Munſter* and Dean of *Bonne*, who had gone along with him in his Reformation, was alſo turned out; and *Gropper* was made Dean, who was eſteemed one of the learnedeſt and beſt Men of the Clergy at this time. He is ſaid to have expreſſed a generous contempt of the higheſt Dignity the See of *Rome* could beſtow on him, for he refuſed a Cardinals Hat when it was offered him: yet in this matter he had not behaved himſelf as became ſo good a Man, and ſo Learned a Divine. For he had conſented to the Changes had been made, and was in a correſpondence with *Martin Bucer*, whom *Herman* brought to *Colen*: (as will appear by an excellent Letter of *Bucers* to him, which will be found in the *Collection* concerning that matter) by which it is plain he went along with them from the beginning. But it ſeems

1546. *Apr.* 16. *Herman* excommunicated at *Rome*.

Nov. 4. *Herman* reſigned.

Number 19.

1547. ſeems he did it covertly and fearfully, and was afterwards drawn off, either by the love of the World, or the fears of the Croſs; of which it appears *Bucer* had then ſome apprehenſions, though he expreſſed them very modeſtly. *Groppers* Memory being in ſuch high eſteem, and this Letter being found among *Bucers* Papers, I thought the publiſhing of it would not be unacceptable, though it be of a Forreign Matter.

Germany being thus under the Power and Dread of the Emperor, a *Diet* was ſummoned to *Ausburg*: Where the chief Church was taken from the Proteſtants, and put into the Cardinal of *Ausburg's* Hands, to have the Maſs ſet up again in it, though the Town was ſo much Proteſtant that they could find none that would come to it, but ſome poor People who were hired. The Emperor, among other Propoſitions he put in to the *Diet*, preſſed this, That all differences in Religion, which had ſo diſtracted *Germany*, might be removed. The Eccleſiaſtical Princes anſwered, That the only way to effect that, was to ſubmit to the General Council that was at *Trent*: Thoſe that were for the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, ſaid, they could ſubmit to no Council where the Pope Preſided, and where the Biſhops were ſworn to obey him; but would ſubmit to it, if that Oath was diſpenſed with, and their Divines admitted to defend their Opinions, and all the Decrees that had been made were again conſidered. In this difference of Opinion, the Emperor thought that if the whole matter ſhould be left to his diſcretion, to which all ſhould be bound to ſubmit, he would then be able to determine it as he pleaſed. So he dealt privately with the Electors *Palatine*, and *Saxe*; and as they publiſhed it afterwards, gave them ſecret aſſurances about the freedom of their Religion, and that he only deſired this to put him in a capacity of dealing on other terms with the Pope. Upon which, they conſented to a Decree, referring the Matter of Religion wholly to his care. But the Deputies from the Cities, who looked on this as a giving up of their Religion, could not be wrought to do it, without Conditions, which they put into another Writing, as explanatory of the Submiſſion: But the Emperor took no notice of that, and only thanked them for their confidence in him, and ſo the Decree was publiſhed. All this was in ſome ſort neceſſary for the Emperor, who was then in very ill terms with the Pope about

1547. *Sept.* 10. *Petrus Aloiſius* killed.

the buſineſs of *Placenzia*. For the Popes Natural Son *Petrus Aloiſius* being killed by a Conſpiracy, the Governour of *Millain* had ſeized on *Placenzia*, which made the Pope believe the Emperour was acceſſary to it: for which the Reader is referred to the *Italian* Hiſtorians. The Pope ſaw the Emperor in one Summer delivered of a War, which he had hoped would have entangled him his whole life; and though in decency he could not but ſeem to rejoyce, and did ſo no doubt, at the ruine of thoſe whom he called Hereticks, yet he was not a little grieved to ſee the Emperor ſo much exalted.

The Proceedings at *Trent*.

At *Trent* the Legates had been oft threatned and affronted by the Emperors Ambaſſadors and Biſhops who were much ſet on reforming abuſes, and leſſening the Power of the *See* of *Rome*. So they had a mind to break up the Council; but that would have been ſo ſcandalous a thing, and ſo reſented by the Emperor, that they reſolved rather on a Tranſlation into ſome Town of the Popes, to which it was not likely the Imperialiſts would follow them, and ſo at leaſt the Council would be ſuſpended, if not diſſolved. For this Remove, they laid hold on the firſt colour they could find. One dying of a malignant Feaver, it was given out and certified by Phyſicians, that he died of the Plague; ſo in all haſt they tranſlated the Council to *Bologna*. The Imperialiſts proteſted againſt it; but in vain, for thither they went. The Emperor was hereby quite diſappointed of his chief deſign, which was to force the *Germans* to ſubmit to a Council held in *Germany*: and therefore no Plague appearing at *Trent*, he preſſed the return of the Council thither. But the Pope ſaid, it was the Councils act, and not his; and that their Honour was to be kept up; that therefore ſuch as ſtayed at *Trent* were to go firſt to *Bologna*, and acknowledge the Council, and they ſhould then conſider what was to be done. So that now all the hope the *Germans* had, was, that this difference between the Pope and Emperor might give them ſome breathing; and time might bring them out of theſe extremities into which they were then driven. Upon theſe diſorders the Forreign Reformers, who generally made *Germany* their Sanctuary, were now forced to ſeek it elſewhere. So *Peter Martyr*, in the end of *November* this Year, was brought over to *England*, by the Invitation which the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* ſent him in the Kings Name. He was born in *Florence*, where he had been an *Auguſtinian*-Monk. He was learned in the *Greek*, and the *Hebrew*, which drew on him the envy of the reſt of his Order, whoſe Manners he inveighed oft againſt. So he left them, and went to *Naples*, where he gathered an Aſſembly of thoſe who loved to Worſhip God more purely. This being made known, he was forced to leave that Place, and went next to *Lucca*, where he lived in ſociety with *Tremellius* and *Zanchius*. But being alſo in danger there, he went to *Zurick* with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, that had been one of the moſt celebrated Preachers of *Italy*, and now forſook his former Superſtitions. From *Zurick* he went to *Baſil*; and from thence by *Martin Bucers* means he was brought to *Strasburg*; where *Cranmers* Letter found both him and *Ochinus*. The Latter was made a Canon of *Canterbury*, with a Diſpenſation of Reſidence; and by other Letters Patents 40 Marks were given yearly to him, and as much to *Peter Martyr*.

Apr. 21. The firſt Seſſion of *Bologna*

The *French* quarrel about *Bulloigne*.

There had been this Year ſome differences between the *Engliſh* and *French* concerning the Fortifications about *Bulloigne*. The *Engliſh* were raiſing a great Fort by the Harbour there. This being ſignified to King *Henry* by *Gaſpar Coligny*, afterwards the famous Admiral of *France*, then Governour of the neighbouring Parts to *Bulloigne*; it was complained of at the Court of *England*. It was anſwered, That this was only to make the Harbour more ſecure, and ſo the Works were ordered to be vigorouſly carried on. But this could not ſatisfie the *French*, who plainly ſaw it was of another ſort than to be intended only for the Sea. The King of *France* came and viewed the Country himſelf, and ordered *Coligny* to raiſe a Fort on a high Ground near it, which was called the *Chaſtilion* Fort, and commanded both the *Engliſh* Fort and the Harbour. But the Protector had no mind to give the *French* a colour for breaking with the *Engliſh*; ſo there was a Truce and further Ceſſation agreed on, in the end of *September*. Theſe are all the conſiderable Forreign Tranſactions of this Year, in which *England* was concerned. But there was a ſecret contrivance laid at home of a high nature, which though it broke not out till the next Year, yet the beginnings of it did now appear.

1547.

The Breach between the Protector and the Admiral.

The Protectors Brother, *Thomas Seimour*, was brought to ſuch a ſhare in his Fortunes, that he was made a Baron, and Lord Admiral. But this not ſatisfying his ambition, he endeavoured to have linked himſelf into a nearer relation with the Crown, by marrying the Kings Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth*. But finding he could not compaſs that, he made his Addreſſes to the Queen Dowager. Who enjoying now the Honour and Wealth the late King had left her, reſolved to ſatisfie her ſelf in her next Choice; and entertained him a little too early, for they were married ſo ſoon after the Kings death, that it was charged afterwards on the Admiral, that if ſhe had brought a Child as ſoon as might have been after the Marriage, it had given cauſe to doubt whether it had not been by the late King: which might have raiſed great diſturbance afterwards. But being thus married to the Queen, he concealed it for ſome time, till he procured a Letter from the King, recommending him to her for a Huſband: upon which they declared their Marriage, with which the Protector was much offended. Being thus poſſeſſed of great Wealth, and being Husband to the Queen Dowager, he ſtudied to engage all that were about the King to be his Friends: and he corrupted ſome of them by his Preſents, and forced one on Sir *John Cheek*. That which he deſigned, was, That whereas in former times, the Infant Kings of *England* had had Governours of their Perſons, diſtinct from the Protectors of their Realms; which Truſts were divided between their Unkles; it being judged too much to joyn both in one Perſon, who was thereby too great, whereas a Governour of the Kings Perſon might be a check on the Protector; he would therefore himſelf be made Governour of the Kings Perſon, alledging, that ſince he was the Kings Unkle as well as his Brother, he ought to have a proportioned ſhare with him in the Government. About *Eaſter* this Year he firſt ſet about this deſign; and corrupted ſome about the King who ſhould bring him ſometimes privately through the Gallery to the Queens Lodgings, and he deſired they would let him know when the King had occaſion for Money, and that they ſhould not always trouble the Treaſury, for he would be ready to furniſh him, and he thought a young King might be taken with this. So it happened that the firſt time *Latimer* preached at Court, the King ſent to him to know what Preſent he ſhould make him: *Seimour* ſent him 40 *l.* but ſaid he thought 20 enough to give *Latimer*, and the King might diſpoſe of the reſt as he pleaſed. Thus he gained ground with the King, whoſe ſweet nature expoſed him to be eaſily won by ſuch Artifices.

It is generally ſaid, that all this difference between the Brothers was begun by their Wives; and that the Protectors Lady, being offended that the younger Brothers Wife had the precedence of her, which ſhe thought belonged to her ſelf, did thereupon raiſe and inflame the differences. But in all the Letters that I have ſeen concerning this Breach, I could never find any ſuch thing once mentioned. Nor is it reaſonable to imagine that the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to think that ſhe ought to have the precedence of the Queen Dowager. Therefore I look upon this Story as a meer Fiction, though it is probable enough there might upon ſome other accounts have been ſome Animoſities between the two high-ſpirited Ladies, which might have afterwards be thought to have occaſioned their Husbands quarrel.

1547. It is plain in the whole thread of this Affair, that the Protector was at firſt very eaſie to be reconciled to his Brother; and was only aſſaulted by him; but bore the trouble he gave him with much patience for a great while, though in the end, ſeeing his factious temper was incurable, he laid off Nature too much, when he conſented to his Execution. Yet all along till then, he had rather too much encouraged his Brother to go on, by his readineſs to be after every breach reconciled to him. When the Protector was in *Scotland*, the Admiral then began to act more avowedly, and was making a Party for himſelf; of which *Paget* took notice, and charged him with it in plain terms. He asked him, why he would go about to reverſe that, which himſelf and others had conſented to under their Hands? Their Family was now ſo great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice: But there would not be wanting officious Men to inflame them, if they once divided among themſelves; and the Breaches among near Friends commonly turn to the moſt irreconcilable Quarrels. Yet all was ineffectual; for the Admiral was reſolved to go on, and either get himſelf advanced higher, or to periſh in the Attempt. It was the knowledge of this which forced the Protector to return from *Scotland* ſo abruptly and diſadvantageouſly, for the ſecuring of his Intereſt with the King, on whom his Brothers Artifices had made ſome impreſſion. Whether there was any reconciliation made between them before the Parliament met, is not certain. But during the Seſſion, the Admiral got the King to write with his own Hand a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, for the making of him the Governour of his Perſon; and he intended to have gone with it to the Houſe, and had a Party there, by whoſe means he was confident to have carried his buſineſs. He dealt alſo with many of the Lords and Counſellors to aſſiſt him in it. When this was known, before he had gone with it to the Houſe, ſome were ſent to him in his Brothers Name to ſee if they could prevail with him to proceed no further. He refuſed to hearken to them, and ſaid, That if he were croſs'd in his attempt, he would make this the blackeſt Parliament that ever was in *England*. Upon that, he was ſent for by Order from the Council, but refuſed to come. Then they threatned him ſeverely, and told him the Kings Writing was nothing in Law, but that he who had procured it, was puniſhable for doing an Act of ſuch a nature, to the diſturbance of the Government, and for engaging the young King in it. So they reſolved to have ſent him to the Tower, and to have turned him out of all his Offices. But he ſubmitted himſelf to the Protector and Council: and his Brother and he ſeemed to be perfectly reconciled. Yet as the Protector had reaſon to have a watchful Eye over him, ſo it was too ſoon viſible that he had not laid down, but only put off his high Projects, till a fitter conjuncture. For he began the next *Chriſtmas* to deal Money again among the Kings Servants, and was on all occaſions infuſing into the King a diſlike of every thing that was done, and did often perſwade him to aſſume the Government himſelf. But the ſequel of this Quarrel proved fatal to him, as ſhall be told in its proper place. And thus ended the Year 1547.

1548. *Jan. 8.* On the *8th* of *Jan.* next year *Gardiner* was brought before the Council. Where it was told him, that his former Offences being included in the Kings general Pardon, he was thereupon diſcharged; a grave admonition was

1548. given him to carry himſelf reverently and obediently, and he was deſired to declare whether he would receive the *Injunctions* and *Homilies*, and the Doctrine to be ſet forth from time to time by the King and Clergy of the Realm. He anſwered, he would conform himſelf as the other Biſhops did, and only excepted to the *Homily of Juſtification*, and deſired four or five days to conſider of it. What he did at the end of that time does not appear from the Council-Book, no farther mention being made of this matter; for the Clerks of Council did not then enter every thing with that exactneſs that is ſince uſed. He went home to his Dioceſs, where there ſtill appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity to *Cranmer*, and to all motions for Reformation; yet he gave ſuch outward compliance, that it was not eaſie to find any advantage againſt him, eſpecially now ſince the Councils great Power was ſo much abridged.

The Marqueſs of *Northampton* ſues a Divorce for Adultery.

In the end of *Jan.* the Council made an Order concerning the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, which will oblige me to look back a little for the clear account of it. This Lord, who was Brother to the Queen Dowager, had married *Anne Bourchier*, Daughter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, the laſt of that Name. But ſhe being convicted of Adultery, he was divorced from her; which according to the Law of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts was only a ſeparation from Bed and Board. Upon which Divorce, it was propoſed in King *Henry*'s time to conſider what might be done in favour of the Innocent Perſon, when the other was convicted of Adultery. So in the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, on the 7*th* of *May*, a Commiſſion was granted to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Rocheſter*, (this was *Holbeack*, who was not then tranſlated to *Lincoln*) to Dr. *Ridley*, and ſix more, ten in all, of whom ſix were a *Quorum*; to try whether the Lady *Anne* was not by the Word of God ſo lawfully divorced, that ſhe was no more his Wife, and whether thereupon he might not marry another Wife. This being a new Caſe, and of great importance, *Cranmer* reſolved to examine it with his ordinary diligence, and ſearched into the Opinions of the Fathers aud Doctors, ſo copiouſly, that his *Collections* about it grew into a large Book, (the Original whereof I have peruſed;) the greateſt part of it being either written, or marked, and interlined, with his own Hand. This required a longer time, than the Marqueſs of *Northampton* could ſtay; and therefore preſuming on his great Power, without waiting for Judgment, he ſolemnly married *Eliz.* Daughter to *Brooke* Lord *Cobham*. On the 28*th* of *Jan.* Information was brought to the Council of this, which gave great ſcandal, ſince his firſt Marriage ſtood yet firm in Law. So he being put to anſwer for himſelf, ſaid, he thought that by the Word of God he was diſcharged of his tie to his former Wife; and the making Marriages indiſſoluble was but a part of the Popiſh Law, by which it was reckoned a Sacrament; and yet the Popes, knowing that the World would not eaſily come under ſuch a Yoke, had by the help of the *Canoniſts* invented ſuch diſtinctions, that it was no uneaſie thing to make a Marriage void among them: and that the condition of this Church was very hard, if upon Adulteries, the Innocent muſt either live with the Guilty, or be expoſed to temptations to the like ſins, if a ſeparation was only allowed, but the bond of the Marriage continued undiſſolved. But ſince he had proceeded ſo far before the Delegates had given ſentence, it was Ordered, that he and his new Wife ſhould be parted; and

Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.

that

1548.

that ſhe ſhould be put into his Siſter the Queen Dowagers keeping, till the matter were tried, whether it was according to the Word of God, or not; and that then further order ſhould be given in it. Upon this the Delegates made haſt, and gathered their Arguments together. Of which I ſhall give an Abſtract, both for the clearing of this matter, (concerning which not many years ago there were great debates in Parliament) and alſo to ſhew the exactneſs of the Proceedings in that time.

The Grounds on which he was ſuffered to marry again.

Chriſt condemned all Marriages upon Divorces, *except in the Caſe of Adultery*; which ſeemed manifeſtly to allow them in that Caſe. And though this is not mentioned by St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*, yet it is enough that St. *Mathew* has it. Chriſt alſo defined the ſtate of Marriage, to be that in which *two are one fleſh*; ſo that when either of the two hath broken that Union, by becoming one with another Perſon, then the Marriage is diſſolved. And it is oft repeated in the Goſpel, That married Perſons have *power over one anothers Bodies*, and that they are to give *due benevolence* to each other; which is plainly contrary to this way of ſeparation without diſſolving the Bond. St. *Paul* putting the caſe of an Unbeliever departing from the Partner in Marriage, ſays, *The Believing Party, whether Brother or Siſter, is not under Bondage* in ſuch a caſe: which ſeems a diſcharge of the Bond in caſe of Deſertion: and certainly Adultery is yet of a higher nature. But againſt this was alledged on the other ſide, That our Saviours allowing Divorce in the Caſe of Adultery was only for the *Jews*, to whom it was ſpoken, to mitigate the cruelty of their Law, by which the Adultereſs was to be put to death: and therefore he yielded Divorce in that Caſe, to mitigate the ſeverity of the other Law. But the Apoſtle writing to the *Gentile* Chriſtians, at *Rome*, and *Corinth*, ſaid, The Wife was *tied by the Law to the Husband, as long as he lived*. And that other general Rule, *Whom God has joyned together let no Man put aſunder*, ſeems againſt the diſſolving the Bond. To this it was anſwered, That it is againſt ſeparating as well as diſſolving: that the Wife is *tied to her Husband*; but if he ceaſeth to be her Husband, that tie is at an end: That our Saviour left the Wife at liberty to divorce her Husband for Adultery, though the Law of *Moſes* had only provided, That the Adulterous Wife, and he who defiled her, were to die, but the Husband who committed Adultery was not ſo puniſhable; therefore our Saviour had by that Proviſion declared the Marriage to be clearly diſſolved by Adultery.

From hence they went to examine the Authorities of the Fathers. *Hermes* was for putting away the Adultereſs, but ſo as to receive her again upon repentance. *Origen* thought the Wife could not marry again after divorce. *Tertullian* allowed Divorce, and thought it diſſolved the Marriage as much as Death did. *Epiphanius* did alſo allow it. And *Ambroſe* in one Place allows the Husband to marry after divorce for Adultery, though he condemns it always in the Wife. *Baſil* allowed it on either ſide upon Adultery. *Jerome*, who condemns the Wife's marrying, though her Husband were guilty of Adultery; and who diſliked the Husbands marrying again, though he allowed him to divorce upon Adultery, or the ſuſpition of it; yet when his Friend *Fabiola* had married after a Divorce, he excuſes it, ſaying it was better for her to marry than to burn. *Chromatius* allowed of ſecond Marriages after Divorce.

1548. And ſo did *Chryſoſtome*, though he condemned them in Women ſo divorcing. St. *Auſtin* was ſometimes for a Divorce, but againſt Marriage upon it; yet in his *Retractations*, he writ doubtfully of his former Opinion. In the *Civil* Law, the Chriſtian Emperors allowed the power of Divorcing both to Husband and Wife, with the right of marrying afterwards. Nor did they reſtrain the Grounds of Divorce only to Adultery, but permitted it in many other Caſes; as if the Wife were guilty of Treaſon, had treated for another Husband, had procured an Abortion, had been whole nights abroad; or had gone to ſee the publick Plays without leave from her Husband; beſides many other Particulars. Againſt which, none of the *Fathers* had writ, nor endeavoured to get them repealed. All theſe Laws were confirmed by *Juſtinian*, when he gathered the Laws into a Body, and added to it where they were defective. In the *Canon* Law, it is provided, that he whoſe Wife is defiled muſt not be denied lawful Marriage. Pope *Gregory* denied a ſecond Marriage to the guilty Perſon, but allowed it to the Innocent after Divorce. Pope *Zachary* allowed the Wife of an Inceſtuous Adulterer to be married, if ſhe could not contain. In the *Canon* Law, the Council of *Tribury* is cited, for allowing the like Priviledge to the Husbands. By the Council of *Elvira*, a Man that finds that his Wife intends to kill him, may put her away, and marry another; but ſhe muſt never marry. The Council of *Arles* recommended it to Husbands, whoſe Wives were found in Adultery, not to marry during their Lives. And that at *Elvira* denied the Sacrament, to a Wife who left an Adulterous Husband, and married another; but ſhe might have the Communion when her firſt Husband died: So the ſecond Marriage was accounted good, but only indecent. But the Council of *Milevi* forbids both Man and Wife to marry after Divorce. All theſe were Collected by *Cranmer*, with ſeveral very important Reflections on moſt of the Quotations out of the Fathers. With theſe, there is another Paper, given in by one who was againſt the diſſolving the Bond, in which there are many Quotations brought both from the Canon Law, and the Fathers, for the contrary Opinion. But moſt of the Fathers there cited are of the latter Ages; in which the ſtate of Cœlibate had been ſo exalted by the Monks, that, in all doubtful Caſes, they were reſolved ſtill to prefer that Opinion which denied Liberty for further Marriages. In concluſion, this whole Queſtion was divided into eight Queries, which were put to ſome learned Men; (who theſe were does not appear) and they returned their Anſwer in favour Number 20. of the ſecond Marriage, which will be found in the *Collection*. In end Sentence was given, allowing the ſecond Marriage in that Caſe, and by conſequence confirming the Marqueſs of *Northampton's* Marriage to his ſecond Wife, who upon that was ſuffered to cohabit with him. Yet four years after, he was adviſed to have a ſpecial Act of Parliament for confirming this Sentence; of which mention ſhall be made in its due time and Place.

Some further advance in the Reformation. The next thing that came under conſideration, was the great contradiction that was in moſt of the Sermons over *England*. Some were very earneſt to juſtifie and maintain all the old Rites that yet remained; and others were no leſs hot to have them laid aſide. So that in *London* eſpecially, the People were wonderfully diſtracted by this variety among their Teachers. The Ceremonies of *Candlemaſs*, and their obſervance

of

1548.

of *Lent*, with the Rites uſed on *Palm-Sunday*, *Good-Friday*, and *Eaſter*, were now approaching. Thoſe that were againſt them, condemned them as ſuperſtitious Additions to the Worſhip of God, invented in the dark Ages, when an outward Pageantry had been the chief thing that was looked after. But others ſet out the good uſe that might be made of theſe things, and taught that, till they were aboliſhed by the Kings Authority, they ought to be ſtill obſerved. In a Viſitation that had been made, (when I cannot learn, only it ſeems to have been about the end of King *Henry*'s Reign) it had been declared that Faſting in *Lent* was only a Poſitive Law. Several Directions were alſo given about the uſe of the Ceremonies, and ſome hints as if they were not to be long continued: and all Wakes, and Plough-Mondays, were ſuppreſſed, ſince they drew great Aſſemblies of People together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling. Theſe I have alſo inſerted in the *Collection*, having had a Copy of the Articles left at the Viſitation of the Deanry of *Doncaſter*, communicated to me by the favour of a moſt learned Phyſitian, and curious Antiquary, Dr. *Nathaniel Johnſton*, who ſent me this with ſeveral other Papers out of his generous zeal for contributing every thing in his power to the perfecting of this Work.

Number 21.

The Country People generally loved all theſe Shews, Proceſſions, and Aſſemblies, as things of diverſion: and judged it a dull buſineſs, only to come to Church for Divine Worſhip, and the hearing of Sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gayity and cheerfulneſs of thoſe Rites. But others, obſerving that they kept up all theſe things, juſt as the Heathens did their Plays and Feſtivities for their Gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Religion, and therefore were earneſt to have them removed. This was ſo effectually repreſented to the Council, by *Cranmer*, that an Order was ſent to him about it. He ſent it to *Bonner*, who, being Dean of the Colledge of Biſhops in the Province of *Canterbury*, was to tranſmit, all ſuch Orders over the whole Province. By it, the carrying of Candles on *Candlemaſs* day, of Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, were forbid to be uſed any longer. And this was ſignified by *Bonner*, to *Thirleby* Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, on the 28*th* of *June*, as appears by the Regiſter.

A Proclamation againſt thoſe who Innovated without Authority.

After this, on the 6*th* of *February*, a Proclamation was iſſued out againſt ſuch as ſhould on the other hand raſhly innovate, or perſwade the People from the old accuſtomed Rites, under the Pains of Impriſonment, and other Puniſhments at the Kings pleaſure; excepting only the formerly mentioned Rites; to which are added, the creeping to the Croſs on *Good-Friday*, taking Holy Bread and Water, and any other that ſhould be afterwards at any time certified by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to the other Biſhops in the Kings Name to be laid aſide. And for preventing the miſchiefs occaſioned by raſh Preachers, none were to preach without Licence from the King or his Viſitors, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, where they lived; excepting only Incumbents preaching in their own Pariſhes. Thoſe who preached otherwiſe were to be impriſoned till Order were given for their puniſhment: and the inferior Magiſtrates were required to ſee to the execution of theſe Orders. This Proclamation, which is in the *Collection*, was neceſſary for giving Authority to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*'s

Number 22.

1548.

Letters, which were cenſured as a great preſumption for him without any publick Order to appoint changes in Sacred Rites. Some obſerved, that the Council went on making Proclamations with arbitrary Puniſhments, though the Act was repealed that had formerly given ſo great Authority to them. To this it was anſwered, That the King by his Supremacy might ſtill in matters of Religion make new Orders, and add Puniſhments upon the Tranſgreſſors; yet this was much queſtioned, though univerſally ſubmitted to.

The general taking away of all Images. Number 23.

On the 11*th* of *Feb.* there was a Letter ſent from the Council to the Arch-biſhop for a more conſiderable Change. There were every where great Heats about the removing of Images which had been abuſed to ſuperſtition: Some affirming, and others denying, that their Images had been ſo abuſed. There were in the Churches ſome Images of ſo ſtrange a nature, that it could not be denied that they had been abuſed. Such was the Image of the Bleſſed Trinity, which was to be cenſed, on the day of the *Innocents*, by him that was made the Biſhop of the Children: This ſhews it was uſed on other days, in which it is like it was cenſed by the Biſhop where he was preſent. How this Image was made, can only be gathered from the Prints that were of it at that time: In which the Father is repreſented ſitting on the one hand as an old Man with a Triple Crown and Rayes about him, the Son on the other hand as a young Man with a Crown and Rayes, and the Bleſſed Virgin between them, and the Emblem of the Holy Ghoſt a Dove ſpread over her Head. So it is repreſented in a fair Book of the Hours according to the uſe of *Sarum*, printed *Anno* 1526. The impiety of this did raiſe horror in moſt Mens Minds, when that unconceivable Myſtery was ſo groſly expreſſed. Beſides, the taking the Virgin into it, was done in purſuance to what had been ſaid by ſome blaſphemous Friars, of her being aſſumed into the Trinity. In another Edition of theſe it is repreſented by three Faces formed in one Head. Theſe things had not been ſet up by any publick Warrant; but having been ſo long in practice, they ſtood upon the general Plea that was for keeping the Traditions of the Church: for it was ſaid, that the Promiſes made to the Church were the ſame in all Ages, and that therefore every Age of the Church had an equal Right to them. But for the other Images, it was urged againſt them, that they had been all conſecrated with ſuch Rites and Prayers, that it was certain they were every one of them ſuperſtitious; ſince it was prayed, that they might be ſo bleſſed and conſecrated, that whoſoever worſhiped them might by the Saints Prayers and Aid, whom they repreſented, obtain every thing that he deſired. So they reſolved on an entire removal of all Images. And the Protector with the Council wrote to *Cranmer*, that for putting an end to all theſe Conteſts, and that the living Images of Chriſt might not quarrel about the dead ones, it was concluded they ſhould all of them be taken down: and he was to give order to ſee this executed in his own Dioceſs, and to tranſmit it to the other Biſhops to be in like manner executed by them. There were alſo Orders given, That all rich Shrines, with all the Plate belonging to them ſhould be brought in to the Kings uſe, and that the Cloathes that covered them, ſhould be converted to the uſe of the Poor. This gave *Gardiner*, and thoſe of his Party, a new affliction. For in his Dioceſs he had been always on their ſide that were for keeping up the Images. But they all ſubmitted, and

Proceſſionale in Feſto Innocentium.

ſo

1548.

ſo the Churches were emptied of all theſe Pictures and Statues which had been for divers Ages the chief Objects of the Peoples Worſhip.

Some Reſtraints put on Preachers. May 4.

And now the greateſt care of the Reformers was, to find the beſt Men they could, who ſhould be licenſed by the Kings Authority to preach. To whom the Council ſent a Letter in the beginning of *May*, intimating, that by the reſtraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the raſh contentions of indiſcreet Men, and not to extinguiſh the lively Preaching of the pure Word of God, made after ſuch ſort as the Holy Ghoſt ſhould for the time put in the Preachers mind: Number 24. They are therefore charged to preach ſincerely, and with that caution and moderation, that the Time and Place ſhall require: and particularly; that they ſhould not ſet on the People to make Innovations, or to run before thoſe whom they ſhould obey; but ſhould perſwade them to amend their Lives, and keep the Commandments of God, and to forſake all their old Superſtitions. And for the things not yet changed, they ought to wait patiently, and to conclude that the Prince did either allow, or ſuffer them: and in delivering things to the People, they were ordered to have a ſpecial regard to what they could bear.

But this temper was not obſerved. Some plainly condemned it as a political patching, and ſaid, Why ſhould not all theſe Superſtitions be ſwept away at once? To this it was anſwered by others, That as Chriſt forbade the pulling up of the Tares, leſt with them they ſhould pull up good Wheat; ſo if they went too forwardly to the changing of things, they might in that haſt change much for the worſe: and great care was to be had not to provoke the People too much, leſt in the infancy of the King, or in ſome ill conjuncture of Affairs, they might be diſpoſed to make Commotions. And the compliances that both Chriſt and his Apoſtles gave to the *Jews*, when they were to abrogate the Moſaical Law, were often inſiſted on. It was ſaid, if they who were cloathed with a Power of Miracles, for the more effectual conviction of the World, condeſcended ſo far; it was much more reaſonable for them, who had not that Authority over Mens Conſciences, and had no immediate ſigns to ſhew from Heaven, to perſwade the People rather by degrees to forſake their old miſtakes, and not to precipitate things by an over haſt.

Biſhops and Divines examine the Offices of the Church.

This Winter there was a Committee of ſelected Biſhops and Divines appointed for examining all the Offices of the Church, and for reforming them. Some had been in King *Henry*'s time employed in the ſame buſineſs, in which they had made a good progreſs, which was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, St. *Aſaph*, *Salisbury*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carliſle*, *Briſtol*, *St. Davids*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Rocheſter*, with Doctors *Cox*, *May*, *Tailor*, *Heins*, *Robertſon*, and *Redmayn*, were appointed to examine all the Offices of the Church, and to conſider how far any of them needed amendment.

The thing they firſt examined was the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*; which being the chief Symbol of Chriſtian Communion, was thought to deſerve their chief care. And here they managed their Enquiries in the ſame manner that was uſed in the former Reign; in which, when any thing was conſidered in order to a Change, it was put into ſeveral Que-

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1548.

ries, to which every one in Commiſſion was to give his Anſwer in writing. It is no wonder if the confuſions, that followed in Queen *Maries* Reign, have deprived us of moſt of theſe Papers; yet there is one Set of them preſerved, relating to ſome Queſtions about the Prieſts ſingle communicating; Whether one Mans receiving it can be uſeful to another? What was the Oblation or Sacrifice that was made of Chriſt in the Maſs? Wherein the Maſs conſiſted? When the Prieſts receiving alone began? Whether it was convenient to retain that, and continue Maſſes ſatisfactory for departed Souls? Whether the Goſpel ought to be taught at the time of the Maſs? Whether it were convenient to have it all in a known Tongue or not? And when the reſerving or hanging up of the Sacrament firſt began? To theſe the Biſhops made their ſeveral Anſwers. Some anſwered them all: others anſwered only a few of them; it is like, ſuſpending their Opinions about thoſe which they anſwered not. The Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Hereford*, gave in their Anſwers once in one Paper together; but afterwards they joyned with the Biſhops of *Norwich*, and *St. Aſaph*, and all thoſe ſix gave a joynt Anſwer in one Paper. Thoſe are not all ſubſcribed, as thoſe which I inſerted in the former *Volume* were; or at leaſt the Papers I have, are not the Originals. But *Cranmers* Hand is over every one of them, marking the Name of the Biſhop to whom they belonged; and Dr. *Cox* hath ſet his Hand and Seal to his Anſwer. By theſe, which are in the *Collection*, the Reader will perceive how generally the Biſhops were addicted to the old Superſtition, and how few did agree in all things with *Cranmer*. It may be thought that theſe Queſtions were given out before the Act of Parliament paſſed, in which the Prieſts ſingle communicating is turned into a Communion of more. Yet by that Act it was only provided, That all who came to receive ſhould be admitted, but Prieſts were not forbid to Conſecrate if none were to Communicate, which was the thing now inquired into.

Number 25.

The Corruptions in the Office of the Communion examined.

It is certain there was no part of Worſhip more corrupted than this Sacrament was. The firſt Inſtitution was ſo plain and ſimple, that, except in the Words, *This is my Body*, there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that were afterwards brought in. The Heathens had their Myſteries, which the Prieſts concealed with hard and dark words, and dreſſed up with much Pomp; and thereby ſupported their own eſteem with the People; ſince they looked on theſe to be of ſo high a nature, that all thoſe who had the ordering of them were accounted Sacred Perſons. The Primitive Chriſtians retained the firſt ſimplicity of Divine Inſtitutions for ſome Ages. But afterwards, as their number encreaſed, they made uſe of ſome things not unlike thoſe the Heathens had practiſed, to draw the *Gentiles* more eaſily into their belief; ſince external Shews make deep impreſſions in the Vulgar. And thoſe that were thus brought over, might afterwards come to like theſe things for their own ſakes, which were at firſt made uſe of only to gain the World. Others finding ſome advantage in ſuch Services, that were eaſie, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by countenancing and complying with the follies that were in vogue contributed liberally to the improvement of them. And after the *Roman* Emperors turned Chriſtian, much of that vaſt Wealth, of which they and their People were Maſters, was brought into the Church, and

1548. applied to theſe Superſtitions. Yet it became not ſo univerſally corrupted, till by the Invaſion of the *Goths*, *Vandalls*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman* Empire was broken and divided into many Kingdoms. Theſe new Conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to ſenſible things, and Learning being univerſally extinguiſh'd, groſs Superſtition took place; for more refined Superſtitions would not ſerve the turn of darker Ages: But as they grew in Ignorance they continued in the Belief and Practice of more abſurd things.

The high opinion they juſtly had of this Sacrament being much raiſed by the Belief of the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull Wits of the Prieſts, and the Wealth of the People, were employed to magnifie it with all the pomp poſſible. All the Veſſels and Garments belonging to it were conſecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole Office was in an unknown Tongue. A great part of it was to be ſecretly whiſpered, to make it appear the more wonderful charm. But chiefly the words of Conſecration were by no means to be heard by the People; it being fabled, that when the words were ſpoken aloud, ſome Shepherds had repeated them over their Bread, which was thereupon preſently turned into Fleſh. Beſides that it was but ſuitable that a Change which was not to be ſeen, ſhould be made by words not to be heard. The Prieſt was not to approach it, but after ſo many Bowings, Croſſings, and Kiſſings of the Altar; and all the while he went through with the Office, the People were only now and then bleſſed by a ſhort Bleſſing, *The Lord be with you*, and even that in *Latin*. Then after Conſecration, the Bread was lifted up, and all the People worſhiped it, as if Chriſt had appeared in the Clouds. It was oft expoſed on the Altar, and carried about in Proceſſions, with the Ceremonies of carrying *Flambeaux* before it, which the greateſt Perſons accounted it an Honour to do;the Prieſt that carried it all the while going pompouſly under a rich Canopy.

This was alſo thought moſt effectual for all the accidents of life. And whereas it was firſt only intended to be a Commemoration and Communion of the Death of Chriſt; that ſeemed almoſt forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable. That which brought in moſt Cuſtom was, *Trentalls*, which was a Method of delivering Souls out of Purgatory, by ſaying 30 Maſſes a year for them. And whereas it was obſerved, that Men on the Anniverſaries of their Birth-days, Wedding, or other happy accidents of their Lives, were commonly in better humour; ſo that Favours were more eaſily obtain'd; they ſeemed to have had the ſame opinion of God and Chriſt. So they ordered it, that three of theſe ſhould be ſaid on *Chriſtmas* day, three on *Epiphany*, three on the *Purification* of the Bleſſed Virgin, three on the *Annunciation*, three on the *Reſurrection*, three on the *Aſcenſion*, three on *Whit-Sunday*, three on *Trinity-Sunday*, three on the *Aſſumption* of the Bleſſed Virgin, and three on her *Birth-day*; hoping that theſe days would be the *Mollia tempora* when God and Chriſt, or the Bleſſed Virgin, would be of eaſier acceſs, and more ready to grant their deſires. Yet the moſt unaccountable part of all, was the Maſſes on the Saints days, praying that the Interceſſion of the Saint might make the Sacrifice acceptable, that the Saint, for whoſe Honour theſe Oblations were ſolemnly offered, would by his Merits procure them to be accepted, and that the Sacrifice might bring

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1548. to them a greater Indulgence, being offered up by the Suffrages of the Saint. If the Sacrifice was of Jeſus Chriſt, and was of its own Nature expiatory, how this ſhould be done in honour to a Saint, and become of greater vertue by his Interceſſion, was a thing very hard to be underſtood. There were many Pieces of ridiculous Pageantry alſo uſed in it, as the laying the Hoſt in the Sepulchre they made for Chriſt on *Good-Friday*; and that not only the Candles that were to burn at the *Eaſter* Celebration, but the very Fire that was to kindle them, was particularly conſecrated on *Eaſter Eve*. Some Maſſes were believed to have a peculiar Vertue in them. For in the Maſs-Book printed at *London Anno* 1500. there is a Maſs for avoiding ſudden death; which Pope *Clement* made in the Colledge with all his Cardinals, and granted to all who heard it 270 days of Indulgence, charging them that they ſhould hold in their Hand a burning Candle all the while it was ſaying, and for five days after ſhould likewiſe hold a Candle, kneeling during the whole Maſs: and to thoſe that did ſo, ſudden death ſhould do no harm. And it is added, that this was certain, and approved, in *Avignion*, and all the neighbouring Places. All this I have opened the more largely, to let the Reader plainly underſtand, what things were then in this Sacrament that required Reformation: and I have gathered theſe things out of the Maſs-Book, then moſt uſed in *England*, and beſt known by the Name of the *Miſſal after the uſe of Sarum*.

A new Office for the Communion ſet out.

The firſt ſtep theſe deputed Biſhops and Divines made, was to reform this. But they did not at once mend every thing that required it, but left the Office of the Maſs as it was, only adding to it that which made it a Communion. It began firſt with an Exhortation, to be uſed the day before, which differs not much from that now uſed. Only after the advice given concerning Confeſſion, it is added, That ſuch as deſired to make auricular Confeſſion, ſhould not cenſure thoſe who were ſatisfied with a general Confeſſion to God, and that thoſe who uſed only Confeſſion to God and to the Church ſhould not be offended with thoſe who uſed auricular Confeſſion to a Prieſt; but that all ſhould keep the Rule of Charity, every Man being ſatisfied to follow his own Conſcience, and not judging another Mans in things not appointed by God. After the Prieſt had received the Sacrament, he was to turn to the People and read an Exhortation to them; the ſame we now uſe, only a little varied in words. After that, followed a Denunciation againſt Sinners, requiring them who were ſuch, and had not repented, to withdraw, leſt the Devil ſhould enter into them as he did into *Judas*. Then after a little pauſe, to ſee if any would withdraw; there was to follow a ſhort Exhortation, with a Confeſſion of ſins, and Abſolution, the very ſame which we do yet retain. Then thoſe Texts of Scripture were read, which we yet read; followed with the Prayer, *We do not preſume*, &c. After this, the Sacrament was to be given in both kinds; firſt to the Miniſters then preſent, and then to all the People, with theſe words, *The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body unto Everlaſting Life*; and, *The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was ſhed for thee, preſerve thy Soul unto Everlaſting Life.* When all was done, the Congregation was to be diſmiſſed with a Bleſſing. The Bread was to be ſuch as had been formerly uſed, and every one of the Breads ſo conſecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the People were to be

1548.

taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were ſmall, or great, but that in each of them they received the whole Body of Chriſt. If the Wine, that was at firſt conſecrated, did not ſerve, the Prieſt was to conſecrate more; but all to be without any Elevation. This Office, being thus finiſhed, was ſet forth with a Proclamation, reciting, That whereas the Parliament had Enacted that the Communion ſhould be given in both kinds to all the Kings Subjects, it was now ordered to be given in the Form here ſet forth, and all were required to receive it with due reverence, and Chriſtian behaviour, and with ſuch uniformity as might encourage the King to go on in the ſetting forth godly Orders for Reformation, which he intended moſt earneſtly to bring to effect by the help of God: Willing his Subjects, not to run before his direction, and ſo by their raſhneſs to hinder ſuch things; aſſuring them of the earneſt zeal he had to ſet them forth, hoping they would quietly and reverently tarry for it.

This was publiſhed on the *8th* of *March*, and on the *13th* Books were ſent to all the Biſhops of *England*, requiring them to ſend them to every Pariſh in their Dioceſs, that the Curates might have time, both to inſtruct themſelves about it, and to acquaint their People with it; ſo that by the next *Eaſter* it might be univerſally received in all the Churches of the Nation. This was variouſly cenſured. Thoſe that were for the old Superſtition, were much troubled to have Confeſſion thus left indifferent, and a general Confeſſion of ſins to be uſed, with which they apprehended the People would for the moſt part content themſelves. In the Scripture there was a Power of Binding and Looſing ſins given to the Apoſtles. And St. *James* exhorted thoſe to whom he wrote, to confeſs their faults *to one another*. Afterwards Penitents came to be reconciled to the Church, when they had given publick ſcandal, either by their Apoſtacy, or ill Life, by an open Confeſſion of their ſins; and after ſome time of ſeparation from the other pure Chriſtians in Worſhip, and an abſtention from the Sacrament, they were admitted again to their ſhare of all the Priviledges that were given in common to Chriſtians. But according to the nature of their ſins, they were, beſides the publick Confeſſion, put under ſuch Rules as might be moſt proper for curing theſe ill Inclinations in them: and according to the ſeveral Ranks of ſins, the time and degrees of this Penitence was proportioned. And the Councils that met in the fourth and fifth *Centuries* made the regulating theſe penitentiary Canons the chief Subject of their Conſultations. In many Churches, there were penitentiary Prieſts, who were more expert in the knowledge of theſe Rules, and gave directions about them: which were taken away in *Conſtantinople* upon the indiſcretion of which one of them had been guilty. For ſecret ſins, there was no obligation to confeſs, ſince all the Canons were about publick ſcandals: yet for theſe, the devout People generally went to their Prieſts for their Counſel, but were not obliged to it; and ſo went to them for the diſtempers of their Minds, as they did to Phyſicians for the Diſeaſes of their Bodies.

It is variouſly cenſured.

Chiefly that Auricular Confeſſion was laid down.

About the end of the *5th Century*, they began in ſome Places to have ſecret Penances; either within Monaſteries, or other Places which the Prieſts had appointed: and upon a ſecret Confeſſion, and performing the Penance impoſed, Abſolution was alſo given ſecretly: whereas in former times, Confeſſion and Abſolution had been performed openly in the

1548. Church. In the *7th Century* it was every where practiſed, that there ſhould be ſecret Penance for ſecret ſins: which *Theodore* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* did firſt bring into a Method, and under Rules. But about the end of the *8th Century*, the commutation of Penance, and exchanging it for Money, or other Services to the Church, came to be practiſed: and then began Pilgrimages to Holy Places, and afterwards the going to the Holy War: and all the ſeverities of Penance were diſpenſed with to ſuch as undertook theſe. This brought on a great Relaxation of all Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. Afterwards, Croiſadoes came in uſe, againſt ſuch Princes as were depoſed by Popes: and to theſe was likewiſe added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all Rules of Penitence were diſpenſed with to ſuch as put on that Croſs. But Penitence being now no more publick, but only private, the Prieſts managed it as they pleaſed, and ſo by Confeſſion entred into all Mens ſecrets, and by Abſolution had their Conſciences ſo entirely in their Power, that the People were generally governed by them. Yet becauſe the Secular Prieſts were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under ſuch an aſſociation as was needful to manage thoſe deſigns, for which this was thought an excellent Engine; therefore the Friars were employed every where to hear Confeſſions, and to give Abſolutions. And to bring in Cuſtomers to them, two new things were invented. The one was, a Reſerving of certain Caſes, in which ſuch as were guilty of them could not be abſolved but by the Popes, or thoſe deputed by them: and the Friars had faculties in the Popes Name to abſolve in theſe Caſes. The other was on ſome occaſion the uſe of certain new Secrets, by which Men were to obtain great Indulgences; either by ſaying ſuch Prayers, or performing ſuch Impoſitions; and theſe were all truſted to the Friars, who were to trade with them, and bring all the Money they could gather by that means to *Rome*. They being bred up to a voluntary Poverty, and expecting great Rewards for their Induſtry, ſold thoſe Secrets with as much cunning, as Mountebanks uſe in ſelling their Tricks: only here was the difference, that the ineffectualneſs of the Mountebanks Medicines was ſoon diſcovered, ſo their Trade muſt be but ſhort in one Place; whereas the other could not be ſo eaſily found out; The chief Piece of the Religion of thoſe Ages being to believe all that their Prieſts taught them. Of this ſort the Reader will find in the *Collection* an Eſſay of Indulgences as they were printed in the *Hours* after the uſe of *Sarum*, which were ſet down in *Engliſh*, though the Prayers be all *Latine*, that ſo all the People might know the value of ſuch Ware. Thoſe had been all by degrees brought from *Rome*, and put into Peoples Hands, and afterwards laid together in their Offices. By them, Indulgences of many years, Hundreds, Thouſands, and Millions of years, and of all ſins whatſoever, were granted to ſuch as devoutly ſaid ſuch Collects: but it was always underſtood that they muſt confeſs and be abſolved, which is the meaning of thoſe Expreſſions concerning their being in *a ſtate of Grace*. And ſo the whole Buſineſs was a Cheat.

Collection Number 26.

And now all this Trade was laid aſide, and Confeſſion of ſecret ſins was left to all Mens free choice: ſince it was certain that the Confeſſion to a Prieſt was no where enjoyned in the Scriptures. It was a reaſonable Objection, that as ſecret Confeſſion and private Penance had worn out the primitive practice of the publick cenſuring of ſcandalous Perſons, ſo

1548.

ſo it had been well if the reviving of that Diſcipline had driven out theſe later Abuſes: but to let that lie unreſtored, and yet to let Confeſſion wear out, was to diſcharge the World of all outward reſtraints, and to leave them to their full liberty, and ſo to throw up that Power of Binding and Looſing, which ought to take place, chiefly, in admitting them to the Sacrament. This was confeſſed to be a great defect, and effectual endeavours were uſed to retrieve it, though without ſucceſs: and it was openly declared to be a thing which they would ſtudy to repair: But the total diſuſe of all publick cenſure had made the Nation ſo unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the Civil Authority, they could not compaſs it. And though it was acknowledged to be a great diſorder in the Church, yet as they could not keep up the neceſſity of private Confeſſion, ſince it was not commanded in the Goſpel; ſo the generality of the Clergy being ſuperſtitious Men, whoſe chief influence on the People was by thoſe ſecret Practices in Confeſſion, they judged it neceſſary to leave that free to all People, and to repreſent it as a thing to which they were not obliged, and in the place of that ordered the general Confeſſion to be made in the Church, with the Abſolution added to it. For the Power of Binding and Looſing, it was by many thought to be only Declarative; and ſo to be exerciſed, when the Goſpel was preached, and a General Abſolution granted, according to the Ancient Forms. In which Forms, the Abſolution was a Prayer that God would abſolve; and ſo it had been ſtill uſed in the Abſolution which was given on *Maundy-Thurſday*: but the Formal Abſolution given by the Prieſt in his own Name, *I abſolve thee*, was a late invention to raiſe their Authority higher, and ſignified nothing diſtinct from thoſe other Forms that were anciently uſed in the Church.

Others cenſured the Words in diſtributing the two kinds in the Lords Supper: the *Body* being given for the preſerving the *Body*, and the *Blood* of Chriſt for preſerving the *Soul*. This was thought done on deſign to poſſeſs the People with an high value of the Chalice, as that which preſerved their *Souls*; whereas the Bread was only for the preſervation of their *Bodies*. But *Cranmer* being ready to change any thing for which he ſaw good reaſon, did afterwards ſo alter it, that in both it was ſaid, *Preſerve thy Body and Soul.* And yet it ſtands ſo in the Prayer, *We do not preſume*, &c. On all this I have digreſſed ſo long, becauſe of the importance of the matter, and for ſatisfying the Scruples that many ſtill have upon the laying aſide of Confeſſion in our Reformation.

Commiſſions were next given to examine the ſtate of the Chantries and Guildable Lands. The Inſtruction about them will be found in the *Collection*, of which I need give no abſtract here, for they were only about the Methods of enquiring into their value, and how they were poſſeſſed, or what Alienations had been made of them.

Collection Number 27.

The Protector and Council were now in much trouble. The War with *Scotland* they found was like to grow chargeable, ſince they ſaw it was ſupported from *France*. There was a Rebellion alſo broke out in *Ireland*, and the King was much indebted, nor could they expect any Subſidies from the Parliament; in which it had been ſaid that they gave the *Chantry Lands*, that they might be delivered from all Subſidies. Therefore the Parliament was prorogued till Winter. Upon this the

1548. whole Council did on the 17*th* of *April* unanimouſly reſolve, that it was neceſſary to ſell 5000 *l.* a year of *Chantry Lands* for raiſing ſuch a Sum as the Kings occaſions required, and Sir *Hen. Mildmay* was appointed to treat about the Sale of them.

Gardiner falls into new Troubles.

The new Communion-Book was received over *England* without any oppoſition. Only complaints were brought of *Gardiner*, that he did ſecretly detract from the Kings Proceedings. Upon which the Council took occaſion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remembred, how at firſt upon his refuſing to receive the Kings *Injunctions*, he had been put in the *Fleet*; where he had been as well uſed, as if it had been his own Houſe; (which is far contrary to his Letters to the Protector, of which mention has been already made) and that he upon promiſe of Conformity had been diſcharged. But when he was come home, being forgetful of his Promiſes; he had raiſed much ſtrife and contention, and had cauſed all his Servants to be ſecretly armed and harneſſed, and had put publick affronts on thoſe whom the Council ſent down to preach in his Dioceſs; for in ſome Places, to diſgrace them, he went into the Pulpit before them, and warned the People to beware of ſuch Teachers, and to receive no other Doctrine but what he had taught them. Upon this he had been ſent for a ſecond time, but again upon his Promiſe of Conformity was diſcharged, and ordered to ſtay at his own Houſe in *London*. That there he had continued ſtill to meddle in publick Matters, of which being again admoniſhed, he deſired that he might be ſuffered to clear himſelf of all miſrepreſentations that had been made of him, in a *Sermon* which he ſhould preach before the King, in which he ſhould openly declare how well he was ſatisfied with his Proceedings: yet it is added, That in his *Sermon*, where there was a wonderful Audience, he did moſt arrogantly meddle with ſome Matters that were contrary to an expreſs command given him both by word of Mouth and by Letters; and in other Matters, uſed ſuch words as had almoſt raiſed a great Tumult in the very time, and had ſpoken very ſeditiouſly concerning the Policy of the Kingdom. So they ſaw that Clemency wrought no good effect on him; and it ſeeming neceſſary to terrifie others by their Proceedings with him, he was ſent to the *Tower*, and the door of his Cloſet was ſealed up. Thus it is entred in the Council-Book, Signed *E. Somerſet*, *T. Cantuarien. W. St. Johns*, *J. Ruſſel*, and *T. Cheyney*. Yet it ſeems this Order was not Signed when it was made, but ſome years after. For the Lord *Ruſſel* Signed firſt *Bedford*, but remembring that at the time when this Order was made he had not that Title, therefore he daſhed it out, (but ſo as it ſtill appears) and Signed, *J. Ruſſel*.

Fox's Acts and Monuments.

The account that *Gardiner* himſelf gives of this Buſineſs, is, That being diſcharged upon the Act of Pardon, he was deſired to promiſe that he would ſet forth the *Homilies*; and a Form was given him to which he ſhould ſet his Hand; but he, conſidering of it a fortnight, returned, and ſaid he could not ſubſcribe it: ſo he was confined to his Houſe. Then *Ridley* and Mr. *Cecil*, (afterwards the great Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treaſurer to Queen *Eliz.* at that time Secretary to the Protector) were ſent to him, and ſo prevailed, that he did ſet his Hand to it. But upon ſome Complaints that were made of him, he was ſent for after *Whit-Sunday*, and accuſed, that he had carried Palms, had crept to the Croſs, and had a

Sepulchre on *Good-Friday*, which was contrary to the Kings Proclamations: all which he denied, and ſaid, he had and would ſtill give obedience to what the King ſhould command. That of affronting the Kings Preachers was objected to him, to which he anſwered telling matter of fact how it was done, but he does not in his Writing ſet it down. Then it was complained, that in a *Sermon* he had ſaid, The Apoſtles came away rejoycing from *the Council, the Council, the Council*, repeating it thus, to make it ſeem applicable to himſelf. This he denied. Then it was objected, That he preached the *Real Preſence* in the Sacrament, the Word *Real* not being in Scripture, and ſo it was not the ſetting forth the pure Word of God: He ſaid, he had not uſed the Word *Real*, only he had aſſerted the Preſence of Chriſt, in ſuch words as he had heard the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* diſpute for it againſt *Lambert*, that had been burnt. He was commanded to tarry in *London*; but he deſired, that ſince he was not an Offender, he might be at his liberty. He complained much of the *Songs* made of him, and of the Books written againſt him, and particularly of one *Philpot* in *Weſtminſter*, whom he accounted a mad Man.

Then he relates, That *Cecil* came to him, and propoſed to him to preach before the King, and that he ſhould write his *Sermon*; and alſo brought him ſome Notes which he wiſhed him to put in his *Sermon*: he ſaid he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an Offender: nor would he make uſe of Notes prepared by other Men. Then he was privately brought to the Protector, none but the Lord *St. John* being preſent, who ſhewed him a Paper containing the opinion of ſome Lawyers, of the Kings Power, and of a Biſhops Authority, and of the Puniſhment of diſobeying the King: but he deſired to ſpeak with thoſe Lawyers, and ſaid, no ſubſcription of theirs ſhould oblige him to preach otherwiſe than as he was convinced. The Protector ſaid, he ſhould either do that, or do worſe. Secretary *Smith* came to him to preſs him further in ſome Points, but what they were is not mentioned. Yet by the other Papers in that Buſineſs it appears, they related to the Kings Authority when under Age, and for juſtifying the Kings proceedings in what had been done about the Ceremonies, and that Auricular Confeſſion was indifferent. So the Conteſt between him and the Protector ended; and there was no writing required of him; but he left the whole matter to him, ſo that he ſhould treat plainly of thoſe things mentioned to him by *Cecil*. He choſe St. *Peters* day, becauſe the Goſpel agreed to his purpoſe. *Cecil* ſhewed him ſome Notes, written with the Kings Hand, of the *Sermons* preached before him; eſpecially what was ſaid of the Duty of a King; and warned him, that when ever he named the King he ſhould add, *and his Council*. To this he made no Anſwer; for though he thought it wiſely done of a King to uſe his Council, yet being to ſpeak of the Kings Power according to Scripture, he did not think it neceſſary to add any thing of his Council: and hearing by a confuſed report ſome ſecret matter, he reſolved not to meddle with it. Two days before he preached, the Protector ſent him a Meſſage, not to meddle with theſe Queſtions about the Sacrament; that were yet in controverſie among Learned Men; and that therefore he was reſolved there ſhould be no publick determination made of them before-hand in the Pulpit. He ſaid, he could not forbear to ſpeak of the Maſs, for he looked on it as

1548. the chief foundation of Chriſtian Religion: but he doubted not that he ſhould ſo ſpeak of it, as to give them all content. So the day following the Protector writ to him, (as will be found in the *Collection*) Number 28. requiring him in the Kings Name, not to meddle with theſe Points, but to preach concerning the Articles given him, and about Obedience, and good Life, which would afford him matter enough for a long *Sermon*: ſince the other points were to be reſerved to a publick Conſultation. The Protector added, That he held it a great part of his Duty under the King, not to ſuffer wilful Perſons to diſſwade the People from receiving ſuch Truths as ſhould be ſet forth by others. But *Gardiner* pretended that there was no Controverſie about the Preſence of Chriſt. And ſo the next day he took his Text out of the Goſpel for the day, *Thou art Chriſt*, &c. In his *Sermon* (of which I have ſeen large Notes) he expreſſed himſelf very fully concerning the Popes Supremacy as juſtly aboliſhed, and the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries and Chantries; he approved of the Kings Proceedings; he thought Images might have been well uſed, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the Sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of Maſſes ſatisfactory, and liked well the new Order for the Communion. But he aſſerted largely the Preſence of Chriſts Fleſh and Blood in the Sacrament: Upon which many of the Aſſembly, that were indiſcreetly hot on both ſides, cried out, ſome approving, and others diſliking it. Of the Kings Authority under Age, and of the Power of the Council in that Caſe, he ſaid not a word: and upon that he was impriſoned.

Parkers MSS. Ex C.Cb. Col. Cant.

He preached before the King.

The occaſion of this was, the Popiſh Clergy began generally to have it ſpread among them, that, though they had acknowledged the Kings Supremacy, yet they had never owned the Councils Supremacy. That the Council could only ſee to the execution of the Laws and Orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the Supremacy could not be exerciſed, till the King, in whoſe Perſon it was veſted, came to be of Age to conſider of Matters himſelf. Upon this, the Lawyers were conſulted; who did unanimouſly reſolve, that the Supremacy being annexed to the Regal Dignity, was the ſame in a King under Age, when it was executed by the Council, that it was in a King at full Age; and therefore, things ordered by the Council now, had the ſame Authority in Law that they could have when the King did act himſelf. But this did not ſatisfie the greater part of the Clergy. Some of whom, by the high Flatteries that had been given to Kings in King *Henry*'s time, ſeemed to fancy that there were degrees of Divine Illumination derived unto Princes, by the anointing them at the Coronation; and theſe not exerting themſelves till a King attained to a ripeneſs of underſtanding, they thought the Supremacy was to lie dormant while he was ſo young. The Protector and Council endeavoured to have got *Gardiner* to declare againſt this, but he would not meddle in it. How far he might ſet forward the other Opinion, I do not know. Theſe Proceedings againſt him were thought too ſevere, and without Law; but he being generally hated, they were not ſo much cenſured, as they had been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable Man.

And thus were the Orders made by the Council generally obeyed; many being terrified with the uſage *Gardiner* met with, from which others inferred what they might look for, if they were refractory, when ſo great a Biſhop was ſo treated.

The

1548.

Cranmer ſets out a Catechiſme.

The next thing *Cranmer* ſet about, was the compiling of a *Catechiſme*, or large inſtruction of young Perſons in the Grounds of the Chriſtian Religion. In it, he reckons the two firſt Commandments but one; though, he ſays, many of the Ancients divided them in two. But the diviſion was of no great conſequence, ſo no part of the Decalogue were ſuppreſſed by the Church. He ſhewed that the excuſes the Papiſts had for Images, were no other than what the Heathens brought for their Idolatry; who alſo ſaid, they did not worſhip the Image, but that only which was repreſented by it. He particularly takes notice of the Image of the Trinity. He ſhews how St. *Peter* would not ſuffer *Cornelius*, and the Angel would not ſuffer St. *John*, to worſhip them. The believing that there is a vertue in one Image more than in another, he accounts plain Idolatry. *Ezekias* broke the Brazen Serpent, when abuſed, though it was a Type or Image of Chriſt, made by Gods command, to which a miraculous Vertue had been once given. So now there was good reaſon to break Images, when they had been ſo abuſed to ſuperſtition and Idolatry; and when they gave ſuch ſcandal to *Jews* and *Mahometans*, who generally accounted the *Chriſtians* Idolaters on that account. He aſſerts, beſides the two Sacraments, of Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper, the Power of reconciling Sinners to God, as a third; and fully owns the Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts; and wiſhes that the Canons and Rites of publick Penitence were again reſtored; and exhorts much to Confeſſion, and the Peoples dealing with their Paſtors about their Conſciences, that ſo they might, upon knowledge, bind and looſe according to the Goſpel. Having finiſhed this eaſie, but moſt uſeful work, he dedicated it to the King. And in his *Epiſtle* to him, complains of the great neglect, that had been in former times, of *Catechiſing*; and that *Confirmation* had not been rightly adminiſtred, ſince it ought to be given only to theſe of Age, who underſtood the Principles of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and did upon knowledge, and with ſincere minds, renew their Baptiſmal Vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this Reformation, the Practice of the *Roman* Church in the matter of *Images* was held Idolatrous. *Cranmer's* zeal for reſtoring the Penitentiary Canons is alſo clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aſide thoſe ſingular opinions which he formerly held of the Eccleſiaſtical Functions; for now, in a Work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully ſets forth their Divine Inſtitution.

A General Reformation of all the Offices of the Church is ſet about.

All theſe things made way for a greater Work, which theſe ſelected Biſhops and Divines, who had laboured in the ſetting forth of the Office of the Communion, were now preparing; which was, the entire Reformation of the whole Service of the Church. In order to this, they brought together all the Offices uſed in *England*. In the *Southern* Parts, thoſe after the uſe of *Sarum* were univerſally received, which were believed to have been compiled by *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Sarum*. In the *North* of *England*, they had other Offices, after the uſe of *York*. In *South-Wales* they had them after the uſe of *Hereford*. In *North-Wales* after the uſe of *Bangor*. And in *Lincoln*, another ſort of an Office proper to that See.

In the Primitive Church, when the extraordinary Gifts ceaſed, the Biſhops of the ſeveral Churches put their Offices and Prayers into ſuch a

1548.

Method, as was neareſt to what they had heard or remembred from the Apoſtles. And theſe *Liturgies* were called by the Apoſtles Names from whoſe Forms they had been compoſed; as that at *Jeruſalem* carried the Name of St. *James*, and that of *Alexandria* the Name of St. *Mark*; though thoſe Books that we have now under theſe Names are certainly ſo interpolated, that they are of no great Authority: But in the fourth *Century* we have theſe *Liturgies* firſt mentioned. The Council of *Laodicea* appointed the ſame Office of Prayers to be uſed in the Mornings and Evenings. The Biſhops continued to draw up new Additions, and to put old Forms into other Methods. But this was left to every Biſhops care, nor was it made the Subject of any publick Conſultation, till St. *Auſtins* time; when in their dealings with Hereticks, they found they took advantages from ſome of the Prayers that were in ſome Churches. Upon this he tells us, it was ordered, that there ſhould be no Prayers uſed in the Church, but upon common advice: after that the *Liturgies* came to be more carefully conſidered. Formerly the Worſhip of God was a pure and ſimple thing, and ſo it continued, till Superſtition had ſo infected the Church that thoſe Forms were thought too naked, unleſs they were put under more Artificial Rules, and dreſſed up with much Ceremony. *Gregory* the Great was the firſt that took much care to make the Church Muſick very regular, and he did alſo put the *Liturgies* in another Method than had been formerly uſed. Yet he had no ſuch fondneſs of his own compoſures; but left it to *Auſtin* the Monk, whom he ſent over into *England*, when he conſulted him in it, either to uſe the *Roman* or *French* Rituals, or any other, as he ſhould find they were moſt likely to edifie the People. After this, in moſt Sees there were great variations; for as any Prelate came to be Canonized, or held in high eſteem by the People, ſome private *Collects* or particular Forms that he had uſed, were practiſed in his, or perhaps, as his Fame ſpread, in the neighbouring Dioceſes. In every Age there were notable Additions made: and all the Writers almoſt, in the *8th* and *9th Centuries*, employed their Fancies to find out myſtical ſignifications for every Rite that was then uſed; and ſo, as a new Rite was added, it was no hard matter to add ſome Myſtery to it. This had made the Offices ſwell out of meaſure, and there was a great variety of them, *Miſſals*, *Breviaries*, *Rituals*, *Pontificals*, *Portoiſes*, *Pies*, *Gradualls*, *Antiphonalls*, *Pſalteries*, *Houres*, and a great many more. Every Religious Order had likewiſe their peculiar Rites, with the Saints days that belonged to their Order, and Services for them; and the underſtanding how to officiate was become ſo hard a piece of the Trade, that it was not eaſie to learn it exactly, without a long practice in it. So now it was reſolved to correct and examine theſe.

It was reſolved there ſhould be a new Liturgy.

I do not find it was ever brought under conſideration, whether they ſhould compoſe a Form for all the Parts of Divine Worſhip, or leave it to the ſudden and extemporary heats of thoſe who were to officiate, which ſome have called ſince that time, The worſhiping *by the Spirit*: Of this way of ſerving God, they did not then dream; much leſs that the appointing of Forms of Prayer was an encroaching on the Kingly Office of Chriſt, but thought, what ever *praying in the Spirit* might have been in the Apoſtles time, (where yet every Man brought his Pſalms, which are a ſort of Prayers, as well as Praiſes, and theſe look like ſome

written Compoſures, as St. *Paul* expreſſes it) that now to pray with 1548.
warm affection and ſincere devotion was Spiritual Worſhip: and that where it was the ſame thing that was to be daily asked of God, the uſing the ſame expreſſions, was the ſign of a ſteady devotion, that was fixed on the thing prayed for; whereas the heat that new words raiſed, looked rather like a warmth in the fancy. Nor could it agree with the Principles of a Reformation, that was to deveſt the Church-men of that unlimited Authority which they had formerly exerciſed over Mens Conſciences, to leave them at liberty to make the People pray after them, as they pleaſed; this being as great a reſignation of the People, when their devotion depended on the ſudden heats of their Paſtors, as the former Superſtition had made of their Faith and Conſcience to them. So it being reſolved to bring the whole Worſhip of God under ſet Forms, they ſet one General Rule to themſelves, (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelties ſake, or meerly becauſe it had been formerly uſed. They reſolved to retain ſuch things as the Primitive Church had practiſed, cutting off ſuch abuſes as the later ages had grafted on them, and to continue the uſe of ſuch other things, which, though they had been brought in not ſo early, yet were of good uſe to beget devotion; and were ſo much recommended to the People by the practice of them, that the laying theſe aſide would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made. And therefore they reſolved to make no change without very good and weighty reaſons. In which they conſidered the practice of our Saviour; who did not only comply with the Rites of Judaiſm himſelf, but even the Prayer he gave to his Diſciples, was framed according to their Forms; and his two great Inſtitutions of Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt, did conſiſt of Rites that had been uſed among the *Jews*. And ſince he who was delivering a new Religion, and was authorized in the higheſt manner that ever any was, did yet ſo far comply with received Practices, as from them to take thoſe which he ſanctified for the uſe of his Church; it ſeemed much fitter for thoſe who had no ſuch extraordinary warrant to give them Authority in what they did, when they were reforming abuſes, to let the World ſee, they did it not from the wanton deſire of change, or any affectation of novelty: and with thoſe reſolutions they entred on their Work.

In the ſearch of the former Offices, they found an infinite deal of ſuperſtition, in the Conſecrations, of Water, Salt, Bread, Incenſe, Candles, Fire, Bells, Churches, Images, Altars, Croſſes, Veſſels, Garments, Palms, Flowers; all looked like the Rites of *Heatheniſm*, and ſeemed to ſpring from the ſame Fountain. When the Water or Salt were bleſſed, it was expreſſed to be to this end, that they might be health both to Soul and Body, and Devils (who might well laugh at theſe tricks which they had taught them) were adjured not to come to any place where they were ſprinkled: and the Holy Bread was bleſſed, to be a defence againſt all Diſeaſes, and ſnares of the Devil: and the Holy Incenſe, that Devils might not come near the ſmoak of it, but that all who ſmelled at it might perceive the Vertue of the Holy Ghoſt: and the Aſhes were bleſſed ſo, that all who were covered with them, might deſerve to obtain the remiſſion of their ſins. All thoſe things had drawn the People to ſuch confidence in them, that they generally thought that, without thoſe harder terms of true holineſs, they might upon ſuch ſuperſtitious

1548. obſervances be ſure of Heaven. So all theſe they reſolved to caſt out, as things which had no warrant in Scripture, and were vain devices to draw Men away from a lively application to God through Chriſt, according to the method of the Goſpel. Then the many Rites in Sacramental Actions were conſidered, all which had ſwelled up to an infinite heap. And as ſome of theſe, which had no foundation in Scripture, were thrown out; ſo the others were brought back to a greater ſimplicity. In no part of Religion was the corruption of the former Offices more remarkable, than in the Prieſts granting Abſolution to the Living, and the Dead. To ſuch as Confeſſed, the Abſolution was thus granted; *I abſolve thee in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.* To which this was added, And *I grant to thee that all the Indulgences, given, or to be given thee, by any Prelate, with the Bleſſings of them, all the Sprinklings of Holy Water, all the Devout Beatings of thy Breaſt, the Contritions of thy Heart, this Confeſſion, and all thy other devout Confeſſions, all thy Faſtings, Abſtinencies, Almſgivings, Watchings, Diſciplines, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, and all the good thou haſt done, or ſhall do, and all the evils thou haſt ſuffered, or ſhalt ſuffer, for God; the Paſſions of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Merits of the Glorious and Bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and of all other Saints, and the Suffrages of all the Holy Catholick Church, turn to thee for the remiſſion of theſe, and all other thy ſins, the encreaſe of thy Merits, and the attainment of Everlaſting Rewards.* When Extream Unction was given to dying Perſons, they applied it to the Ears, Lips, Noſe, and other Parts, with this Prayer; *By this Holy Unction, and his own moſt tender Mercy, and by the Interceſſion of the Bleſſed Virgin, and all the Saints, may God pardon thee whatever thou haſt ſinned, by thy Hearing, Speaking, or Smelling,* and ſo in the other Parts. And when the dead Body was laid in the Grave, this Abſolution was ſaid over it; *The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who gave to St.* Peter *and his other Diſciples power to bind and looſe, abſolve thee from all the guilt of thy ſins; and in ſo far as is committed to my weakneſs, be thou abſolved before the Tribunal of our Lord, and may thou have Eternal Life, and live for evermore.* This was thought the higheſt abuſe poſſible; when in giving the hopes of Heaven, and the pardon of ſins, which were of all the other parts of Religion the moſt important, there were ſuch mixtures: and that which the Scriptures had taught could be only attained by *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that upon the ſincere belief and obedience of his Goſpel, was now aſcribed to ſo many other procuring Cauſes. Theſe things had poſſeſſed the World with that conceit that there was a trick for ſaving Souls, beſides that plain method which Chriſt had taught; and that the Prieſts had the ſecret of it in their Hands; ſo that thoſe who would not come under the Yoak of Chriſt, and be ſaved that way, needed only to apply themſelves to Prieſts, and purchaſe their favour, and the buſineſs would be done.

There were two other Changes, which run through the whole Offices. The one was, The tranſlating them into a Vulgar Tongue. The *Jewiſh* Worſhip was either in *Hebrew*, or, after the Captivity, in the *Syriack*, the Vulgar Tongues of *Paleſtine*. The Apoſtles always officiated in the Tongues that were beſt underſtood: So that St. *Paul* did copiouſly cenſure thoſe who in Prayers or Pſalms, uſed any Language that was not underſtood. And *Origen*, *Baſil*, with all the Fathers that had occaſion to mention this, took notice, that every one in their own Tongue worſhiped God. After the renting of the *Roman* Empire by the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman* Tongue did ſlowly mix with their Tongues, till it was much changed, and altered from it ſelf by degrees; yet it was ſo long a doing that, that it was not thought neceſſary to tranſlate the Liturgy into their Languages. But in the ninth *Century*, when the *Slavons* were converted, it being deſired that they might have Divine Offices in their own Language; while ſome oppoſed it, a Voice was ſaid to be heard, *Let every Tongue Praiſe God*; Upon which, Pope *John* the 8*th* writ to *Methodius* their Biſhop, that it might be granted, and founded it on St. *Pauls Epiſt.* to the *Cor.* and on theſe words of *David*, *Let every Tongue praiſe the Lord.* And in the fourth Council of *Lateran* it was decreed, That Biſhops who lived in Places where they were mixed with *Greeks*, ſhould provide fit Prieſts for performing Divine Offices, according to the Rites and Language of thoſe to whom they miniſtred. But the *Roman* Church, though ſo merciful to the *Greeks*, and *Slavons*, was more cruel to the reſt of *Europe*; and ſince only *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, had been written on the Croſs of Chriſt by *Pilate*, they argued that theſe Languages were thereby conſecrated: though it is not eaſie to apprehend what Holineſs could be derived into theſe Tongues by *Pilate*, who ordered theſe Inſcriptions. It was alſo pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that every where the Worſhip ſhould be in the ſame Tongue. But the truth was, they had a mind to raiſe the value of the Prieſtly Function, by keeping all Divine Offices in a Tongue not underſtood; which in People otherwiſe well ſeaſoned with ſuperſtition, might have that effect; but it did very much alienate the reſt of the World from them. There was alſo a vaſt number of Holy-days, formerly obſerved, with ſo many Prayers and Hymns belonging to them, and ſo many Leſſons that were to be read; which were many of them ſuch impudent Forgeries, that, the whole *Breviary* and *Miſſal* being full of theſe, a great deal was to be left out. There is in the whole *Breviary* ſcarce one Saint, but the Leſſons concerning him contain ſome ridiculous Legend, ſuch as indeed could not be well read in a Vulgar Tongue without the ſcorn and laughter of the Hearers; and for moſt part the Prayers and Hymns do relate to theſe lying Stories. Many of the Prayers and Hymns were alſo in ſuch a Style, that the pardon of Sin, Grace, and Heaven, were immediately deſired from the Saints; as if theſe things had come from their Bounty, or by their Merits; or were given by them only, of which the Reader ſhall have a little taſt in the *Collection*, in ſome of the Addreſſes made to them. Collection Number 29.

The Reformers having thus conſidered the corruptions of the former Offices, were thereby better prepared to frame new ones. But the Prieſts had officiated in ſome Garments, which were appropriated to that uſe, as Surplices, Copes, and other Veſtments; and it was long under conſideration whether theſe ſhould continue. It was objected, that theſe Garments had been parts of the Train of the Maſs, and had been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed, only to ſet it off with the more pomp. On the other hand it was argued, That as White was anciently the Colour of the Prieſts Garments in the Moſaical Diſpenſation, ſo it was uſed in the *African* Churches in the fourth *Century*: And it was thought a natural expreſſion of the purity and decency that became Prieſts: beſides the

1548. Clergy were then generally extream poor, ſo that they could ſcarce afford themſelves decent Cloaths; the People alſo running from the other Extream of ſubmitting too much to the Clergy, were now as much enclined to deſpiſe them, and to make light of the Holy Function; ſo that if they ſhould officiate in their own mean Garments, it might make the Divine Offices grow alſo into contempt. And therefore, it was reſolved to continue the uſe of them; and it was ſaid, that their being bleſſed, and uſed ſuperſtitiouſly, gave as ſtrong an Argument againſt the uſe of Churches, and Bells; but that St. *Paul* had ſaid, *That every Creature of God was good*, and even the Meat of the Sacrifice offered to an Idol, than which there could be no greater abuſe, might lawfully be eaten; therefore they ſaw no neceſſity becauſe of a former abuſe to throw away Habits, that had ſo much decency in them, and had been formerly in uſe.

In the compiling the Offices, they began with Morning and Evening Prayer. Theſe were put in the ſame Form they are now; only there was no Confeſſion nor Abſolution; the Office beginning with the Lords Prayer. In the Communion Service, the Ten Commandements were not ſaid, as they are now; but in other things, it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the Order of the Communion formerly mentioned was put into it. The Offertory was to be made of Bread and Wine mixed with Water. Then was ſaid the Prayer for the ſtate of Chriſts Church, in which they gave thanks to God for his wonderful Grace declared in his Saints, in the Bleſſed Virgin, the Patriarchs, Apoſtles, Prophets, and Martyrs; and they commended the Saints departed to Gods Mercy and Peace, that at the day of the Reſurrection we with them might be ſet on Chriſts Right Hand. To this, the conſecratory Prayer which we now uſe, was joyned as a part of it; only with theſe words that are ſince left out, *With thy Holy Spirit vouchſafe to Ble†ſs, and Sanc†tifie, theſe thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy moſt dearly beloved Son*, &c. To the Conſecration was alſo joyned the Prayer of Thankſgiving now uſed. After the Conſecration, all Elevation was forbidden, which had been firſt uſed as a Rite expreſſing how Chriſt was lifted up on the Croſs; but was, after the belief of the Corporal Preſence, made uſe of to ſhew the Sacrament, that the People might all fall down and worſhip it. And it was ordered, That the whole Office of the Communion, except the Conſecratory Prayer, ſhould be uſed on all Holy-days, when there was no Communion, to put People in mind of it, and of the Sufferings of Chriſt. The Bread was to be unleavened, round, but no print on it, and ſomewhat thicker than it was formerly. And though it was anciently put in the Peoples Hands, yet becauſe ſome might carry it away, and apply it to ſuperſtitious uſes, it was ordered to be put by the Prieſt into their Mouths. It is clear that Chriſt delivered it into the Hands of the Apoſtles, and it ſo continued for many Ages, as appears by ſeveral remarkable Stories of Holy Men carrying it with them in their Journeys. In the *Greek* Church, where the Bread and Wine were mingled together, ſome began to think it more decent to receive it in little Spoons of Gold, than in their Hands; but that was condemned by the Council in *Trullo*: Yet ſoon after they began in the *Latin* Church to appoint Men to receive it with their Hands, but Women to take it in a

Linnen Cloath, which was called their *Dominical.* But when the belief of the Corporeal Preſence was received, then a new way of receiving was invented among other things to ſupport it: The People were now no more to touch that which was conceived to be the Fleſh of their Saviour, and therefore the Prieſts Thumb and Fingers were particularly anointed, as a neceſſary diſpoſition for ſo holy a Contact, and ſo it was by them put into the Mouths of the People. A *Letany* was alſo gathered, conſiſting of many ſhort Petitions, interrupted by Suffrages between them: and was the ſame that we ſtill uſe, only they had one Suffrage that we have not, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all his deteſtable enormities. 1548.

In Baptiſm there was, beſides the Forms which we ſtill retain, a Croſs at firſt made on the Childs Forehead, and Breaſt, with an adjuration of the Devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the Prieſt was to take the Child by the Right Hand, and to place him within the Font: there he was to be dipt thrice, once on the right ſide, once on the left, and once on the Breaſt; which was to be diſcreetly done: but if the Child were weak, it was ſufficient to ſprinkle Water on his Face. Then was the Prieſt to put a White Veſtment or Chriſome on him, for a token of Innocence, and to anoint him on the Head, with a Prayer for the Unction of the Holy Ghoſt. In Confirmation, thoſe that came, were to be Catechiſed, which having in it a formal engagement to make good the Baptiſmal Vow, was all that was asked: (The *Catechiſm* then was the ſame that is now, only there is ſince added an Explanation of the Sacraments:) This being ſaid, the Biſhop was to Sign them with the Croſs, and to lay his Hands on them, and ſay, *I Sign thee with the Sign of the Croſs, and lay my Hands on thee, in the Name of the Father,* &c. The Sick, who deſired to be anointed, might have the Unction on their Forehead, or their Breaſt only; with a Prayer, that as their Body was outwardly anointed with Oyl, ſo they might receive the Holy Ghoſt, with Health, and victory over Sin, and Death. At Funerals, they recommended the Soul departed to Gods Mercy, and prayed that his ſins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from Hell, and carried to Heaven, and that his Body might be raiſed at the laſt day.

They alſo took care that thoſe who could not come, or be brought to Church, ſhould not therefore be deprived of the uſe of the Sacraments. The Church of *Rome* had raiſed the belief of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of the Sacraments ſo high, that they taught they did *ex opere operato* by the very action it ſelf without inward acts, juſtifie and confer Grace, unleſs there were a barr put to it by the Receiver: and the firſt riſe of the Queſtions about Juſtification ſeems to have come from this: For that Church teaching that Men were juſtified by Sacramental Actions, the Reformers oppoſed this, and thought Men were juſtified by the Internal Acts of the Mind: If they had held at this, the Controverſie might have been managed with much greater advantages; which they loſt in a great meaſure by deſcending to ſome minuter ſubtleties. In the Church of *Rome* purſuant to their belief concerning the neceſſity of the Sacraments, Women were allowed in extream Caſes to Baptize: and the Midwives commonly did it; which might be the beginning of their being licenſed by Biſhops to exerciſe that Calling. And they alſo believed that a ſimple attrition with the Sacraments was ſufficient for Salvation in

1548. thoſe who were grown up, and upon theſe Grounds the Sacraments were adminiſtred to the Sick.

In the Primitive Church they ſent Portions of the Sacrament to thoſe who were ſick, or in Priſon: and did it not only without Pomp or Proceſſions, but ſent it often by the hands of Boys and other Laicks, as appears from the famed Story of *Serapion:* which as it ſhews they did not then believe it was the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt; ſo when that Doctrine was received it was a natural effect of that belief, to have the Sacrament carried by the Prieſt himſelf with ſome Pomp and Adoration. The Ancients thought it more decent and ſutable to the Communion of Saints to conſecrate the Elements only in the Church, and to ſend Portions to the Sick, thereby expreſſing their Communion with the reſt. The Reformers conſidering theſe things ſteered a middle courſe: They judged the Sacraments neceſſary, where they could be had; as appointments inſtituted by Chriſt: and though they thought it more expedient to have all Baptiſms done in the Church at the Fonts, than in private Houſes; thereby ſignifying that the Baptized were admitted to the fellowſhip of that Church; yet ſince our Saviour had ſaid, That *where two or three are gathered together he will be in the midſt of them*; they thought it ſavoured too much of a Superſtition to the Walls or Fonts of Churches, to tie this Action ſo to theſe, that where Children, either through infirmity, or the ſharpneſs of Weather, could not be, without danger, carried to Church, they ſhould be denied Baptiſm. But ſtill they thought publick Baptiſm more expreſſive of the Communion of the Saints, ſo that they recommended it much, and only permitted the other in Caſes of neceſſity. This has ſince grown to a great abuſe; many thinking it a piece of ſtate to have their Children Baptized in their Houſes; and ſo bringing their pride with them even into the moſt Sacred Performances. There may be alſo a fault in the Miniſters, who are too eaſily brought to do it. But it is now become ſo univerſal, that all the endeavours of ſome of our Biſhops have not been able to bring it back, to the firſt deſign of not Baptizing in private Houſes; excepting only where there was ſome viſible danger in carrying the Children to Church.

As for the other Sacrament, it was thought by our Reformers, that according to the mind of the Primitive Church, none ſhould be denied it in their extremities: it never being more neceſſary, than at that time, to uſe all means that might ſtrengthen the faith, and quicken the devotion of dying Perſons; it being alſo moſt expedient that they ſhould then profeſs their dying in the Faith, and with a good Conſcience, and in Charity with all Men: Therefore they ordered the Communion to be given to the Sick, and that before it were ſo given, the Prieſt ſhould examine their Conſciences; and upon the ſincere profeſſion of their Faith, and the confeſſion of ſuch ſins as oppreſſed their Conſciences, with the doing of all that was then in their power, for the compleating of their Repentance, as the forgiving injuries, and dealing juſtly with all People, he ſhould give them the Peace of the Church in a formal Abſolution, and the Holy Euchariſt. But that they might avoid the pomp of vain Proceſſions on the one hand, and the indecencies of ſending the Sacrament by common Hands on the other, they thought it better to gather a Congregation about the Sick Perſon, and there to conſecrate and give the Sacrament to that ſmall Aſſembly: where, as Chriſts Promiſe, *of being in the midſt of two or three that were gathered together in his Name*, ſhould have put an end to the weak exceptions ſome have made to theſe private Communions; ſo on the other hand it is to be feared, that the greater part retain ſtill too much of the Superſtition of Popery; as if the Prieſts Abſolution with the Sacrament, and ſome ſlight ſorrow for ſin, would be a ſure Paſs-port for their admittance to Heaven: which it is certain can only be had, upon ſo true a Faith as carries a ſincere Repentance with a change of Heart and Life along with it: for to ſuch only the Mercies of God through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt are applied in all ordinary Caſes.

The Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer.

To all this they prefixed a Preface concerning Ceremonies, the ſame that is ſtill before the Common-Prayer-Book. In which Preface they make a difference between thoſe Ceremonies that were brought in with a good intent, and were afterwards abuſed; and others that had been brought in out of vanity and ſuperſtition at firſt, and grew to be more abuſed: The one they had quite rejected, the other they had reformed, and retained, for decency and edification. Some were ſo ſet on their old Forms, that they thought it a great matter to depart from any of them; others were deſirous to innovate in every thing; between both which they had kept a mean. The burthen of Ceremonies in St. *Auſtins* days was ſuch that he complained of them, then as intolerable, by which the ſtate of Chriſtians was worſe than that of the *Jews*; but theſe were ſwelled to a far greater number ſince his days, which did indeed darken Religion, and had brought Chriſtians under a heavy Yoke. Therefore they had only reſerved ſuch as were decent, and apt to ſtir up Mens Minds with ſome good ſignification. Many Ceremonies had been ſo abuſed by ſuperſtition and avarice, that it was neceſſary to take them quite away: But ſince it was fit to retain ſome, for decency and order, it ſeemed better to keep thoſe which were old, than to ſeek new ones. But theſe that were kept, were not thought equal with Gods Law, and ſo were upon juſt cauſes to be altered: they were alſo plain, and eaſie to be underſtood, and not very ſubject to be abuſed. Nor did they in retaining theſe, condemn other Nations, or preſcribe to any but their own People. And thus was this Book made ready againſt the next meeting of Parliament.

Reflections made on the new Liturgy.

In it, the uſe of the Croſs was retained, ſince it had been uſed by the ancient Chriſtians, as a publick declaration that they were not aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt. Though they acknowledged this had been ſtrangely abuſed in the later Ages, in which the bare uſe of the Croſs was thought to have ſome Magical Vertue in it: And this had gone ſo far, that in the *Roman Pontifical* it was declared, that the Croſier Staff was to be worſhiped with that ſupream degree of Adoration, called *Latria*. But it was thought fit to retain it in ſome parts of Worſhip; and the rather, becauſe it was made uſe of among the People to defame the Reformers, that they had no Veneration for the Croſs of Chriſt. And therefore as an outward expreſſion of that, in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and in the Office of Confirmation, and in the conſecration of the Sacramental Elements, it was ordered to be retained, but with this difference, that the Sign of the Croſs was not made with the opinion of any vertue or efficacy in it to drive away evil Spirits, or to preſerve one out of dan-

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1548. gers, which were thought Vertues that followed the uſe of it in the *Roman* Church; for in Baptiſm, as they uſed the Sign of the Croſs, they added an Adjuration to the *evil Spirit not to violate it*, and in the making it ſaid, *Receive the Sign of the Croſs bath in thy Forehead and in thy Heart, and take the Faith of the Heavenly Precepts.* Thus a Sacramental Vertue was pretended to be affixed to it; which the Reformers thought could not be done without a Warrant from a Divine Inſtitution, of which it is plain there was none in Scripture. But they thought the uſe of it only as an expreſſion of the Belief of the Church, and as a Badge of Chriſtianity, with ſuch words added to it as could import no more, was liable to no exception. This ſeems more neceſſary to be well explained, by reaſon of the Scruples that many have ſince raiſed againſt ſignificant Ceremonies, as if it were too great a preſumption in any Church to appoint ſuch; ſince theſe ſeem to be of the nature of Sacraments. Ceremonies that ſignifie the Conveyance of a Divine Grace, and Vertue, are indeed Sacraments, and ought not to be uſed without an expreſs Inſtitution in Scripture: but Ceremonies that only ſignifie the ſenſe we have, which is ſometimes expreſſed as ſignificantly in dumb ſhows as in words, are of another kind; and it is as much within the power of the Church to appoint ſuch to be uſed, as it is to order Collects or Prayers, words and ſigns being but different ways of expreſſing our thoughts. The belief of Chriſts Corporal Preſence was yet under conſideration. And they obſerving wiſely how the *Germans* had broken, by their running too ſoon into Conteſts about that, reſolved to keep up ſtill the old general Expreſſions, of the Sacraments being the whole and true Body of Chriſt, without coming to a more particular explanation of it. The uſe of Oyl on ſo many occaſions, was taken from the Ancient Chriſtians, who, as *Theophilus* ſays, began early to be anointed; and underſtood thoſe words of St. *Paul*, of *Gods anointing* and *ſealing*, literally. It was alſo anciently applied to the receiving of Penitents. But it was not uſed about the Sick, from the Apoſtles times till about the *10th Century.* And then, from what St. *James* writ to thoſe in the Diſperſion, of ſending for the Elders to come to ſuch as were ſick, who ſhould anoint them with Oyl, and their ſins ſhould be forgiven them, and they ſhould recover; they came to give it to thoſe that were dying; but not while there was any hope of Life left in them. Though it is clear, that what St. *James* writ, related to that extraordinary Gift of Healing, by impoſition of Hands, and anointing with Oyl, which yet continued in the Church when he writ that *Epiſtle.* And it is plain, that this Paſſage in St. *James* was not ſo underſtood by the Ancients, as it is now in the *Roman* Church; ſince the Ancients, though they uſed Oyl on many other occaſions, yet applied it not at all to the Sick, till after ſo many Ages, that groſs Superſtition had ſo diſpoſed the World to new Rites, that there could be no diſcovery or invention more acceptable, than the addition of a new Ceremony; though they were then much oppreſſed with the old ones.

The Changes that were made, and thoſe that were deſigned to be made, occaſioned great heats every where. And the Pulpits generally contending with one another; to reſtrain that claſhing, the power of granting Licences to Preach, was taken from the Biſhops of each Dioceſs, ſo that none might give them, but the King and the Arch-biſhop

All Preaching was for a time reſtrained.

of *Canterbury*. Yet that not proving an effectual reſtraint, on the 23*d* of *September* a Proclamation is ſaid to have come out, ſetting forth, That whereas according to former Proclamations none was to preach, but ſuch as had obtained Licenſes from the King or the Arch-biſhop; yet ſome of thoſe that were ſo licenſed, had abuſed that permiſſion, and had carried themſelves irreverently contrary to the Inſtructions that were ſent them. Therefore the King intending to have ſhortly an uniform Order over all the Kingdom, and to put an end to all Controverſies in Religion; about which ſome Biſhops and other Learned Men were then aſſembled; and though many of the Preachers ſo licenſed had carried themſelves wiſely, to the Honour of God, and the Kings great contentation; yet till the Order now preparing ſhould be ſet forth, he did inhibit all manner of Perſons to preach in any publick Audience; to the intent that the Clergy might apply themſelves to Prayer, for a Bleſſing on what the King was then about to do: not doubting but the People would be employed likewiſe in Prayer, and hearing the *Homilies* read in their Churches, and be ready to receive that uniform Order that was to be ſet forth: and the inferior Magiſtrates were required to ſee to the execution of this. I never met with any footſtep of this Proclamation, neither in Records, nor in Letters, nor in any Book written at that time. But Mr. *Fuller* has printed it, and Dr. *Heylin* has given an Abſtract of it from him. If *Fuller* had told how he came by it, it might have been further examined. But we know not whether he ſaw the printed Proclamation, or only a Copy of it. And if he ſaw but a Copy, we have reaſon to doubt of it; for that might have been only the Eſſay of ſome projecting Man's Pen. But becauſe I found it in thoſe Authors, I thought beſt to ſet it down as it is, and leave the Reader to judge of it.

The Affairs in *Scotland* this Year.

Having thus given an account of the Progreſs of the Reformation this Summer, I ſhall now turn to tranſactions of State, and ſhall firſt look towards *Scotland*. The *Scots* gaining time the laſt Winter, and being in daily expectation of Succours from *France*, were reſolved to carry on the War. The Governour began the Year with the Siege of *Broughty Caſtle*, a little below *Dundee*. But the *Engliſh* that were in it defended themſelves ſo well, that after they had been beſieged three Months, the Siege was raiſed, and only ſo many were left about it as might cover the Country from their excurſions. The *Engliſh* on the other ſide had taken, and fortified, *Hadingtoun*; and were at work alſo at *Lauder* to make it ſtrong. The former of theſe, lying in a Plain, and in one of the moſt fruitful Counties of *Scotland*, within twelve Miles of *Edenburgh*, was a very fit Place to be kept as a Curb upon the Country. About the end of *May* 6000 Men were ſent from *France* under the Command of *Deſſie*: 3000 of theſe were *Germans*, commanded by the *Rhinegrave*; 2000 of them were *French*, and a Thouſand were of other Nations. They landed at *Lieth*; and the Governour having gathered 8000 *Scots* to joyn with them, they ſate down before *Hadingtoun*; and here the *Scotiſh* Nobility entred into a long Conſultation about their Affairs.

The Protector had ſent a Propoſition to them, that there might be a Truce for Ten Years. (But whether he offered to remove the Gariſons, does not appear.) This he was forced to upon many accounts. He ſaw the War was like to laſt long, and to draw on great expence, and would certainly end in another War with *France*; he durſt not any more go from

Court,

1548.

Court, and march himſelf at the Head of the Army, and leave the King to the Practices of his Brother: There were alſo great diſcontents in *England*, many were offended with the Changes made in Religion; the Commons complained generally of oppreſſion, and of the encloſing of Grounds, of which the ſad effects broke out next Year: He began to labour under the envy of the Nobility; the Clergy were almoſt all diſpleaſed with him; and the ſtate of Affairs in *Germany* made it neceſſary to joyn with the King of *France* againſt the *Emperour*. All this made him very deſirous of ſuch a Peace with *Scotland*, as might at leaſt preſerve the Queen from being diſpoſed of, for Ten Years. In that time, by Treaty and Penſions, they might hope to gain their ends; more certainly than by a War, which only inflamed the *Scots* againſt them; according to the witty Saying of one of the *Scots*, who being asked what he thought of the Match with *England*, ſaid, he knew not how he ſhould like the Marriage, but he was ſure he did not like the way of wooing.

On the other hand, the *French* preſſed the *Scots* to ſend their young Queen into *France*, in the Ships that had brought over their Forces; who ſhould be married to the *Dolphin*, and then they might depend on the Protection of *France*. Many were for accepting the Propoſition from *England*, (particularly all thoſe who ſecretly favoured the Reformation) they thought it would give them preſent quiet, and free them from all the diſtractions, which they either felt, or might apprehend, from a laſting War with ſo powerful an Enemy: whereas the ſending away of their Queen would put them out of a capacity of obtaining a Peace, if the War this year proved as unſucceſsful as it was the laſt; and the defence they had from *France* was almoſt as bad as the Invaſions of the *Engliſh*, for the *French* were very inſolent, and committed great diſorders. But all the Clergy were ſo apprehenſive of their ruine by the Marriage with *England*, that they never judged themſelves ſafe till the thing was out of their power, by the ſending their Queen into *France*. And it was ſaid, that when once the *Engliſh* ſaw the hopes of the Marriage irrecoverably loſt, they would ſoon grow weary of the War: for then the King of *France* would engage in the defence of *Scotland* with his whole Force, ſo that nothing would keep up the War ſo much as having their Queen ſtill among them. To this many of the Nobility yielded, being corrupted by Money from *France*; and the Governour conſented to it, for which he was to be made Duke of *Chaſtelherault* in *France*, and to have an Eſtate of 12000 Livres a year. And ſo it was agreed to ſend their Queen away. This being gained, the *French* Ships ſet ſail to Sea, as if they had been to return to *France*; but ſailed round *Scotland* by the Iſles of *Orkney*, and came into *Dunbriton* Frith, near to which the Queen was kept in *Dunbriton* Caſtle; and receiving her from thence, with an Honourable Convoy that was ſent to attend on her, they carried her over to *Britaigne* in *France*, and ſo by eaſie Journeys ſhe was brought to Court, where her Unkles received her with great joy, hoping by her means to raiſe and eſtabliſh their Fortunes in *France*.

The *Scotiſh* Queen is ſent to *France*.

Auguſt. Queen of *Scots* ſent into *France*.

The Siege of *Hadingtoun*.

Thuanus.

In the mean time the Siege of *Hadingtoun* was carried on with great valour, on both ſides. The *French* were aſtoniſhed at the courage, the nimbleneſs, and labours, of the *Scotch* Highlanders; who were half naked; but capable of great hardſhips, and run uſed to on with marvellous ſwift-

1548.

ſwiftneſs. In one Sally which the Beſieged made, one of thoſe got an *Engliſh* Man on his Shoulders, and carried him away, with that quickneſs that nothing could ſtop him: and though the *Engliſh* Man bit him ſo in the Neck, that as ſoon as he had brought him into the Camp, he himſelf fell down as dead, yet he carried him off; for which he was nobly rewarded by *Deſſie*. The *Engliſh* defended themſelves no leſs couragiouſly; and though a Recruit of about 1000 Foot and 300 Horſe, that was ſent from *Berwick*, led by Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Tho. Palmer*, was ſo fatally intercepted, that they were almoſt all to a Man killed, yet they loſt no Heart. Another Party, of about 300, eſcaped the Ambuſh laid for them, and got into the Town, with a great deal of Ammunition and Proviſions, of which the Beſieged were come to be in want. But at the ſame time both *Home* Caſtle and *Faſcaſtle* were loſt. The former was taken by treachery: for ſome coming in as deſerters, ſeeming to be very zealous for the *Engliſh* quarrel, and being too much truſted by the Governour, and going often out to bring intelligence, gave the Lord *Home* notice, that on that ſide where the Rock was, the *Engliſh* kept no good Watches, truſting to the ſteepneſs of the Place; ſo they agreed that ſome ſhould come and climb the Rock, to whom they ſhould give aſſiſtance; which was accordingly done, and ſo it was ſurprized in the night. The Governour of *Faſcaſtle* had ſummoned the Country People to bring him in Proviſions; upon which (by a common Stratagem) Soldiers, coming as Country-men, threw down their Carriages at the Gates, and fell on the Sentinels: and ſo the Signal being given, ſome, that lay concealed near at hand, came in time to aſſiſt them, and took the Caſtle.

A Fleet ſent againſt *Scotland.*

The Protector, till the Army was gathered together, ſent a Fleet of Ships to diſturb the *Scots*, by the deſcents they ſhould make in divers places: and his Brother being Admiral, he commanded him to go to his charge. He landed firſt in *Fife*, at St. *Minins*, but there the Queens natural Brother, *James*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*, and Regent of *Scotland*, gathered the Country People together, and made Head againſt them. The *Engliſh* were 1200, and had brought their Canon to Land; but the *Scots* charged them ſo home, that they forced them to their Ships: Many were drowned, and many killed; the *Scots* reckoned the number of the ſlain to be 600, and a hundred Priſoners taken. The next deſcent they made was no more proſperous to them. For landing in the night at *Mountroſe*, *Ærskin* of *Dun* gathered the Country together, and divided them in three Bodies, ordering one to appear ſoon after the former had engaged: the Enemy, ſeeing a ſecond, and a third Body come againſt them, apprehending greater numbers, run back to their Ships; but, with ſo much loſs, that of 800 who had landed, the third Man got not ſafe to the Ships again. So the Admiral returned, having got nothing but loſs and diſgrace by the Expedition.

But was not ſucceſsful.

But now the *Engliſh* Army came into *Scotland*, commanded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury:* though both the *Scotch* Writers and *Thuanus* ſay, the Earl of *Lennox* had the chief command; but he only came with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, as knowing the Country and People beſt, and ſo being the fitter both to get intelligence, and to negotiate, if there was room for it. The *Scots* were by this time gone home for the moſt part; and the Nobility with *Deſſie* agreed that it was not fit to put all

1548. *Aug.* 20. The Siege of *Hadingtoun* rais'd.

to hazard, and therefore raiſed the Siege of *Hadingtoun*, and marched back to *Edenburgh*. The Lord *Gray* with a great part of the *Engliſh* Army followed him in the Rear, but did not engage him into any great Action: by which a good opportunity was loſt, for the *French* were in great diſorder. The *Engliſh* Army came into *Hadingtoun*. They conſiſted of about 17000 Men: of which Number 7000 were Horſe; and 3000 of the Foot were *German Landsknights*, whom the Protector had entertained in his Service. Theſe *Germans* were ſome of the broken Troops of the Proteſtant Army, who, ſeeing the ſtate of their own Country deſperate, offered their Service to the Protector. He too eaſily entertained them; reckoning, that being Proteſtants, they would be ſure to him, and would depend wholly on himſelf. But this proved a fatal Counſel to him; the *Engliſh* having been always jealous of a ſtanding, but much more of a Forreign Force about their Prince: ſo there was great occaſion given by this to thoſe who traded in ſowing Jealouſies among the People. The *Engliſh*, having victualled *Hadingtoun*, and repaired the Fortifications, returned back into their own Country. But had they gone on to *Edenburgh*, they had found things there in great confuſion. For *Deſſie*, when he got thither, having loſt 500 of his Men in the Retreat, went to quarter his Soldiers in the Town; but the Provoſt, (ſo is the chief Magiſtrate there called) oppoſed it. The *French* broke in with force, and killed him and his Son, with all they found in the Streets, Men, Women, and Children: and as a Spie, whom the *Engliſh* had in *Edenburgh*, gave them notice, the *Scots* were now more alienated from the *French* than from the *Engliſh*. The *French* had carried it very gently till the *Queen* was ſent away; but reckoned *Scotland* now a Conquered Country, and a Province to *France*. So the *Scots* began, though too late, to repent the ſending away of the *Queen*. But it ſeems the *Engliſh* had orders not to venture too far; for the hopes of the Marriage were now gone, and the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with *France*. Theſe things happened in the beginning of *October*. *Deſſie*, apprehending that at *Hadingtoun* they were now ſecure, the Siege being ſo lately raiſed, reſolved to try if he could carry the Place by ſurprize. The *Engliſh* from thence had made Excurſions as far as *Edenburgh*; in one of which the *French* fell on them, purſued them, and killed about 200, and took ſixſcore Priſoners, almoſt within their Works. Soon after, *Deſſie* marched in the night, and ſurprized one of their Out-works, and was come to the Gates; where the Place had been certainly loſt, if it had not been for a *French* Deſerter, who knew, if he were taken, what he was to expect. He therefore fired one of the great Canon, which being diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of the *French*, killed ſo many, and put the reſt in ſuch diſorder, that *Deſſie* was forced to quit the Attempt. From thence he went and fortified *Lieth*, which was then but a mean Village; but the ſituation of the Place being recommended by the ſecurity it now had, it ſoon came to be one of the beſt Peopled Towns in *Scotland*. From thence he intended to have gone on, to take *Broughty Caſtle*, and to recover *Dundee*, which were then in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, But he was ordered by the Queen Regent to make an Inroad into *England*. There, after ſome ſlight Engagements, in which the *Engliſh* had the worſt, the *Scotch* and *French* came in as far as *Newcaſtle*, and returned loaded with Spoil: which the *French* divided among them-

1548.

themſelves, allowing the *Scots* no ſhare of it. An *Engliſh* Prieſt was taken, who bore that diſgrace of his Country ſo heavily, that he threw himſelf on the ground, and would not eat, nor ſo much as open his Eyes, but lay thus proſtrate till he died. This the *French*, who ſeldom let their misfortunes afflict them, look'd on with much aſtoniſhment. But at that time, the *Engliſh* had fortified *Inch-keith*, an Iſland in the *Frith*, and put 800 Men in it. Seventeen days after that, *Deſſie* brought his Forces from *Lieth*, and recovered it; having killed 400 *Engliſh*, and forced the reſt to ſurrender.

Diſcontents in *Scotland.*

Thus ended this Year, and with it *Deſſie*'s Power in *Scotland*. For the Queen Mother and the Governour had made great complaints of him at the Court of *France*, that he put the Nation to vaſt charge to little purpoſe; ſo that he was more uneaſie to his Friends than his Enemies: and his laſt diſorder at *Edenburgh*, had on the one hand ſo raiſed the inſolence of the *French* Soldiers, and on the other hand ſo alienated and inflamed the People, that unleſs another were ſent to command, who ſhould govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of a whole Kingdom. For now, the Seeds of their diſtaſt of the *French* Government were ſo ſown, that Men came generally to condemn their ſending the Queen away; and to hate the Governour for conſenting to it, but chiefly, to abhor the Clergy, who had wrought it for their own ends.

Monluc ſent thither to be Lord Chancellor.

Monſieur de Thormes was ſent over to command; and *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence* came with him to govern the Councils, and be Chancellor of the Kingdom. He had lately returned from his Ambaſſy at *Conſtantinople*. He was one of the wiſeſt Men of that time, and was always for moderate Councils in Matters of Religion: which made him be ſometime ſuſpected of hereſie. And indeed the whole ſequel of his life declared him to be one of the greateſt Men of that Age: only his being ſo long, and ſo firmly, united to Queen *Katharine Medici*'s Intereſt, takes off a great deal of the high Character which the reſt of his Life has given of him. But he was at this time unknown, and ill repreſented, in *Scotland*; where they that looked for advantages from their alliance with *France*, took it ill to ſee a *French* Man ſent over to enjoy the beſt Office in the Kingdom. The Queen Mother her ſelf was afraid of him: So to avoid new grounds of diſcontent, he left the Kingdom, and returned into *France*.

But was not well received.

Thus ended the War between *Scotland* and *England* this Year, in almoſt an equal mixture of good and bad ſucceſs. The *Engliſh* had preſerved *Hadingtoun*, which was the chief matter of this Years Action. But they had been at great charge in the War, in which they were only on the defenſive: they had loſt other Places, and been unſucceſsful at Sea: and which was worſt of all, they had now loſt all hopes of the Marriage, and were almoſt engaged in a War with *France*, which was like to fall on the King, when his Affairs were in an ill condition, his People being divided and diſcontented at home, and his Treaſure much exhauſted by this War.

The Affairs of *Germany.*

The ſtate of *Germany* was at this time moſt deplorable: The *Pope* and *Emperor* continued their quarrelling about the tranſlation of the Council. *Mendoza* at *Rome*, and *Velaſco* at *Bologna*, declared in the Emperors Name, that a Council being called by his great and long endeavours

1548. deavours for the quieting of *Germany*, and he being engaged in a War to get it to be received; and having procured a ſubmiſſion of the Empire to the Council, it was, upon frivolous and feigned cauſes, removed out of *Germany*, to one of the Popes Towns: by which the *Germans* thought themſelves diſengaged of their promiſe, which was to ſubmit to a Council in *Germany:* and therefore that he proteſted againſt it, as an unlawful Meeting, to whoſe Decrees he would not ſubmit; and that if they did not return to *Trent*, he would take care of ſetling Religion ſome other way. But the *Pope*, being encouraged by the *French* King, was not ill pleaſed to ſee the *Emperor* anew embroil himſelf with the *Germans:* and therefore intended the Council ſhould be continued at *Bologna*. Upon this the *Emperor* ordered three Divines, *Julius Flugius* Biſhop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *Iſlebius Agricola*, to draw a Form of Religion. The two former had been always Papiſts, and the latter was formerly a Proteſtant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the *Emperor*, that the Name of one of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion might make what they were to ſet out, paſs the more eaſily. They drew up all the Points of Religion in a *Book* which was beſt known by the Name of the *Interim*, becauſe it was to laſt during that Interval, till a General Council ſhould meet in *Germany*. In it, all the Points of the *Romiſh* Doctrine were ſet forth in the ſmootheſt terms poſſible: only married Men might officiate as Prieſts, and the Communion was to be given in both kinds. The *Book* being thus prepared, a *Diet* was ſummoned to *Ausburg* in *Feb.* where the firſt thing done was the ſolemn Inveſtiture of *Maurice* in the *Electorate* of *Saxony*. He had been declared *Elector* laſt year by the *Emperor* before *Wittenberg*; but now it was performed with great Ceremony on the 24*th* of *Feb.* which was the Emperors Birth-day: *John Fredrick* looking on with his uſual conſtancy of mind. All he ſaid, was, "Now they triumph in that Dignity, of which they have againſt Juſtice and Equity ſpoiled me: God grant they may enjoy it " peaceably and happily, and may never need any aſſiſtance from me or " my Poſterity. And without expreſſing any further concern about it, he went to his Studies, which were almoſt wholly employed in the Scriptures.

The Emperor being diſpleaſed with the Tranſlation of the Council, orders the *Interim* to be drawn.

Feb.
Diet at *Ausburg.*

Feb. 24.
Maurice made Elector of *Saxony.*

The Book of the *Interim* being prepared, the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* ſent for *Martin Bucer*, who was both a learned and moderate Divine; and ſhewed it him. *Bucer* having read it, plainly told him, that it was nothing but downright Popery, only a little diſguiſed: at which the *Elector* was much offended, for he was pleaſed with it; and *Bucer* not without great danger returned back to *Straſburg*. On the 15*th* of *March*, the *Book* was propoſed to the *Diet:* and the *Elector* of *Mentz*, without any order, did in all the Princes Names, give the *Emperor* thanks for it: which he interpreted as the aſſent of the whole *Diet*; and after that would not hear any that came to him to ſtop it, but publiſhed it as agreed to by the *Diet*.

March 15.
The *Interim* received in the *Diet.*

The Papiſts offended at it as well as the Proteſtants.

At *Rome*, and *Bologna*, it was much condemned, as an high attempt in the Emperor to meddle with Points of Religion; ſuch as diſpenſing with the Marriage of Prieſts, and the Communion in both kinds. Wherefore ſome of that Church writ againſt it. And Matters went ſo high, that wiſe Men of that ſide began to fear the Breach between the *Emperor* and them might, before they were aware, be paſt reconciling: for they

had

1548.

Cotton Library *Titus B. 2.*

had not forgot that the laſt Popes ſtiffneſs had loſt *England*, and they were not a little afraid they might now loſe the *Emperor*. But if the *Pope* were offended for the conceſſions in theſe two Particulars, the *Proteſtants* thought they had much greater cauſe to diſlike it; ſince in all other controverted Points it was againſt them. So that ſeveral of that ſide writ likewiſe againſt it. But the *Emperor* was now ſo much exalted with his ſucceſs, that he reſolved to go through with it, little regarding the oppoſition of either hand. The new *Elector* of *Saxony* went home, and offered it to his Subjects. But they refuſed to receive it, and ſaid, (as Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Ambaſſador from *England* at the *Emperors* Court, writ over) that they had it under the Emperors Hand and Seal, that he ſhould not meddle with Matters of Religion, but only with reforming the Common-wealth: and that if their Prince would not protect them in this matter, they ſhould find another, who would defend them from ſuch oppreſſion. An Exhortation for the receiving of it was read at *Ausburg*; but they alſo refuſed it. Many Towns ſent their Addreſſes to the Emperor, deſiring him not to oppreſs their Conſciences. But none was of ſuch a nature as that from *Linda*, a little Town near *Conſtance*, which had declared for the *Emperor* in the former War. They returned anſwer, That they could not agree to the *Interim*, without incurring Eternal Damnation: but to ſhew their ſubmiſſion to him in all other things they ſhould not ſhut their Gates, nor make reſiſtance, againſt any he ſhould find, though it were to ſpoil and deſtroy their Town. This let the *Emperor* and his Council ſee how difficult a work it would be to ſubdue the Conſciences of the *Germans*. But his Chancellor *Granvell* preſſed him to extream Councils, and to make an example of that Town, who had ſo peremptorily refuſed to obey his Commands. Yet he had little reaſon to hope he ſhould prevail on thoſe who were at liberty, when he could work ſo little on his Priſoner the Duke of *Saxe*. For he had endeavoured by great offers to perſwade him to agree to it: but all was in vain, for he always told them that kept him, that his Perſon was in their Power, but his Conſcience was in his own, and that he would not on any terms depart from the *Ausburg* Confeſſion. Upon this he was ſeverely uſed, his Chaplain was put from him, with moſt of his Servants; but he continued ſtill unmoved, and as cheerful as in his greateſt Proſperity. The *Lutheran* Divines entred into great diſputes how far they might comply. *Melanchthon* thought that the Ceremonies of Popery might be uſed, ſince they were of their own nature indifferent. Others, as *Amſtorfius*, *Illiricus*, with the greateſt part of the *Lutherans*, thought the receiving the Ceremonies would make way for all the errors of Popery; and though they were of their own nature indifferent, yet they ceaſed to be ſo, when they were enjoyned as things neceſſary to Salvation. But the *Emperor* going on reſolutely, many Divines were driven away; ſome concealed themſelves in *Germany*, others fled into *Switzerland*, and ſome came over into *England*.

Calvin writ to the Protector.

When the news of the Changes that were made here in *England* were carried beyond Sea, and after *Peter Martyr*'s being with *Cranmer*, were more copiouſly written by him to his friends; *Calvin*, and *Mar. Bucer*, who began to think the Reformation almoſt oppreſt in *Germany*, now turned their Eyes more upon *England*. *Calvin* writ to the *Protector* on the 29*th* of *October*, encouraging him to go on notwithſtanding the Wars: as

Heze-

1548. *Hezekias* had done in his Reformation. He lamented the heats of ſome that profeſſed the Goſpel, but complained that he heard there were few lively Sermons preached in *England*; and that the Preachers recited their diſcourſes coldly. He much approves a ſet-form of Prayers, whereby the conſent of all the Churches did more manifeſtly appear. But he adviſes a more compleat Reformation: he taxed the *Prayers for the Dead*, the *uſe of Chriſme* and *Extream Unction*, ſince they were no where recommended in Scripture. He had heard that the reaſon why they went no further was, becauſe the Times could not bear it; but this was to do the Work of God by Political Maximes; which though they ought to take place in other things, yet ſhould not be followed in Matters in which the Salvation of Souls was concerned. But above all things he complained of the great impieties and vices that were ſo common in *England*; as *Swearing*, *Drinking*, and *Uncleanneſs*; and prayed him earneſtly that theſe things might be looked after.

Bucer writ againſt *Gardiner*. *Martin Bucer* writ alſo a Diſcourſe, congratulating the Changes then made in *England*, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Sir *Philip Hobbey*'s Brother. In it he anſwered the Book that *Gardiner* had written againſt him; which he had formerly delayed to do, becauſe King *Henry* had deſired he would let it alone, till the *Engliſh* and *Germans* had conferr'd about Religion. That Book did chiefly relate to the Marriage of the Clergy: *Bucer* ſhewed from many Fathers, that they thought every Man had not the Gift of Chaſtity, which *Gardiner* thought every one might have that pleaſed. He taxed the open lewdneſs of the *Romiſh* Clergy, who being much ſet againſt Marriage, which was Gods Ordinance, did gently paſs over the impurities which the forbidding it had occaſioned among themſelves. He particularly taxed *Gardiner* himſelf, that he had his Rents payed him out of *Stews*. He taxed him alſo for his ſtate and pompous way of living, and ſhewed how indecent it was for a Churchman to be ſent in Ambaſſies: and that St. *Ambroſe*, though ſent to make Peace, was aſhamed of it, and thought it unbecoming the Prieſthood. Both *Fagius*, and *he*, being forced to leave *Germany*, upon the buſineſs of the *Interim*, *Cranmer* invited them over to *England*; and ſent them to *Cambridge*, as he had done *Peter Martyr* to *Oxford*. But *Fagius*, not agreeing with this Air, died ſoon after, a Man greatly learned in the *Oriental* Tongues, and a good Expounder of the Scripture.

This being the ſtate of Affairs both abroad and at home, a Seſſion of Nov. 24. Parliament ſits. Parliament was held in *England* on the 24*th* of *November*, to which day it had been prorogued from the 15*th* of *October*, by reaſon of the Plague then in *London*. The firſt *Bill* that was finiſhed, was that about the Marriage of the Prieſts. It was brought into the Houſe of *Commons* the 3*d* of *December*, read the ſecond time on the 5*th*, and the third time the 6*th*. But this *Bill* being only that married Men might be made Prieſts, a new Bill was framed, that, beſides the former Proviſion, Prieſts might marry. This was read the firſt time the 7*th*, the ſecond time the 10*th*, and was fully argued on the 11*th*, and agreed on the 12*th*, and ſent up to the Lords on the 13*th* of *December*. In that *Houſe* it ſtuck as long, as it had been ſoon diſpatched, by the *Commons*. It lay on the Table till the 9*th* of *February*. Then it was read the firſt time, and the 11*th* the ſecond time; on the 16*th* it was committed to the *Biſhops* of

Ely

1548.

An Act about the Marriage of the Clergy.

Ely and *Weſtminſter*, the Lord *Chief-Juſtice*, and the *Attorney-General:* and on the 19*th* of *Feb.* it was agreed to; the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Norwich*, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Briſtol*, *Chicheſter*, and *Landaff*; and the Lords *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Windſor*, and *Wharton*, diſſenting. It had the Royal Aſſent, and ſo became a Law. The Preamble ſets forth, “ That it were better for Prieſts and other Miniſters of the Church to live chaſt and without Marriage; whereby they might better attend to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and be leſs diſtracted with ſecular cares: ſo that it were much to be wiſhed, that they would of themſelves abſtain. But great filthineſs of living, with other inconveniencies, had followed on the Laws that compelled Chaſtity, and prohibited Marriage: ſo that it was better they ſhould be ſuffered to marry, than be ſo reſtrained. Therefore all Laws and Canons that had been made againſt it, being only made by humane Authority, are repealed. So that all Spiritual Perſons of what degree ſoever might lawfully marry, providing they married according to the Order of the Church. But a *Proviſo* was added, that becauſe many Divorces of Prieſts had been made after the ſix Articles were enacted, and that the Women might have thereupon married again, all theſe Divorces, with every thing that had followed on them, ſhould be confirmed. There was no Law that paſſed in this Reign with more contradiction and cenſure than this, and therefore the Reader may expect the larger account of this matter.

Which was much enquired into.

The unmarried ſtate of the Clergy had ſo much to be ſaid for it, as being a courſe of life that was more diſengaged from ſecular cares, and pleaſures; that it was caſt on the Reformers every where as a foul reproach, that they could not reſtrain their appetites, but engaged in a life that drew after it domeſtick cares, with many other diſtractions. This was an Objection ſo eaſie to be apprehended, that the People had been more prejudiced againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, if they had not felt greater inconveniencies by the debaucheries of Prieſts; who being reſtrained from Marriage, had defiled the Beds, and deflow'red the Daughters of their Neighbours, into whoſe Houſes they had free and unſuſpected acceſs, and whom under the Cloak of receiving Confeſſions they could more eaſily entice. This made them that they were not ſo much wrought on by the noiſe of Chaſtity, (when they ſaw ſo much and ſo plainly to the contrary) as otherwiſe they would have been, by a thing that ſounded ſo well. But on the other hand, there was no Argument which the Reformers had more conſidered. There were two things upon which the Queſtion turned: The one was, the Obligation that Prieſthood brought with it to live unmarried; the other was, the tie they might be under by any Vow they had made. For the former, they conſidered, that God having ordained a Race of Men te be Prieſts under *Moſes* Law, who ſhould offer up expiatory Sacrifices for the ſins of the *Jews*, did not only not forbid Marriage, but made it neceſſary, for that Office was to deſcend by inheritance; ſo that Prieſthood was not inconſiſtent with that ſtate. In the New Teſtament ſome of the qualifications of a Biſhop and Deacon are their being the Husband of one Wife, and their having well ordered their Houſe, and brought up their Children: St. *Peter* and other *Apoſtles* were married; it was thought St. *Paul* was ſo likewiſe; *Aquila* was certainly married to *Priſcilla*, and carried her about with him. Our *Saviour*, ſpeaking of the help that an unmarried ſtate was to the Kingdom

Arguments for it from Scripture.

1548. of God, recommended it equally to all Ranks of Men as they could bear it. St. *Paul* ſaid, *Let every Man have his own Wife*; *It is better to marry than to burn*; and, *Marriage is honourable in all*; and the *forbidding to marry* is reckon'd by him a mark of the Apoſtacy of the latter times; ſo that the matter ſeemed clear from the Scriptures.

And from the Fathers.

In the firſt Ages *Saturninus*, *Baſilides*, *Montanus*, *Novatus*, and the *Encratites* condemned Marriage as a ſtate of liberty more than was fit for Chriſtians. Againſt thoſe was aſſerted by the Primitive Fathers the lawfulneſs of Marriage to all Chriſtians without diſcrimination: and they who entring into Holy Orders forſook their Wives, were ſeverely condemned by the *Apoſtolical Canons*, and by the Council of *Gangra* in the beginning of fourth, and the Council in *Trullo* in the fifth Age. Many great Biſhops in theſe times lived ſtill with their Wives, and had Children by them, as namely both *Nazianzen*'s and *Baſil*'s Fathers: and *Hilary* of *Poictiers* when baniſhed to *Phrygia* and very old, writing to his own Daughter *Abra*, bid her ask her Mother the meaning of thoſe things which ſhe by reaſon of her Age underſtood not; by which it appears that his Daughter was then very young, and by conſequence born to him after he was a Biſhop. In the Council of *Nice*, it being propoſed that Clergy-men ſhould depart from their Wives, *Paphnutius*, though himſelf unmarried, oppoſed it as an unreaſonable Yoke. And *Heliodorus* Biſhop of *Trica*, the Author of the firſt of thoſe Love-Fables, now known by the Name of *Romances*, being ſuſpected of too much laſciviouſneſs, and concerned to clear himſelf of that charge, did firſt move that Clergy-men ſhould be obliged to live ſingle, which the *Hiſtorian* ſays they were not tied to before, but Biſhops as they pleaſed lived ſtill with their Wives. The *Fathers* in thoſe times extolled a ſingle Life very high, and yet they all thought a Man once married might be a Biſhop though his Wife were yet living; they did not allow it indeed to him that had married twice; but for this they had a diſtinction, that if a Man had been once married before his Baptiſm, and again after his Baptiſm, he was to be underſtood to be in the ſtate of a ſingle Marriage. So that *Jerome*, who writ warmly enough againſt ſecond Marriages, yet ſays, *Ad Oceanum*, that the Biſhops in his Age who were but once married in that ſenſe were not to be numbred, and that more of theſe could be reckoned than were at the Council of *Ariminum*, who are ſaid to have been 800 Biſhops. It is true that in that Age they began to make *Canons* againſt the Marriage of thoſe who were in Orders, eſpecially in the *Roman* and *African* Churches; but thoſe were only Poſitive Laws of the Church, and the frequent repeating of thoſe Canons ſhews that even there, they were not generally obeyed. Of *Syneſius* we read, that when he was ordained Prieſt, he declared that he would not live ſecretly with his Wife as ſome did, but that he would dwell publickly with her, and wiſht that he might have many Children by her. In the *Eaſtern* Church all their Clergy below the Order of Biſhops are uſually married before they be ordained, and afterward live with their Wives, and have Children by them, without any kind of Prohibition. In the *Weſtern* Church the Married Clergy are taken notice of in many of the *Spaniſh* and *Gallican* Synods, and the Biſhops and Prieſts Wives are called *Epyſcopæ* and *Presbyteræ*. In moſt of the Cathedrals of *England* the Clergy were married in the *Saxon* times, but as was ſhewn, *Page* 22. of the *firſt* Part, becauſe they would

1548.

not quit their Wives they were put out, not of Sacred Orders, but only out of the Seats they were then in, and thoſe were given to the Monks. When Pope *Nicolas* had preſſed the Cœlibate of the Clergy in the *9th Century*, there was great oppoſition made to it, chiefly by *Huldericus* Biſhop of *Ausburg*, who was held a Saint notwithſtanding this oppoſition. *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of *London* lived openly with his Wife: nor was the Cœlibate of the Clergy generally impoſed till Pope *Gregory* the *7th*'s time in the *eleventh Century*, who projecting to have the Clergy depend wholly on himſelf, and ſo to ſeparate them from the Intereſts of thoſe Princes in whoſe Dominions they lived, conſidered that by having Wives and Children they gave Pledges to the State where they lived, and reckoned that if they were free from this incumbrance, then their Perſons being Sacred, there would be nothing to hinder, but that they might do as they pleaſed in obedience to the Popes, and oppoſition to their own Princes Orders. The *Writers* near *Gregory* the *7th*'s time called this a new thing, againſt the Mind of the Holy Fathers, and full of raſhneſs in him thus to turn out married Prieſts. *Lanfranc* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* did not impoſe Cœlibate on the Clergy in the Villages, but only on thoſe that lived in Towns, and on Prebendaries. But *Anſelm* carried it further, and ſimply impoſed it on all the Clergy; yet himſelf laments that *Sodomy* was become then very common, and even publick, which was alſo the complaint of *Petrus Damiani* in Pope *Gregories* time. *Bernard* ſaid that, *that* ſin was frequent among the Biſhops in his time, and that this with many other abominations was the natural effect of prohibiting Marriage. This made Abbot *Panormitan* wiſh that it were left to Mens liberty to marry if they pleaſed. And *Pius* the ſecond ſaid there might have been good reaſons for impoſing Cœlibate on the Clergy, but he believed there were far better Reaſons for taking away theſe Laws that impoſed it. Yet even ſince thoſe Laws have been made *Petrarch* had a Licenſe to marry, and keep his Preferments ſtill. *Boniface* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Geofrey* Biſhop of *Ely* are ſaid to have had Wives; and though there were not ſo many Inſtances of Prieſts marrying after Orders, yet if there were any thing in the nature of Prieſthood inconſiſtent by the Law of God with Marriage, then it was as unlawful for them to continue in their former Marriages as to contract a new one. Some few Inſtances were alſo gathered out of Church Hiſtory of Biſhops and Prieſts marrying after Orders: but as theſe were few, ſo there was juſt reaſon to controvert them.

The Vows and other Reaſons againſt it examined.

Upon the whole matter it was clear that the Cœlibate of the Clergy flowed from no law of God, nor from any general Law of the Church; but the contrary, of Clergy-mens living with their Wives, was univerſally received for many Ages. As for Vows, it was much queſtioned how far they did bind in ſuch Caſes. It ſeemed a great ſin to impoſe ſuch on any, when they were yet young, and did not well know their own diſpoſitions. Nor was it in a Mans power to keep them. For, Continence being none of thoſe Graces that are promiſed by God to all that ask it; as it was not in a Mans Power without extream ſeverities on himſelf to govern his own conſtitution of Body, ſo he had no reaſon to expect God ſhould interpoſe when he had provided another remedy for ſuch Caſes. Beſides, the Promiſe made by Clergy-men, according to

1548. the Rites of the *Roman Pontifical*, did not oblige them to Cœlibate. The words were, *Wilt thou follow Chaſtity and Sobriety?* to which the Sub-Deacon anſwered, *I will.* By *Chaſtity* was not to be underſtood a total abſtinence from all, but only from unlawful embraces; ſince a Man might live chaſt in a ſtate of Marriage, as well as out of it. But whatever might be in this, the *Engliſh* Clergy were not concerned in it: for there was no ſuch Queſtion nor Anſwer made in the Forms of their Ordination. So they were not by any Vow precluded from Marriage. And for the Expediency of it, nothing was more evident, than that theſe Laws had brought in much uncleanneſs into the Church, and thoſe who preſſed them moſt had been ſignally noted for theſe Vices. No Prince in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory lewder than *Edgar* that had ſo promoted it. The *Legate* that in King *Henry* the ſecond's time got that ſevere Decree made, that put all the married Clergy from their Livings, was found the very night after (for the credit of Cœlibate) in bed with a Whore. On this Subject many undecent Stories were gathered, eſpecially by *Bale*, who was a learned Man, but did not write with that temper and diſcretion that became a Divine. He gathered all the lewd Stories that could be raked together to this purpoſe; and the many abominable things found in the Monaſteries were then freſh in all Mens memories. It was alſo obſerved, that the unmarried Clergy had been, as much as the married could be, intent upon the raiſing Families, and the enriching of their Nephews and Kindred, (and ſometimes of their Baſtards, witneſs the preſent Pope *Paul* the third, and not long before him *Alexander* the *6th*) ſo that the married Clergy could not be tempted to more Covetouſneſs than had appeared in the unmarried. And for the Diſtraction of Domeſtick Affairs, the Clergy had formerly given themſelves up to ſuch a ſecular courſe of Life, that it was thought nothing could encreaſe it; but if the married Clergy ſhould ſet themſelves to raiſe more than a decent maintenance for their Children, ſuch as might fit them for Letters or Callings, and ſhould neglect Hoſpitality, become covetous, and accumulate Livings and Preferments, to make Eſtates for their Children; this might be juſtly curbed by new Laws, or rather the renewing of the ancient Canons, by which Clergy-men were declared to be only entruſted with the Goods of the Church for publick ends, and were not to apply them to their own private uſes, nor to leave them to their Children and Friends.

Thus had this Matter been argued in many Books that were written on this Subject, by *Poinet*, and *Parker*, the one afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the other Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; alſo by *Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſory*, with many more. Dr. *Ridley*, Dr. *Taylor*, (afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*) Dr. *Benſon*, and Dr. *Redmayn*, appeared more confidently in it, than many others; being Men that were reſolved never to marry themſelves; who yet thought it neceſſary, and therefore pleaded, (according to the Pattern that *Paphnutius* had ſet them) that all ſhould be left to their liberty in this matter.

The Debate about it was brought into the Convocation, where Dr. *Redmayn*'s Authority went a great way. He was a Man of great Learning and Probity, and of ſo much greater weight, becauſe he did not in all Points agree with the Reformers: but being at this time ſick, his opinion was brought under his Hand, which will be found in the *Collection*,

Collection Number 30.

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1548. copied from the Orignal. It was to this purpoſe, “That though the Scriptures exhorted Prieſts to live chaſt, and out of the cares of the World; yet the Laws forbidding them Marriage, were only Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church; not founded on the Word of God: and therefore he thought that a Man once married might be a Prieſt: and he did not find the Prieſts in the Church of *England* had made any Vow againſt Marriage; and therefore he thought that the King and the higher Powers of the Church, might take away the Clog of perpetual continence from the Prieſts, and grant that ſuch as could not or would not contain, might marry once, and not be put from their holy Miniſtration. It was oppoſed by many in both Houſes, but carried at laſt by the major Vote. All this I gather from what is printed concerning it: For I have ſeen no Remains of this, or of any of the other Convocations that came afterwards in this Reign; the Regiſters of them being deſtroyed in the Fire of *London*. This Act ſeemed rather a connivance, and permiſſion of the Clergy to marry, than any direct allowance of it, So the Enemies of that ſtate of life continued to reproach the married Clergy ſtill: and this was much heightned by many undecent Marriages, and other light behaviour of ſome Prieſts. But theſe things made way for a more full Act concerning this matter about three years after.

An Act confirming the Liturgy.

The next Act that paſt in this Parliament was about the publick Service; which was put into the Houſe of *Commons* on the *9th* of *December*, and the next day was alſo put into the Houſe of *Lords*: It lay long before them, and was not agreed to till the *15th* of *Jan.* The Earl of *Derby*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Norwich*, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and the Lords, *Dacres*, and *Windſor*, proteſting. The Preamble of the *Act* ſets forth, “That there had been ſeveral Forms of Service, and that of late there had been great difference in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine Worſhip: and that the moſt effectual endeavours could not ſtop the Inclinations of many to depart from the former Cuſtoms: which the King had not puniſhed, believing they flowed from a good zeal. But that there might be an uniforme way over all the Kingdom, the King, by the advice of the Lord Protector and his Council, had appointed the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, with other learned and diſcreet Biſhops and Divines, to draw an Order of Divine Worſhip, having reſpect to the pure Religion of Chriſt taught in the Scripture, and to the practice of the Primitive Church, which they by the Aid of the Holy Ghoſt, had with one uniforme agreement concluded on; wherefore the Parliament having conſidered the *Book*, and the things that were altered or retained in it, they gave their moſt humble thanks to the King for his care about it: and did pray that all who had formerly offended in theſe matters, except ſuch as were in the Tower of *London*, or the Priſon of the *Fleet*, ſhould be pardoned; and did Enact, that from the Feaſt of *Whit-Sunday* next, all Divine Offices ſhould be performed according to it, and that ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould refuſe to do it, or continue to officiate in any other manner, ſhould upon the firſt conviction be impriſoned ſix Months, and forfeit a years Profit of their Benefice: For the ſecond offence forfeit all their Church Preferments, and ſuffer a years Impriſonment: And for the third offence ſhould be impri-

1548. “ ſoned during life. And all that ſhould write, or put out things in print
“ againſt it, or threaten any Clergy-men for uſing it, were to be fined in
“ 10 *l.* for the firſt offence, 20 for the ſecond, and to forfeit all their
“ Goods, and be impriſoned for life, upon a third offence. Only at the
“ *Univerſities* they might uſe it in *Latin* and *Greek*, excepting the Office
“ of the Communion. It was alſo lawful to uſe other *Pſalms* or *Prayers*
“ taken out of the Bible, ſo theſe in the Book were not omitted. This

The Cenſures paſſed upon it.

Act was variouſly cenſured by thoſe who diſliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was ſaid the *Book* was drawn *by the Aid of the Holy Ghoſt.* But others ſaid this was not to be ſo underſtood, as if they had been inſpired by extraordinary aſſiſtance; for then there had been no room for any correction of what was now done: and therefore it was only to be underſtood in that ſenſe, as all good Motions and Conſultations are directed or aſſiſted by the ſecret influences of Gods Holy Spirit; which do oft help good Men, even in their imperfect actions, where the good that is done is juſtly aſcribed to the Grace of God. Others cenſured it, becauſe it was ſaid to be done by uniform agreement, though four of the Biſhops that were employed in the drawing of it, proteſted againſt it. Theſe were the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chicheſter*, and *Weſtminſter*; but theſe had agreed in the main parts of the Work, though in ſome few Particulars they were not ſatisfied, which made them diſſent from the whole.

Singing of Pſalms brought in.

The *Proviſo* for the *Pſalms* and *Prayers* taken out of the Bible, was for the *Singing Pſalms*, which were tranſlated into Verſe, and much ſung by all who loved the Reformation, and were in many Places uſed in Churches. In the Ancient Church the Chriſtians were much exerciſed in repeating the *Pſalms* of *David:* many had them all by heart, and uſed to be reciting them when they went about their Work; and thoſe who retired into a Monaſtical courſe of life, ſpent many of their hours in repeating the *Pſalter*. *Apollinaris* put them in verſe, as being eaſier for the memory. Other devout *Hymns* came to be alſo in uſe. *Nazianzen* among the *Greeks*, and *Prudentius* among the *Latines*, laboured on that Argument with the greateſt ſucceſs. There were other *Hymns* that were not put in verſe, the chief of which were, that moſt ancient Hymn which we uſe now after the Sacrament, and the Celebrated *Ambroſian* Hymn that begins *Te Deum Laudamus*. But as when the Worſhip of the departed Saints came to be dreſſed up with much pomp, Hymns were alſo made for their honour: and in *Latin* Tongue, as well as *Proſody*, being then much decayed, theſe came to be caſt into Rithmes, and were written generally in a fantaſtical affected Style: So now at the Reformation, ſome Poets, ſuch as the times afforded, tranſlated *Davids* Pſalms into verſe; and it was a ſign by which Mens affections to that Work were every where meaſured, whether they uſed to ſing theſe, or not. But as the *Poetry* then was low, and not raiſed to that juſtneſs to which it is ſince brought, ſo this Work, which then might paſs for a tolerable compoſure, has not been ſince that time ſo reviewed or changed as perhaps the thing required: hence it is that this piece of Divine Worſhip, by the meanneſs of the Verſe, has not maintained its due eſteem. Another thing, that ſome thought deſerved to be conſidered in ſuch a Work, was, that many of the *Pſalms*, being ſuch as related more ſpecially to *Davids* Victories, and contained Paſſages in them not eaſily underſtood, it ſeemed better to leave out theſe, which it was not ſo eaſie to ſing with Devotion, becauſe the meaning of them either lay hid, or did not at all concern *Chriſtians*. 1548.

1549. The Parliament was adjourned from the 22*d* of *December* to the ſecond of *Jan.* On the 7*th* of *Jan.* the Commons ſent an Addreſs to the Protector to reſtore *Latimer* to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*: but this took no effect, for that good old Man did chooſe rather to go about and preach, than to engage in a matter of Government, being now very ancient. A Bill was put in by the Lords for appointing of Parks, and agreed to, the Earl of *Arundel* only diſſenting; but being ſent down to the Commons, it was upon the ſecond reading thrown out, yet not ſo unanimouſly but that the Houſe was divided about it. Jour. Proc.

On the fourth of *Feb.* a Bill was put in againſt eating Fleſh in *Lent*, and on Faſting days; it was committed to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*; and ſent to the Commons on the 16*th*, who ſent it up on the 7*th* of *March*, with a *Proviſo* to which the Lords agreed. In the *Preamble* it is ſaid, “ That though “ it is clear by the Word of God, that there is no Day, nor kind of “ Meat, purer than another, but that all are in themſelves alike; yet “ many out of ſenſuality had contemned ſuch abſtinence, as had been “ formerly uſed; and ſince due abſtinence was a mean to vertue, and to “ ſubdue Mens Bodies to their Soul and Spirit, and was alſo neceſſary to “ encourage the Trade of Fiſhing, and for ſaving of Fleſh; therefore all “ former Laws about Faſting and Abſtinence were to be after the firſt of “ *May* repealed, and it was Enacted, That from the firſt of *May*, none “ ſhould eat Fleſh on *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Ember-days*, in *Lent*, or any “ other days that ſhould be declared Fiſh-days, under ſeveral Penalties. “ A *Proviſo* was added for excepting ſuch as ſhould obtain the Kings Li- “ cence, or were ſick, or weak, and that none ſhould be indicted but “ within three Months after the Offence. An Act about Faſts.

Chriſt had told his Diſciples, that when he ſhould *be taken from them, then they ſhould faſt*. Accordingly the Primitive Chriſtians uſed to faſt oft, more particularly before the Anniverſary of the *Paſſion* of Chriſt, which ended in a high Feſtivity at *Eaſter*. Yet this was differently obſerved, as to the number of days. Some abſtained 40 days in imitation of Chriſts Faſt, others only that Week, and others had only an entire Faſt from the time of Chriſts death till his Reſurrection. On theſe Faſts they eat nothing till the Evening, and then they eat moſt commonly Herbs and Roots. Afterwards the *Fridays* were kept as Faſts, becauſe on that day Chriſt ſuffered. *Saturdays* were alſo added in the *Roman* Church, but not without contradiction. *Ember-weeks* came in afterwards, being ſome days before thoſe *Sundays*, in which *Orders* were given. And a General Rule being laid down, that every Chriſtian *Feſtival* ſhould be preceded by a *Faſt*, thereupon the Vigils of Holy-days came, though not ſo ſoon, into the Number. But this, with the other good Inſtitutions of the Primitive times, became degenerate; even in St. *Auſtins* time, Religion came to be placed in theſe obſervances, and anxious Rules were made about them. Afterwards in the Church of *Rome* they were turned into a Mockery; for, as on Faſt-days they dined, which the Ancients did not, ſo the uſe of the moſt delicious Fiſh, dreſt in the

1549. moſt exquiſite manner, with the richeſt Wines that could be had, was allowed, which made it ridiculous. So now they reſolved to take off the ſeverities of the former Laws, and yet to keep up ſuch Laws about Faſting and Abſtinence, as might be agreeable to its true end: which is, to ſubdue the Fleſh to the Spirit, and not to gratifie it by a change of one ſort of diet into another, which may be both more delicate, and more inflaming. So fond a thing is Superſtition, that it will help Men to deceive themſelves by the ſlighteſt Pretences that can be imagined.

It was much lamented then, and there is as much cauſe for it ſtill, that carnal Men have taken advantages from the abuſes that were formerly practiſed, to throw off good and profitable Inſtitutions: ſince the frequent uſe of Faſting, with Prayer and true Devotion joyned to it, is perhaps one of the greateſt helps that can be deviſed, to advance one to a ſpiritual temper of Mind, and to promote a holy courſe of Life: And the mockery that is diſcernable in the way of ſome Mens Faſting, is a very ſlight excuſe for any to lay aſide the uſe of that which the Scriptures have ſo much recommended.

Some Bills were rejected.

There were other *Bills* put in into both Houſes, but did not paſs. One was, for declaring it Treaſon to marry the Kings Siſters without conſent of the King and his Council: but it was thought that King *Henry's* Will, diſabling them from the Succeſſion in that caſe, would be a ſtronger reſtraint; and ſo it was laid aſide. Another *Bill* was put in for Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. Great Complaints were made of the abounding of Vices and Immoralities, which the Clergy could neither reſtrain nor puniſh, and ſo they had nothing left but to preach againſt them, which was done by many with great freedom. In ſome of theſe *Sermons*, the Preachers expreſſed their apprehenſions of ſignal and ſpeedy Judgments from Heaven, if the People did not repent; but their Sermons had no great effect, for the Nation grew very corrupt, and this brought on them ſevere puniſhments. The Temporal Lords were ſo jealous of putting power in Church-mens hands, eſpecially to correct thoſe vices of which themſelves perhaps were moſt guilty, that the Bill was laid aſide. The pretence of oppoſing it, was, that the greateſt part of the Biſhops and Clergy were ſtill Papiſts in their Hearts; ſo that if Power were put into ſuch Mens hands, it was reaſonable to expect, they would employ it chiefly againſt thoſe who favoured the Reformation, and would vex them on that ſcore, though with Pretences fetched from other things.

A deſign for digeſting the Common Law into a Body.

There was alſo put into the Houſe of Commons a *Bill* for reforming of Proceſſes at Common Law, which was ſent up by the Commons to the Lords, but it fell in that Houſe. I have ſeen a large Diſcourſe written then upon that Argument; in which it is ſet forth, that the Law of *England* was a barbarous kind of Study, and did not lead Men into a finer ſort of Learning, which made the Common Lawyers to be generally ſo ignorant of Forreign Matters, and ſo unable to negotiate in them; therefore it was propoſed, that the *Common* and *Statute* Laws, ſhould be, in imitation of the *Roman* Law, digeſted into a *Body* under *Titles* and *Heads*, and put in good *Latin*. But this was too great a Deſign to be ſet on, or finiſhed under an Infant King. If it was then neceſſary, it will be readily acknowledged to be much more ſo now, the Volume of our *Statutes* being ſo much ſwell'd ſince that time; beſides the vaſt number of *Reports*, and *Caſes*, and the *Pleadings* growing much longer than formerly: yet whether this is a thing to be much expected or deſired, I refer it to the learned and wiſe Men of that Robe.

The Admirals Attainder.

The only Act that remains of this Seſſion of Parliament, about which I ſhall inform the Reader, is the *Attainder* of the *Admiral*. The *Queen Dowager* that had married him died in *September* laſt, not without ſuſpition of Poiſon. She was a good and vertuous Lady, and in her whole Life had done nothing unſeemly, but the marrying him ſo indecently, and ſo ſoon after the Kings death. There was found among her Papers a Diſcourſe written by her concerning her ſelf; entituled, *The Lamentation of a Sinner*, which was publiſhed by *Cecil*, who writ a Preface to it. In it, ſhe, with great ſincerity, acknowledges the ſinful courſe of her Life for many years, in which ſhe, relying on External Performances, ſuch as *Faſts*, and *Pilgrimages*, was all that while a Stranger to the Internal and True Power of Religion: which ſhe came afterwards to feel by the ſtudy of the Scripture, and the calling upon God for his Holy Spirit. She explains clearly the Notion ſhe had of Juſtification by Faith, ſo that Holineſs neceſſarily followed upon it: but lamented the great ſcandal given by many Goſpellers: So were all theſe called who were given to the reading of the Scriptures.

The Queen Dowager dying, he courted the Lady Eliz.

She being thus dead, the *Admiral* renewed his Addreſſes to the Lady *Elizabeth*, but in vain; for as he could not expect that his Brother and the Council would conſent to it, ſo if he had married her without that, the poſſibility of ſucceeding to the Crown was cut off by King *Henry's* Will. And this Attempt of his occaſioned that *Act* to be put in, which was formerly mentioned, for declaring the marrying the Kings' Siſters, without conſent of Council, to be Treaſon. Seeing he could not compaſs that deſign, he reſolved to carry away the King to his Houſe of *Holt* in the Country; and ſo to diſplace his Brother, and to take the Government into his own hands. For this end, he had laid in Magazines of Arms, and liſted about 10000 Men in ſeveral Places: and openly complained, that his Brother intended to enſlave the Nation, and make himſelf Maſter of all; and had therefore brought over thoſe *German* Soldiers. He had alſo entred into Treaty with ſeveral of the Nobility, that envied his Brothers greatneſs, and were not ill pleaſed to ſee a breach between them, and that grown to be irreconcilable. To theſe he promiſed that they ſhould be of the Council, and that he would diſpoſe of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters: the Perſon is not named. The *Protector* had often told him of theſe things, and warned him of the danger into which he would throw himſelf by ſuch ways; but he perſiſted ſtill in his deſigns; though he denied and excuſed them as long as was poſſible. Now his reſtleſs ambition ſeeming incurable, he was on the 19*th* of *Jan.* ſent to the *Tower*. The original Warrant, Signed by all the Privy Council, is in the Council-Book formerly mentioned; where the Earl of *Southampton* Signs with the reſt; who was now, in outward appearance reconciled to the *Protector*. On the day following the *Admirals* Seal of his Office was ſent for, and put into Secretary *Smiths* Hands. And now many things broke out againſt him; and particularly a Conſpiracy of his with Sir *W. Sharington*, Vice-Treaſurer of the Mint at *Briſtol*, who was to have furniſhed him with 10000 *l.* and had already coined about 12000 *l.* falſe Money, and had clipt a great deal more, to

Jan. 19. The Admiral ſent to the *Tower*.

1549.

the value of 40000 *l.* in all; for which he was attainted by a Proceſs at Common Law, and that was confirmed in Parliament. *Fowler* alſo, that waited in the Privy Chamber, with ſome few others, were ſent to the *Tower*: Many complaints being uſually brought againſt a ſinking Man, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ordered to receive their Examinations. And thus the Buſineſs was let alone till the 28 of *Feb.* in which time his Brother did again try if it were poſſible to bring him to a better temper: And as he had, ſince their firſt breach, granted him 800 *l.* a year in Land, to gain his friendſhip; ſo means were now uſed to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelf, and to withdraw from Court, and from all employment. But it appeared that nothing could be done to him that could cure his ambition, or the hatred he carried to his Brother. And therefore on the 22*d* of *Feb.* a full report was made to the Council of all the things that were informed againſt him; conſiſting not only of the Particulars formerly mentioned, but of many foul miſdemeanours in the diſcharge of the Admiralty: ſeveral Pirates being entertained by him, who gave him a ſhare of their Robberies, and whom he had protected, notwithſtanding the Complaints made by other Princes, by which the King was in danger of a War from the Princes ſo complaining. The whole Charge conſiſts of 33 Articles, which will be found in the *Collection*. The Particulars, as it is entred in the Council-Book, were ſo manifeſtly proved, not only by Witneſſes, but by Letters under his own Hand, that it did not ſeem poſſible to deny them. Yet he had been ſent to, and examined, by ſome of the Council, but refuſed to make a direct Anſwer to them, or to Sign thoſe Anſwers that he had made. So it was ordered, that the next day, all the Privy Council, except the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *John Baker*, Speaker to the Houſe of Commons, who was engaged to attend in the Houſe, ſhould go to the *Tower*, and examine him. On the 23*d* the Lord *Chancellor*, with the other Councellors, went to him, and read the Articles of his Charge, and earneſtly deſired him to make plain Anſwers to them, excuſing himſelf where he could, and ſubmitting himſelf in other things: and that he would ſhew no obſtinacy of Mind. He anſwered them, That he expected an open Trial, and his Accuſers to be brought face to face. All the Councellors endeavoured to perſwade him to be more tractable, but to no purpoſe. At laſt the Lord *Chancellor* required him on his Allegiance to make his Anſwer. He deſired, they would leave the Articles with him, and he would conſider of them, otherwiſe he would make no Anſwer to them. But the Councellors reſolved not to leave them with him on thoſe terms. On the 24*th* of *Feb.* it was reſolved in Council, that the whole Board ſhould after Dinner acquaint the King with the ſtate of that Affair, and deſire to know of him whether he would have the Law to take place; and ſince the thing had been before the Parliament, whether he would leave it to their determination: ſo tender they were of their young King in a Caſe that concerned his Unkles Life. But the King had begun to diſcern his ſeditious temper, and was now much alienated from him.

Collection Number 31.

The Council deſired the King to refer the Matter to the Parliament.

When the Councellors waited on him, the Lord *Chancellor* opened the Matter to the King, and delivered his Opinion for leaving it to the Parliament. Then every Councellor by himſelf ſpake his mind, all to the ſame purpoſe. Laſt of all the *Protector* ſpake; he proteſted this was a moſt

1549.

moſt ſorrowful buſineſs to him, that he had uſed all the means in his power to keep it from coming to this extremity; but were it Son or Brother he muſt prefer his Majeſties ſafety to them, for he weighed his Allegiance more than his Blood: and that therefore he was not againſt the requeſt that the other Lords had made; and ſaid, if he himſelf were guilty of ſuch offences, he ſhould not think he were worthy of life; and the rather becauſe he was of all Men the moſt bound to his Majeſty, and therefore he could not refuſe Juſtice. The King anſwered them in theſe words. “We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to “my Lord *Admiral* my Unkle, and they tend to Treaſon, and We perceive that you require but Juſtice to be done, We think it reaſonable, “and We Will, that you proceed according to your Requeſt. Which “words, (as it is marked in the Council-Book) coming ſo ſuddenly from “his *Graces* Mouth, of his own motion, as the Lords might well perceive, “they were marvellouſly rejoyced, and gave the King moſt hearty praiſe “and thanks: yet reſolved, that ſome of both Houſes ſhould be ſent to the “*Admiral*, before the Bill ſhould be put in againſt him, to ſee what he “could or would ſay. All this was done to try if he could be brought to a Submiſſion. So the Lord *Chancellor*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Warwick*, and *Southampton*, and Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, and Sir *Anth. Denny*, were ſent to him. He was long obſtinate, but after much perſwaſion was brought to give an Anſwer to the firſt three Articles, which will be found in the *Collection* at the end of the Articles: and then on a ſudden he ſtopt, and bade them be content, for he would go no further: and no entreaties would work on him, either to anſwer the reſt, or to ſet his Hand to the Anſwers he had made.

Who conſented to it.

The Bill paſſed in both Houſes.

On the 25*th* of *Feb.* the *Bill* was put in for attainting him, and the *Peers* had been ſo accuſtomed to agree to ſuch *Bills* in King *Henry*'s time, that they did eaſily paſs it. All the Judges, and the Kings Council, delivered their Opinions, that the Articles were Treaſon. Then the Evidence was brought, many Lords gave it ſo fully, that all the reſt with one Voice conſented to the *Bill*; only the *Protector*, *for natural pities ſake*, as is in the Council-Book, deſired leave to withdraw. On the 27*th* the *Bill* was ſent down to the *Commons*, with a Meſſage, That if they deſired to proceed as the *Lords* had done, thoſe Lords that had given their Evidence in their own Houſe, ſhould come down and declare it to the *Commons*. But there was more oppoſition made in the Houſe of *Commons*. Many argued againſt *Attainders* in abſence, and thought it an odd way that ſome *Peers* ſhould riſe up in their Places in their own Houſe, and relate ſomewhat to the ſlander of another, and that he ſhould be thereupon attainted: therefore it was preſſed, that it might be done by a *Trial*, and that the *Admiral* ſhould be brought to the Barr, and be heard plead for himſelf. But on the fourth of *March* a Meſſage was ſent from the King, that he thought it was not neceſſary to ſend for the *Admiral*: and that the *Lords* ſhould come down and renew before them the Evidence they had given in their own Houſe. This was done: and ſo the *Bill* was agreed to by the *Commons* in a full Houſe, judged about 400, and there were not above ten or twelve that voted in the negative. The Royal Aſſent was given on the 5*th* of *March*. On the 10*th* of *March*, the Council reſolved to preſs the King that Juſtice might be done on the *Admiral*: and ſince the Caſe was ſo heavy and lamentable

1549.

to the *Protector*, (ſo it is in the Council-Book) though it was alſo ſorrowful to them all, they reſolved to proceed in it, ſo that neither the King, nor he, ſhould be further troubled with it. After Dinner they went to the King, the *Protector* being with them. The King ſaid, he had well obſerved their Proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his ſafety, and commanded them to proceed in it without further moleſting him or the *Protector*: and ended, *I pray you, my Lords do ſo.* Upon this they ordered the Biſhop of *Ely* to go to the *Admiral*, and to inſtruct him in the things that related to another Life: and to prepare him to take patiently his deſerved Execution. And on the 17*th* of *March*, he having made report to them of his attendance on the *Admiral*, the Council Signed a Warrant for his Execution, which will be found in the *Collection*, to which both the Lord *Protector* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſet their Hands. And on the 20*th* his Head was cut off. What his behaviour was on the Scaffold I do not find.

Collection Number 32.
March 20.
The Admiral beheaded.

Thus fell *Tho.* Lord *Seimour*, Lord high *Admiral* of *England*, a Man of high thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of meaſure. The *Protector* was much cenſured for giving way to his Execution, by thoſe who looked only at that relation between them, which they thought ſhould have made him ſtill preſerve him. But others, who knew the whole *Series* of the Affair, ſaw it was ſcarce poſſible for him to do more for the gaining his Brother than he had done. Yet the other being a Popular Notion, that it was againſt Nature for one Brother to deſtroy another, was more eaſily entertain'd by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Myſteries of State. But the way of Proceeding was much condemned; ſince to attaint a Man without bringing him to make his own defence, or to object what he could ſay to the Witneſſes that were brought againſt him, was ſo illegal and unjuſt, that it could not be defended. Only this was to be ſaid for it, that it was a little more regular than *Parliamentary Attainders* had been formerly; for here the Evidence upon which it was founded was given before both Houſes.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

And on *Cranmers* ſigning the Warrant for his Execution.

One Particular ſeemed a little odd, that *Cranmer* Signed the Warrant for his Execution; which being in a *Cauſe of Blood*, was contrary to the *Canon Law*. In the Primitive Times, Church-men had only the Cure of Souls lying on them, together with the reconciling of ſuch differences as might otherwiſe end in Suits of Law before the Civil Courts, which were made up of Infidels. When the Empire became Chriſtian, theſe Judgments, which they gave originally on ſo charitable an account, were by the Imperial Laws made to have great Authority; but further than theſe, or the care of Widows and Orphans, they were forbid, both by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and other leſſer Councils, to meddle in Secular Matters. Among the Endowments made to ſome Churches, there were Lands given, where the Slaves, according to the *Roman* Law, came within the Patrimony of theſe Churches, and by that Law Maſters had Power of Life and Death over their Slaves.

Laws againſt Church-mens medling in Matters of Blood.

In ſome Churches this Power had been ſeverely exerciſed, even to maiming and death, which ſeemed very indecent in a Church-man. Beſides, there was an Apprehenſion that ſome ſevere Church-men, who were but Maſters for life, might be more profuſe of the Lives of ſuch Slaves, than thoſe that were to tranſmit them to their Families. Therefore

1549.

fore to prevent the waſt that would be made in the Churches Patrimony, it was agreed on that Church-men ſhould not proceed capitally againſt any of their Vaſſals or Slaves. And in the Confuſions that were in *Spain*, the Princes that prevailed, had appointed Prieſts to be Judges, to give the greater reputation to their Courts. This being found much to the prejudice of the Church, it was decreed in the fourth Council of *Toledo* that Prieſts who were choſen by Chriſt to the Miniſtry of Salvation, ſhould not judge in Capital Matters, unleſs the Prince ſhould ſwear to them, that he would remit the puniſhment: and ſuch as did otherwiſe, were held guilty of Blood-ſhedding, and were to loſe their Degree in the Church. This was ſoon received over all the *Weſtern* Church; and Arguments were found out afterwards by the *Canoniſts* to prove the neceſſity of continuing it; from *Davids* not being ſuffered to build the Temple, ſince he was *a Man of Blood*; and from the qualification required by St. *Paul* in a Biſhop, *That he ſhould be no ſtriker*, ſince he ſeemed to ſtrike, that did it either in Perſon, or by one whom he deputed to do it. But when afterwards *Charles* the Great, and all the Chriſtian Princes in the *Weſt*, gave their Biſhops great Lands and Dominions; they obliged them to be in all their Councils, and to do them ſuch *Services* as they required of them by vertue of their Tenures.. The Popes, deſigning to ſet up a Spiritual Empire, and to bring all Church-lands within it; required the Biſhops to ſeparate themſelves from a dependance on their Princes, as much as it was poſſible: And theſe Laws formerly made about Caſes of Blood, were judged a Colour good enough why they ſhould not meddle in ſuch Trials; ſo they procured theſe Caſes to be excepted. But it ſeems *Cranmer* thought his Conſcience was under no tie from thoſe *Canons*, and ſo judged it not contrary to his Function to Sign that Order.

Subſidies granted by the Clergy and Laity.

The *Parliament* was on the 14*th* of *March* Prorogued to the 4*th* of *Nov.* the Clergy having granted the King a Subſidy of 6 *s.* in the Pound to be paid in three Years. In the *Preamble* of the *Bill* of Subſidy they acknowledged the great quietneſs they enjoyed under him, having no Let nor Impediment in the Service of God. But the Laity ſet out their Subſidy with a much fuller *Preamble*, of the great happineſs they had by the true Religion of Chriſt; declaring that they were ready to forſake all things rather than Chriſt; as alſo to aſſiſt the King in the Conqueſt of *Scotland*, which they call a part of his Dominion; therefore they give 12 *d.* in the Pound of all Mens Perſonal Eſtates to be paid in three Years.

A New Viſitation.

But now to look into Matters of Religion, there was, immediately after the Act of *Uniformity* paſs'd, a new *Viſitation*, which, it is probable, went in the ſame Method that was obſerved in the former. There were two things much complained of; the one was, that the Prieſts read the Prayers generally with the ſame tone of Voice that they had uſed formerly in the *Latin* Service: ſo that, it was ſaid, the People did not underſtand it much better than they had done the *Latin* formerly. This I have ſeen repreſented in many Letters; and it was very ſeriouſly laid before *Cranmer* by *Martin Bucer*. The courſe taken in it, was, that in all *Pariſh* Churches the Service ſhould be read in a plain audible Voice; but that the former way ſhould remain in *Cathedrals*, where there were great *Quires*, who were well acquainted with that Tone, and where it agreed better with the Muſick that was uſed in the *Anthems*. Yet even there,

110656

1549.

Some of the old Abuſes coninued in the new Service.

there, many thought it no proper way in the *Letany*, where the greateſt gravity was more agreeable to ſuch humble Addreſſes, than ſuch a modulation of the Voice, which to thoſe unacquainted with it ſeemed light, and for others that were more accuſtomed to it, it ſeemed to be rather uſe that had reconciled them to it, than the natural decency of the thing, or any fitneſs in it to advance the devotion of their Prayers. But this was a thing judged of leſs importance: It was ſaid that thoſe who had been accuſtomed to read in that Voice, could not eaſily alter it: but as thoſe dropt off and died, others would be put in their places, who would officiate in a plainer Voice. Other Abuſes were more important. Some uſed in the *Communion-Service* many of the old *Rites*, ſuch as kiſſing the Altar, croſſing themſelves, lifting the Book from one place to another, breathing on the Bread, ſhewing it openly before the diſtribution, with ſome other of the old Ceremonies. The People did alſo continue the uſe of their praying by *Beads*, which was called an Innovation of *Peter* the Hermite in the 12*th Century*. By it, ten *Aves* went for one *Pater Noſter*, and the reciting theſe ſo oft in *Latin*, had come to be almoſt all the devotion of the Vulgar: and therefore the People were ordered to leave that unreaſonable way of Praying, it ſeeming a moſt unaccountable thing that the reciting the Angels Salutation to the Bleſſed Virgin, ſhould be ſuch a high piece of Divine Worſhip. And that this ſhould be done ten times, for one Prayer to God, looked ſo like *preferring the Creature to the Creator*, that it was not eaſie to defend it from an appearance of Idolatry. The Brieſts were alſo ordered to exhort the People to give to the Poor. The Curates were required to preach and declare the *Catechiſm*, at leaſt every ſixth Week. And ſome Prieſts continuing ſecretly the uſe of *Soul Maſſes*, in which, for avoiding the cenſure of the Law, they had one to communicate with them, but had many of theſe in one day; It was ordered, that there ſhould be no ſelling of the Communion, in *Trentals*, and that there ſhould be but one Communion in one Church, except on *Eaſter-day* and *Chriſtmas*; in which the People coming to the Sacrament in greater numbers, there ſhould be one Sacrament in the Morning, and another near Noon. And there being great abuſes in Churches, and Church-yards, in which in the times of Popery, Markets had been held, and Bargains made, *that* was forbid, chiefly in the time of Divine Service or Sermon.

Collection Number 33.

Theſe Inſtructions, which the Reader will find in the *Collection*, were given in charge to the Viſitors. *Cranmer* had alſo a *Viſitation* about the ſame time, in which the Articles he gave out are all drawn according to the Kings Injunctions. By ſome Queſtions in them, they ſeem to have been ſent out before the Parliament, becauſe the Book of Service is not mentioned: but the laſt Queſtion ſave one, being of ſuch as contemned married Prieſts, and refuſed to receive the Sacrament at their hands, I conceive that theſe were compiled after the *Act* concerning their Marriage was paſt, but before the Feaſt of *Whit-Sunday* following, for till then the *Common-Prayer-Book* was not to be received. There were alſo Orders ſent by the Council to the Biſhop of *London*, to ſee that there ſhould be no ſpecial Maſſes in St. *Pauls* Church; which, being the Mother-Church in the chief City of the Kingdom, would be an example to all the reſt; and that therefore there ſhould be only one Communion at the great Altar, and that at the time when the high Maſs was wont to be celebrated, unleſs

ſome

1549.

ſome deſired a Sacrament in the Morning, and then it was to be celebrated at the high Altar. *Bonner*, who reſolved to comply in every thing, ſent the Councils Letter to the *Dean* and *Reſidentiaries* of St. *Pauls*, to ſee it obeyed: and indeed all *England* over the Book was ſo univerſally received, that the Viſitors did return no complaint from any corner of the whole Kingdom. Only the Lady *Mary* continued to have Maſs ſaid in her Houſe, of which the Council being advertiſed, writ to her to conform her ſelf to the Laws, and not to caſt a reproach on the Kings Government; for the nearer ſhe was to him in Blood, ſhe was to give the better example to others: and her diſobedience might encourage others to follow her in that contempt of the Kings Authority. So they deſired her to ſend to them, her *Comptroller*, and Dr. *Hopton* her Chaplain, by whom ſhe ſhould be more fully advertiſed of the King and Councils Pleaſure. Upon this ſhe ſent one to the *Emperor* to interpoſe for her, that ſhe might not be forced to any thing againſt her Conſcience.

All received the new Service except the Lady *Mary*.

The Ambaſſador at the Emperors Court not ſuffered to uſe it.

At this time there was a Complaint made at the *Emperours* Court, of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador Sir *Philip Hobby*, for uſing the new *Common-Prayer-Book* there: To which he anſwered, He was to be obedient to the Laws of his own Prince and Country; and as the *Emperors* Ambaſſador had Maſs at his Chappel at *London*, without diſturbance, though it was contrary to the Law of *England*, ſo he had the ſame reaſon to expect the like liberty. But the *Emperor* eſpouſing the Intereſt of the Lady *Mary*, both *Paget*, (who was ſent over Ambaſſador Extraordinary to him upon his coming into *Flanders*) and *Hobby* promiſed in the Kings Name that he ſhould diſpenſe with her, for ſome time, as they afterwards declared upon their Honours, when the thing was further queſtioned: though the *Emperor* and his Miniſters pretended, that without any Qualification it was promiſed that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her Religion. The *Emperor* was now grown ſo high with his ſucceſs in *Germany*, and that at a time when a War was coming on with *France*, that it was not thought adviſable to give him any offence. There was likewiſe a Propoſition ſent over by him to the *Protector* and *Council*, for the Lady *Mary* to be married to *Alphonſo*, Brother to the King of *Portugal*. The Council entertained it: and though the late King had left his Daughters but 10000 *l.* a-piece, yet they offered to give with her 100000 Crowns in Money, and 20000 Crowns worth of Jewels. The *Infant* of *Portugal* was about her own Age, and offered 20000 Crowns Jointure. But this Propoſition fell, on what hand I do not know. The Lady *Mary* writ on the 22*d* of *June* to the Council, that ſhe could not obey their late Laws; and that ſhe did not eſteem them Laws, as made when the King was not of Age, and contrary to thoſe made by her Father, which they were all bound by Oath to maintain. She excuſed the not ſending her *Comptroller*, (Mr. *Arundel*) and her Prieſt: the one did all her buſineſs, ſo that ſhe could not well be without him; the other was then ſo ill that he could not travel. Upon this the Council ſent a peremptory Command to theſe, requiring them to come up, and receive their Orders. The Lady *Mary* wrote a ſecond Letter to them on the 27*th* of *June*, in which ſhe expoſtulated the matter with the Council. She ſaid, She was ſubject to none of them, and would obey none of the Laws they made; but proteſted great Obedience and Subjection to the King. When her Officers came to Court, they were commanded to declare to the Lady *Mary*,

A Treaty of Marriage for the Lady *Mary*.

Cotton lib. Galba B. 12.

She writ to the Council concerning the new Service.

1549.

Mary, that though the King was young in Perſon, yet his Authority was now as great as ever: that thoſe who have his Authority and act in his Name are to be obeyed; and though they as ſingle Perſons were her humble Servants, yet when they met in Council, they acted in the Kings Name, and ſo were to be conſidered by all the Kings Subjects as if they were the King himſelf: they had indeed ſworn to obey the late Kings Laws, but that could bind them no longer than they were in force; and being now repealed, they were no more Laws; other Laws being made in their room: There was no exception in the Laws, all the Kings Subjects were included in them; and for a Reformation of Religion made when a King was under Age, one of the moſt perfect that was recorded in Scripture was ſo carried on, when *Joſiah* was much younger than their King was: therefore they gave them in charge to perſwade her *Grace*, (for that was her *Title*) to be a good example of obedience, and not to encourage peeviſh and obſtinate Perſons, by her ſtiffneſs. But this Buſineſs was for ſome time laid aſide.

Who required her to obey as other Subjects did.

And now the Reformation was to be carried on to the eſtabliſhing of a Form of *Doctrine*, which ſhould contain the chief Points of Religion. In order to which, there was this Year great enquiry made into many particular Opinions, and chiefly concerning the *Preſence* of *Chriſt* in the *Sacrament*. There was no Opinion, for which the Prieſts contended more ignorantly and eagerly, and that the People generally believed more blindly and firmly, as if a ſtrong Belief were nothing elſe but winking very hard. The Prieſts, becauſe they accounted it the chief ſupport now left of their falling Dominion, which being kept up, might in time retrieve all the reſt. For while it was believed, that their Character qualified them for ſo ſtrange and mighty a Performance, they muſt needs be held in great reverence. The People, becauſe they thought they received the very Fleſh of Chriſt, and ſo (notwithſtanding our Saviours expreſs Declaration to the contrary, that *the Fleſh profiteth nothing*) looked on thoſe who went about to perſwade them otherwiſe, as Men that intended to rob them of the greateſt Priviledge they had. And therefore it was thought neceſſary to open this fully, before there ſhould be any change made in the Doctrine of the Church.

The manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament examined.

The *Lutherans* ſeemed to agree with that which had been the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, that in the Sacrament there was both the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, and Chriſts Body likewiſe. Only many of them defended it by an Opinion that was thought a-kin to the *Eutychian* Hereſie, that his humane Nature by vertue of the union of the God-head, was every where: though even in this way it did not appear that there was any ſpecial Preſence in the Sacrament, more than in other things. Thoſe of *Switzerland* had on the other hand, taught that the Sacrament was only an Inſtitution to commemorate the Sufferings of Chriſt. This, becauſe it was intelligible, was thought by many too low and mean a thing, and not equal to the high expreſſions that are in the Scripture, of its being *the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*. The *Princes* of *Germany* ſaw what miſchief was like to follow on the diverſity of Opinions in explaining the *Sacrament:* and as *Luther*, being impatient in his temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill to ſee his Doctrine ſo rejected; ſo by the undecent way of writing in matters of Controverſie, to which the *Germans* are too much inclined, this difference

1549.

rence turned to a direct breach among them. The *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* had laboured much to have theſe diverſities of Opinion laid aſleep, ſince nothing gave their common Enemies ſuch advantage, as their quarrelling among themſelves. *Martin Bucer* was of a moderate temper, and had found a middle Opinion in this matter, though not ſo eaſie to be underſtood. He thought there was more than a *Remembrance*, to wit, a *Communication* of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament; that in general a *Real Preſence* ought to be aſſerted, and that the way of explaining it ought not to be anxiouſly enquired into: and with him *Calvin* agreed, that it was *truly* the *Body and Blood of Chriſt*, not *figuratively*, but *really* preſent. The advantage of theſe general Expreſſions was, that thereby they hoped to have ſilenced the Debates between the *German* and *Helvetian* Divines, whoſe Doctrine came likewiſe to be received by many of the *Cities* of the *Empire*, and by the *Elector Palatine*. And among *Martin Bucers* Papers, I met with an Original Paper of *Luthers*, (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he was willing to have that difference thus ſetled: “ Thoſe of the *Ausburg* “ Confeſſion ſhould declare, that in the Sacrament there was truly Bread “ and Wine, and thoſe of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion ſhould declare, that “ Chriſts Body was truly preſent, and ſo without any further curioſities “ in the way of explaining it, in which Divines might uſe their liberty, “ the difference ſhould end. But how this came to take no effect, I do not underſtand. It was alſo thought that this way of expreſſing the Doctrine would give leaſt offence; for the People were ſcarce able to bear the Opinion of the Sacraments being only a *Figure*: but wherein this *Real Preſence* conſiſted, was not ſo eaſie to be made out. Some explained it more intelligibly in a ſenſe of Law, that in the Sacrament there was a real application of the Merit of Chriſts Death, to thoſe who received it worthily: ſo that Chriſt as crucified was really preſent: and theſe had this to ſay for themſelves, that the Words of the Inſtitution do not call the Elements ſimply Chriſts *Body* and *Blood*, but his *Body broken*, and his *Blood ſhed*, and that therefore Chriſt was really preſent, as he was crucified, ſo that the importance of *Really* was *Effectually*. Others thought all ways of explaining the manner of the Preſence were needleſs curioſities, and apt to beget differences: that therefore the Doctrine was to be eſtabliſhed in general words, and to ſave the labour both of explaining and underſtanding it, it was to be eſteemed a Myſtery. This ſeems to have been *Bucers* Opinion, but *Peter Martyr* inclined more to the *Helvetians*.

Collection Number 34.

Publick Diſputations about it.

There were publick Diſputations held this Year both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge* upon this Matter. At *Oxford* the Popiſh Party did ſo encourage themſelves by the Indulgence of the Government, and the gentleneſs of *Cranmers* temper, that they became upon this Head inſolent out of meaſure. *Peter Martyr* had read in the Chair concerning the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which he explained according to the Doctrine of the *Helvetian* Churches: Dr. *Smith* did upon this reſolve to contradict him openly in the Schools, and challenge him to diſpute on theſe Points: and had brought many thither, who ſhould by their Clamours and Applauſes run him down: yet this was not ſo ſecretly laid, but a friend of *P. Martyrs* brought him word of it before he had come from his Houſe, and perſwaded him not to go to the Schools that day, and

Antiq. Oxon.

1549. ſo diſappoint *Smith*. But he looked on that as ſo mean a thing, that he would by no means comply with it. So he went to the Divinity Schools; on his way one brought him a Challenge from *Smith* to diſpute with him, concerning the Euchariſt. He went on and took his place in the Chair, where he behaved himſelf with an equal meaſure of courage and diſcretion: he gravely check'd *Smiths* preſumption, and ſaid, he did not decline a diſpute; but was reſolved to have his Reading that day, nor would he engage in a publick Diſpute without leave from the Kings Council: Upon this a Tumult was like to riſe; ſo the Vice-Chancellor ſent for them before him: *P. Martyr* ſaid he was ready to defend every thing that he had read in the Chair, in a Diſpute: but he would manage it only in Scripture-Terms, and not in the Terms of the Schools.

This was the beating the Popiſh Doctors out of that which was their chief ſtrength; for they had little other Learning, but a ſlight of toſſing ſome Arguments from hand to hand, with a gibberiſh kind of Language, that ſounded like ſomewhat that was ſublime; but had really nothing under it. By conſtant practiſe they were very nimble at this ſort of Legerdemain, of which both *Eraſmus* and Sir *Tho. More*, with the other learned Men of that Age, had made ſuch ſport, that it was become ſufficiently ridiculous: and the Proteſtants laid hold on that advantage which ſuch great Authorities gave them to diſparage it. They ſet up another way of diſputing from the Original Text of the Scripture in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which ſeemed a more proper thing in matters of Divinity, than the Metaphyſical Language of the School-men.

This whole Matter being referred to the Privy-Council, they appointed ſome Delegates to hear and preſide in the Diſputation: but Dr. *Smith* being brought in ſome trouble, either for this Tumult, or upon ſome other account, was forced to put in Sureties for his good behaviour: he deſiring that he might be diſcharged of any further proſecution, made the moſt humble ſubmiſſion to *Cranmer* that was poſſible; and being thereupon ſet at liberty, he fled out of the Kingdom, it is ſaid he went firſt to *Scotland*, and from thence to *Flanders*. But not long after this *Peter Martyr* had a Diſputation before the *Commiſſioners* ſent by the King, who were the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Cox*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity, and ſome others; in which *Treſham*, *Chadſey*, and *Morgan*, diſputed againſt thoſe three Propoſitions: 1. *In the Sacrament of Thankſgiving there is no Tranſubſtantiation of Bread and Wine in the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* 2. *The Body or Blood of Chriſt is not Carnally or Corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor as others uſe to ſay, under the Bread and Wine.* 3. *The Body and Blood of Chriſt are united to the Bread and Wine Sacramentally.* *Ridley* was ſent alſo to *Cambridge* with ſome others of the Kings Commiſſioners, where, on the 20*th*, 24th, and 27*th* of *June*, there were publick Diſputations on theſe two *Poſitions*.

"Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifeſt "words of Scripture; nor can it be neceſſarily collected from it; nor yet "confirmed by the conſent of the Ancient Fathers.

"In the Lords Supper there is none other Oblation and Sacrifice, than "of a Remembrance of Chriſts Death, and of Thankſgiving.

Dr. *Madew* defended theſe, and *Glyn*, *Langdale*, *Sedgewick*, and *Young*, diſputed againſt them the firſt day; and the ſecond day *Glyn* defended

the

1549.

the contrary Propoſitions, and *Peru*, *Grindal*, *Geſt*, and *Pilkington*, diſputed againſt them. On the third day the Diſpute went on, and was ſummed up in a learned *Determination* by *Ridley* againſt the Corporal Preſence. There had been alſo a long Diſputation in the Parliament on the ſame Subject; but of this we have nothing remaining, but what King *Edward* writ in his *Journal.* *Ridley* had, by reading *Bertrams* Book of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, been firſt ſet on to examine well the old Opinion concerning the Preſence of Chriſts very Fleſh and Blood in the Sacrament: and wondering to find that in the *9th Century* that Opinion was ſo much controverted, and ſo learnedly writ againſt by one of the moſt eſteemed Men of that Age, began to conclude, that it was none of the ancient Doctrines of the Church, but lately brought in, and not fully received, till after *Bertrams* Age. He communicated the Matter with *Cranmer*, and they ſet themſelves to examine it with more than ordinary care. *Cranmer* afterwards gathered all the Arguments about it into the Book which he writ on that Subject, to which *Gardiner* ſet out an Anſwer under the diſguiſed Name of *Marcus Conſtantius*; and *Cranmer* replied to it. I ſhall offer the Reader in ſhort, the Subſtance of what was in theſe Books, and of the Arguments uſed in the Diſputations, and in many other Books which were at that time written on this Subject.

The manner of the Preſence explained according to the Scripture.

Chriſt in the Inſtitution took Bread, and gave it. So that his words, *This is my Body*, could only be meant of the Bread: Now the Bread could not be his Body literally. He himſelf alſo calls the Cup, *The Fruit of the Vine.* St. *Paul* calls it, *The Bread that we break*, and *the Cup that we bleſs*; and ſpeaking of it after it was bleſſed, calls it, *That Bread and that Cup.* For the Reaſon of that Expreſſion, *This is my Body*; it was conſidered that the Diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſpoke thus, were *Jews*; and that they being accuſtomed to the Moſaical Rites, muſt needs have underſtood his words in the ſame ſenſe they did *Moſes's* words, concerning the *Paſchal Lamb*, which is called *the Lords Paſſover.* It was not that literally, for *the Lords Paſſover* was the Angels paſſing by the *Iſraelites* when he ſmote the firſt-born of the *Egyptians*; ſo the *Lamb* was only the *Lords Paſſover* as it was the Memorial of it: and thus Chriſt ſubſtituting the *Euchariſt* to the *Paſchal Lamb*, uſed ſuch an Expreſſion, calling it *his Body*, in the ſame manner of ſpeaking as the *Lamb* was called *the Lords Paſſover.* This was plain enough, for his Diſciples could not well underſtand him in any other ſenſe than that to which they had been formerly accuſtomed. In the Scripture many ſuch Figurative Expreſſions occurre frequently. In Baptiſm, the other Sacrament inſtituted by Chriſt, he is ſaid to Baptize *with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire*: and ſuch as are Baptized, are ſaid to *put on Chriſt*: which were Figurative Expreſſions: As alſo in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the Cup is called *the New Teſtament in Chriſts Blood*, which is an Expreſſion full of Figure. Farther it was obſerved, that *that* Sacrament was Inſtituted for a Remembrance of Chriſt, and of his death: which implied that he was to be abſent at the time when he was to be remembred. Nor was it ſimply ſaid, that the Elements were his Body and Blood; but that they were his *Body broken*, and his *Blood ſhed*, that is, they were theſe as ſuffering on the Croſs; which as they could not be underſtood literally, for Chriſt did Inſtitute this Sacrament before he had

1549. ſuffered on the Croſs; ſo now Chriſt muſt be preſent in the Sacrament, not as glorified in Heaven, but as ſuffering on his Croſs. From thoſe Places where it is ſaid, that Chriſt is in Heaven; and that he is to continue there; they argued, that he was not to be any more upon Earth. And thoſe words in the *6th* of St. *John*, of *eating Chriſts Fleſh*, and *drinking his Blood*, they ſaid were to be underſtood not of the Sacrament: ſince many receive the Sacrament unworthily, and of them it cannot be ſaid that *they have Eternal Life in them*; but Chriſt there ſaid of them that received him in the ſenſe that was meant in that *Chapter*, that *all that did ſo eat his Fleſh had Eternal Life in them*; therefore theſe words can only be underſtood *Figuratively* of receiving him *by Faith*, as himſelf there explains it: And ſo in the end of that Diſcourſe, finding ſome were ſtartled at that way of expreſſing himſelf, he gave a Key to the whole, when he ſaid *his Words were Spirit and Life*, and *that the Fleſh profited nothing, it was the Spirit that quickned.* It was ordinary for him to teach in Parables; and *the receiving of any Doctrine*, being oft expreſſed by the *Prophets*, by the Figure of *eating and drinking*, he, upon the occaſion of the Peoples coming to him after he had fed them with a few Loaves, did diſcourſe of their believing, in theſe dark Expreſſions; which did not ſeem to relate to the Sacrament, ſince it was not then Inſtituted. They alſo argued from Chriſts appealing to the Senſes of his Hearers, in his Miracles, and eſpecially in his diſcourſes upon his Reſurrection, that the Teſtimony of Senſe was to be received, where the Object was duly applied, and the Senſe not vitiated. They alſo alledged natural Reaſons againſt a Bodies being in more places than one, or being in a Place in the manner of a Spirit, ſo that the Subſtance of a compleat Body, could be in a crumb of Bread or drop of Wine: and argued, that ſince the Elements after Conſecration, would nouriſh, might putrifie, or could be poiſoned, theſe things clearly evinced, That the Subſtance of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament.

And from the Fathers.

From this they went to examine the Ancient Fathers. Some of them called it *Bread and Wine*; others ſaid it *nouriſhed the Body*, as *Juſtin Martyr*; others, *that it was digeſted in the Stomach*, and *went into the draught*, as *Origen*. Some called it a *Figure* of Chriſts Body, ſo *Tertullian*, and St. *Auſtin*; others called the Elements *Types* and *Signs*, ſo almoſt all the Ancient *Liturgies*, and the *Greek* Fathers generally. In the *Creeds* of the Church it was profeſſed, that Chriſt ſtill ſate on the Right Hand of God; the *Fathers* argued from thence, that he was in Heaven, and not on Earth. And the *Marcionites*, and other *Hereticks*, denying that Chriſt had a true Body, or did really ſuffer; the *Fathers* appealed in that to the Teſtimony of Senſe, as Infallible. And St. *Auſtin* giving Rules concerning Figurative Speeches in Scripture; one is this, that they muſt be taken Figuratively, where in the literal ſenſe the thing were a Crime; which he applies to theſe Words of *eating Chriſts Fleſh, and drinking his Blood*. But that on which they put the ſtreſs of the whole cauſe, as to the Doctrine of the Fathers, was the reaſoning that they uſed againſt the *Eutychians*, who ſaid that Chriſts Body and Humane Nature was ſwallowed up by his Divinity. The *Eutychians*, arguing from the Euchariſts being called Chriſts Body and Blood, in which they ſaid Chriſts Preſence did convert the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine into his own Fleſh and Blood; ſo in like manner, ſaid they, his Godhead had converted

the Manhood into it ſelf: Againſt this, *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and 1549.
Theodoret, one of the learnedeſt Fathers of his Age, argue in plain words, That the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remained, as it was formerly, in its own Nature, and Form; and from their Opinion of the Preſence of Chriſts Body in it without converting the Elements, they turned the Argument to ſhew how the Divine and Humane Nature can be together in Chriſt, without the ones being changed by the other. *Peter Martyr* had brought over with him the Copy of a *Letter* of St. *Chryſoſtomes*, which he found in a *MS.* at *Florence*, written to the ſame purpoſe, and on the ſame Argument: which was the more remarkable, becauſe that *Chryſoſtome* had ſaid higher things in his *Sermons* and *Commentaries* concerning Chriſts being preſent in the Sacrament than any of all the Fathers; but it appeared by this Letter, that thoſe high Expreſſions were no other than Rhetorical Figures of Speech to beget a great reverence to this Inſtitution: and from hence it was reaſonable to judge that ſuch were the like Expreſſions in other Fathers, and that they were nevertheleſs of *Chryſoſtomes* mind touching the Preſence of Chriſt in this Sacrament. That *Epiſtle* of his does lie ſtill unpubliſhed, though a very learned Man now in *France* has procured a Copy of it: but thoſe of that Church know the conſequence that the printing of it would have, and ſo it ſeems are reſolved to ſuppreſs it if they can. From all theſe things it was plain that though the Fathers believed there was an extraordinary Vertue in the Sacrament, and an unaccountable Preſence of Chriſt in it, yet they thought not of Tranſubſtantiation nor any thing like it. But when darkneſs and ignorance crept into the Church, the People were apt to believe any thing that was incredible: and were willing enough to ſupport ſuch Opinions as turned Religion into external Pageantry. The Prieſts alſo knowing little of the Scriptures, and being only or chiefly converſant in thoſe Writings of the Ancients that had highly extolled the Sacrament; came generally to take up the Opinion of the Corporal Preſence, and being ſoon apprehenſive of the great eſteem it would bring to them, cheriſhed it much. In the *9th Century Bertram*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Amalarius*, *Alcuinus*, and *Joannes Scotus*, all writ againſt it: nor were any of them cenſured or condemned for theſe Opinions. It was plainly and ſtrongly contradicted by ſome *Homilies* that were in the *Saxon* Tongue, in which not a few of *Bertrams* words occur: particularly in that which was to be read in the Churches on *Eaſter* day. But in the *11th* or *12th Century* it came to be univerſally received; as indeed any thing would have been that much advanced the Dignity of Prieſthood. And it was farther advanced by Pope *Innocent* the third, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the fourth Council of *Lateran*; That ſame Council, in which the rooting out of Hereticks, and the Popes Power of depoſing Heretical Princes, and giving their Dominions to others, were alſo decreed.

But there was another curious Remark made of the Progreſs of this Opinion. When the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence was firſt received in the *Weſtern* Church, they believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body of Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that in the diſtribution one had an Eye, a Noſe, or an Ear, another a Tooth, a Finger, or a Toe, a third a Collop, or a piece of Tripe; and this was ſupported by pretended Miracles ſuited to that Opinion, for ſometimes the Hoſt was

1549. ſaid to bleed, Parts of it were alſo ſaid to be turned to pieces of Fleſh. This continued to be the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* for near 300 Years. It appears clearly in the Renunciation which they made *Berengarius* ſwear. But when the School-men began to form the Tenets of that Church by more artificial and ſubtil Rules; as they thought it an ungentle way of treating Chriſt to be thus mangling his Body, and eating it up in Gobbets, ſo the Maximes they ſet up about the Extenſion of matter, and of the manner of Spirits filling a ſpace, made them think of a more decent way of explaining this Prodigious Myſtery. They taught that Chriſt was ſo in the Hoſt and Chalice, that there was one entire Body in every crumb and drop; ſo that the Body was no more broken, but upon every breaking of the Hoſt, a new whole Body flew off from the other parts, which yet remained an entire Body, notwithſtanding that diminution. And then the former Miracles being contrary to this conceit, were laid aſide, and new ones invented, fitted for this Explanation, by which Chriſts Body was believed preſent after the manner of a Spirit. It was given out, that he ſometimes appeared as a Child all in Raies upon the Hoſt, ſometimes with Angels about him, or ſometimes in his Mothers Arms. And that the Senſes might give as little contradiction as was poſſible, inſtead of a Loaf they bleſſed then only Wafers, which are ſuch a ſhadow of Bread as might more eaſily agree with their Doctrine of the accidents of Bread being only preſent: and leaſt a larger meaſure of Wine might have encouraged the People to have thought it was Wine ſtill, by the ſenſible effects of it, that came alſo to be denied them.

This was the Subſtance of the Arguments that were in thoſe Writings. But an Opinion that had been ſo generally received, was not of a ſudden to be altered. Therefore they went on ſlowly in diſcuſſing it, and thereby did the better diſpoſe the People to receive what they intended afterwards to eſtabliſh concerning it. And this was the ſtate of Religion for this *Year*.

Proceedings againſt Anabaptiſts.

At this time there were many *Anabaptiſts* in ſeveral parts of *England*. They were generally *Germans*, whom the Revolutions there had forced to change their Seats. Upon *Luthers* firſt preaching in *Germany*, there aroſe many, who building on ſome of his Principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief Foundation he laid down was, That the Scripture was to be the only Rule of Chriſtians. Upon this many argued, that the Myſteries of the Trinity, and Chriſts Incarnation and Sufferings, of the Fall of Man, and the Aids of Grace, were indeed Philoſophical Subtilties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almoſt all Opinions of Religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among theſe, the Baptiſm of Infants was one. They held that to be no Baptiſm, and ſo were re-baptiz'd: but from this, which was moſt taken notice of, as being a viſible thing, they carried all the general Name of *Anabaptiſts*. Of theſe there were two ſorts moſt remarkable. The one was of thoſe who only thought that Baptiſm ought not to be given but to thoſe who were of an Age capable of Inſtruction, and who did earneſtly deſire it. This Opinion they grounded on the ſilence of the New Teſtament about the Baptiſm of Children; they obſerved, that our Saviour commanding the Apoſtles to baptize, did joyn Teaching with it; and they ſaid, the great decay of Chriſtianity flowed

Of whom there were two ſorts.

1549.

from this way of making Children Chriſtians before they underſtood what they did. Theſe were called the gentle or moderate *Anabaptiſts*. But others who carried that Name, denied almoſt all the Principles of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and were Men of fierce and barbarous tempers. They had broke out into a general revolt over *Germany*, and raiſed the War called *The Ruſtick War:* and poſſeſſing themſelves of *Munſter*, made one of their Teachers, *John* of *Leyden*, their King, under the Title of the *King of the new Jeruſalem.* Some of them ſet up a fantaſtical unintelligible way of talking of Religion, which they turned all into Allegories: Theſe being joyned in the common Name of *Anabaptiſts* with the other, brought them alſo under an ill Character.

Rot. Pat. Par. 6. 3. Reg.

On the 12*th* of *April* there was a Complaint brought to the Council, that with the Strangers that were come into *England*, ſome of that Perſwaſion had come over, and were diſſeminating their Errours, and making Proſelites: So a Commiſſion was ordered for the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Rocheſter*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Tho. Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr, *May*, and ſome others, three of them being a *Quorum*, to examine and ſearch after all Anabaptiſts, Hereticks, or contemners of the Common-Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoyn them Penance, and give them Abſolution: or if they were obſtinate, to excommunicate and impriſon them, and to deliver them over to the Secular Power to be farther proceeded againſt. Some Tradeſmen in *London* were brought before theſe *Commiſſioners* in *May*, and were perſwaded to abjure their former Opinions: which were, “That a Man regenerate could “not ſin; that though the outward Man ſinned, the inward Man ſinned “not; That there was no Trinity of Perſons; That Chriſt was only a “Holy Prophet, and not at all God; That all we had by Chriſt was, that “he taught us the way to Heaven; That he took no Fleſh of the Virgin; “and that the Baptiſm of Infants was not profitable. One of thoſe who thus abjured was commanded to carry a Faggot next *Sunday* at St. *Pauls*, where there ſhould be a Sermon ſetting forth his Hereſie. But there was another of theſe extream obſtinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan* of *Kent*. “She denied that Chriſt was truly incarnate of the Virgin, “whoſe Fleſh being ſinful, he could take none of it: but the Word by “the conſent of the inward Man in the Virgin, took Fleſh of her: theſe were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many Conferences with her; but ſhe was ſo extravagantly conceited of her own Notions, that ſhe rejected all they ſaid with ſcorn: whereupon ſhe was adjudged an obſtinate Heretick, and ſo left to the Secular Power: The Sentence againſt her will be found in the *Collection.* This being returned to the Council, the good King was moved to Sign a Warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it: he thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which they had condemned in Papiſts, to burn any for their Conſciences. And in a long Diſcourſe he had with Sir *Jo. Cheek* he ſeemed much confirmed in that Opinion. *Cranmer* was employed to perſwade him to Sign the Warrant. He argued from the Law of *Moſes*, by which Blaſphemers were to be ſtoned: He told the King, he made a great difference between Errors in other Points of Divinity, and thoſe which were directly againſt the Apoſtles *Creed*: that theſe were impieties againſt God, which a Prince, as being Gods Deputy, ought to puniſh;

Collection Number 35.

1549.

as the Kings Deputies were obliged to puniſh offences, againſt the Kings Perſon. Theſe Reaſons did rather ſilence than ſatisfie the young King, who ſtill thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was) to proceed ſo ſeverely in ſuch Caſes: ſo he ſet his hand to the Warrant, with Tears in his Eyes, ſaying to *Cranmer*, That if he did wrong, ſince it was in ſubmiſſion to his Authority, he ſhould anſwer for it to God. This ſtruck the Arch-biſhop with much horror, ſo that he was very unwilling to have the Sentence executed. And both he, and *Ridley*, took the Woman then in cuſtody to their Houſes, to ſee if they could perſwade her. But ſhe continued, by Jeers and other Inſolencies, to carry her ſelf ſo contemptuouſly, that at laſt the Sentence was executed on her, the ſecond of *May* the next Year, Biſhop *Scory* preaching at her burning: ſhe carried her ſelf then as ſhe had done in the former parts of her Proceſs, very undecently, and in the end was burnt.

An Anabaptiſt burnt.

This Action was much cenſured, as being contrary to the clemency of the Goſpel; and was made oft uſe of by the *Papiſts*, who ſaid it was plain that the Reformers were only againſt Burning, when they were in fear of it themſelves. The Womans carriage made her be look'd on as a frantick Perſon, fitter for *Bedlam* than a *Stake*. People had generally believed that all the Statutes for burning Hereticks had been repealed: but now, when the thing was better conſidered, it was found that the burning of Hereticks was done by the Common Law, ſo that the Statutes made about it were only for making the Conviction more eaſie, and the Repealing the Statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a *Writ* at *Common Law*. To end all this matter at once; two years after this, one *George Van Pare*, a *Dutch-man*, being accuſed for ſaying that God the Father was only God, and that Chriſt was not very God, he was dealt with long to abjure: but would not: ſo on the *6th* of *April* 1551. he was condemned in the ſame manner that *Joan* of *Kent* was, and on the 25*th* of *April* was burnt in *Smithfield*. He ſuffered with great conſtancy of mind, and kiſſed the Stake and Faggots, that were to burn him. Of this *Pare* I find a *Popiſh* Writer ſaying, That he was a Man of moſt wonderful ſtrict Life, that he uſed not to eat above once in two days, and before he did eat would lie ſometime in his devotion proſtrate on the ground. All this they made uſe of to leſſen the credit of thoſe who had ſuffered formerly; for it was ſaid, they ſaw now that Men of harmleſs Lives, might be put to death for Hereſie, by the confeſſion of the Reformers themſelves: And in all the Books publiſhed in Queen *Maries* days, juſtifying her ſeverity againſt the Proteſtants, theſe Inſtances were always made uſe of: and no part of *Cranmers* Life expoſed him more than this did. It was ſaid he had conſented both to *Lamberts* and *Anne Askews* death, in the former Reign, who both ſuffered for Opinions which he himſelf held now: and he had now procured the death of theſe two Perſons, and when he was brought to ſuffer himſelf afterwards, it was called a juſt retalliation on him. One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter flowed from no cruelty of temper in him, no Man being further from that black diſpoſition of Mind; but it was truly the effect of thoſe Principles by which he governed himſelf.

Another burnt.

This was much cenſured.

Diſputes concerning the Baptiſm of Infants.

For the other ſort of *Anabaptiſts*, who only denied Infants Baptiſm, I find no ſeverities uſed to them: but ſeveral Books were written againſt them, to which they wrote ſome Anſwers. It was ſaid that Chriſt

allowed

1549.

allowed little Children to be brought to him, and ſaid, of *ſuch was the Kingdom of Heaven*, and bleſſed them: Now if they were capable of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, they muſt be regenerated, for Chriſt ſaid none but ſuch as were *born of Water and of the Spirit* could enter into it. St. *Paul* had alſo called the Children of believing Parents *Holy*, which ſeemed to relate to ſuch a conſecration of them as was made in Baptiſm. And *Baptiſm* being the Seal of *Chriſtians*, in the room of *Circumciſion* among the *Jews*, it was thought the one was as applicable to Children as the other. And one thing was obſerved, that the whole World in that Age having been baptized in their Infancy, if that Baptiſm was nothing, then there were none truly baptized in being; but all were in the ſtate of meer Nature: Now it did not ſeem reaſonable that Men who were not baptized themſelves ſhould go and baptize others: and therefore the firſt Heads of that *Sect*, not being rightly baptized themſelves, ſeemed not to act with any Authority when they went to baptize others. The Practice of the Church, ſo early begun, and continued without diſpute for ſo many Ages, was at leaſt, a certain confirmation of a thing which had (to ſpeak moderately) ſo good foundations in Scripture for the lawfulneſs, though not any peremptory, but only probable Proof for the practice of it.

The Doctrine of Predeſtination much abuſed.

Theſe are all the Errors in Opinion that I find were taken notice of at this time. There was another ſort of People, of whom all the good Men in that Age made great complaints. Some there were called *Goſpellers*, or Readers of the Goſpel, who were a ſcandal to the Doctrine they profeſſed. In many *Sermons* I have oft met with ſevere Expoſtulations with theſe, and heavy Denunciations of Judgments againſt them. But I do not find any thing objected to them, as to their belief; ſave only that the Doctrine of *Predeſtination* having been generally taught by the Reformers, many of this Sect began to make ſtrange Inferences from it; reckoning, that ſince every thing was decreed, and the Decrees of God could not be fruſtrated, therefore Men were to leave themſelves to be carried by theſe Decrees. This drew ſome into great impiety of Life, and others into deſperation. The *Germans* ſoon ſaw the ill effects of this Doctrine. *Luther* changed his mind about it, and *Melancthon* openly writ againſt it: and ſince that time the whole ſtream of the *Lutheran* Churches has run the other way. But both *Calvin* and *Bucer* were ſtill for maintaining the Doctrine of theſe Decrees; only they warned the People not to think much of them, ſince they were Secrets which Men could not penetrate into; but they did not ſo clearly ſhew how theſe conſequences did not flow from ſuch Opinions. *Hooper*, and many other good Writers, did often dehort People from entring into theſe curioſities; and a Caveat to that ſame purpoſe was put afterwards into the Article of the Church about *Predeſtination*.

Tumults in *England*.

One ill effect of the diſſoluteneſs of Peoples manners broke out violently this Summer, occaſioned by the Incloſing of Lands. While the Monaſteries ſtood, there were great numbers of People maintained about theſe Houſes; their Lands were eaſily let out, and many were relieved by them. But now, the Numbers of the People encreaſed much, Marriage being univerſally allowed; they alſo had more time than formerly, by the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Proceſſions and Pilgrimages; ſo that as the Numbers encreaſed, they

1549. had more time than they knew how to beſtow. Thoſe who bought in the Church-Lands, as they every where raiſed their Rents, of which old *Latimer* made great Complaints in one of his Court Sermons, ſo they reſolved to encloſe their Grounds, and turn them to Paſture: for Trade was then riſing faſt, and Corn brought not in ſo much Money as Wooll did. Their Flocks alſo being kept by few Perſons in Grounds ſo encloſed, the Landlords themſelves enjoyed the profit which formerly the Tenants made out of their Eſtates: and ſo they intended to force them to ſerve about them at any ſuch rates as they would allow. By this means the Commons of *England* ſaw they were like to be reduced to great miſery. This was much complained of, and ſeveral little Books were written about it. Some propoſed a ſort of *Agrarian Law*, that none might have Farms above a ſet value, or Flocks above a ſet number of 2000 Sheep; which Propoſal I find the young King was much taken with, as will appear in one of the Diſcourſes he wrote with his own Hand. It was alſo repreſented that there was no care taken of the educating of Youth, except of thoſe who were bred for Learning; and many things were propoſed to correct this: but in the mean time the Commons ſaw the Gentry were like to reduce them to a very low condition.

The *Protector* ſeemed much concerned for the Commons, and oft ſpoke againſt the oppreſſion of Landlords. He was naturally juſt and compaſſionate, and ſo did heartily eſpouſe the Cauſe of the poor People, which made the Nobility and Gentry hate him much. The former year, the Commons about *Hampton-Court*, petitioned the *Protector* and Council, complaining, that whereas the late King in his Sickneſs had encloſed a Park there, to divert himſelf with private eaſie Game, the Deer of that Park did overlay the Country, and it was a great burden to them; and therefore they deſired that it might be diſparked. The *Council* conſidering that it was ſo near *Windſor*, and was not uſeful to the King, but a charge rather, ordered it to be diſparked, and the Deer to be carried to *Windſor*; but with this *Proviſo*, that if the King when he came of Age deſired to have a Park there, what they did ſhould be no prejudice to him. There was alſo a *Commiſſion* iſſued out to enquire about Incloſures and Farms, and whether thoſe who had purchaſed the Abbey-Lands kept Hoſpitality, to which they were bound by the Grants they had of them, and whether they encouraged Husbandry. But I find no effect of this. And indeed there ſeemed to have been a general deſign among the Nobility and Gentry to bring the Inferior ſort to that low and ſervile ſtate to which the Peaſants in many other Kingdoms are reduced. In the *Parliament* an *Act* was carried in the Houſe of *Lords* for imparking Grounds, but was caſt out by the *Commons:* yet Gentlemen went on every where taking their Lands into their own Hands, and encloſing them.

Many are eaſily quieted. In *May* the Commons did riſe firſt in *Wilt-ſhire*; where Sir *William Herbert* gathered ſome reſolute Men about him, and diſperſed them, and ſlew ſome of them. Soon after that, they roſe in *Suſſex*, *Hamp-ſhire*, *Kent*, *Gloceſter-ſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick-ſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Hartford-ſhire*, *Leiceſter-ſhire*, *Worceſter-ſhire*, and *Rutland-ſhire*; but by fair perſwaſions the fury of the People was a little ſtopt, till the matter ſhould be repreſented to the *Council*. The *Protector* ſaid, he did not wonder the Commons were in ſuch diſtempers, they being ſo oppreſſed, that it was eaſier

1549.

eaſier to die once than to periſh for want: and therefore he ſet out a Proclamation, contrary to the mind of the whole Council, againſt all new Incloſures; with another, indempnifying the People for what was paſt, ſo they carried themſelves obediently for the future. Commiſſions were alſo ſent every where, with an unlimited Power to the Commiſſioners, to hear and determine all Cauſes about Incloſures, High-ways, and Cottages. The vaſt Power theſe Commiſſioners aſſumed was much complained of; the *Landlords* ſaid it was an Invaſion of their Property, to ſubject them thus to the pleaſure of thoſe who were ſent to examine the Matters without proceeding in the ordinary Courts according to Law. The *Commons* being encouraged by the favour they heard the *Protector* bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or ſtay for a more peaceable iſſue, did riſe again, but were anew quieted. Yet the *Protector* being oppoſed much by the *Council*, he was not able to redreſs this Grievance ſo fully as the People hoped. So in *Oxford-ſhire* and *Devon-ſhire* they roſe again, and alſo in *Norfolk* and *York-ſhire*. Thoſe in *Oxford-ſhire* were diſſipated by a Force of 1500 Men, led againſt them by the Lord *Gray*. Some of them were taken and hanged by *Martial* Law, as being in a ſtate of War; the greateſt part ran home to their Dwellings.

But thoſe of *Devon-ſhire* grew formidable.

In *Devon-ſhire* the Inſurrection grew to be better formed; for that County was not only far from the Court, but it was generally inclined to the former ſuperſtition, and many of the old Prieſts run in among them. They came together on the 10*th* of *June*, being *Whit-Monday*; and in a ſhort time they grew to be 10000 ſtrong. At Court it was hoped this might be as eaſily diſperſed as the other Riſings were: but the *Protector* was againſt running into extremities, and ſo did not move ſo ſpeedily as the thing required. He, after ſome days, at laſt ſent the Lord *Ruſſel* with a ſmall Force to ſtop their Proceedings. And that *Lord*, remembring well how the Duke of *Norfolk* had with a very ſmall Army broken a formidable Rebellion in the former Reign, hoped that time would likewiſe weaken and diſ-unite theſe; and therefore he kept at ſome diſtance, and offered to receive their Complaints, and to ſend them to the *Council*. But theſe delays gave advantage and ſtrength to the Rebels; who were now led on by ſome Gentlemen: *Arundel* of *Cornwall* being in chief Command among them; and in anſwer to the Lord *Ruſſel*, they agreed on fifteen Articles, the Subſtance of which was as follows.

Their Demands.

1. "That all the General Councils, and the Decrees of their Fore-
" fathers, ſhould be obſerved:

2. "That the Act of the *Six Articles* ſhould be again in force.

3. "That the Maſs ſhould be in *Latin*, and that the Prieſts alone
" ſhould receive.

4. "That the Sacrament ſhould be hanged up, and worſhiped; and
" thoſe who refuſed to do it ſhould ſuffer as Hereticks.

5. "That the Sacrament ſhould only be given to the People at *Eaſter*
" in one kind.

6. "That Baptiſm ſhould be done at all times.

7. "That Holy Bread, Holy Water, and Palms be again uſed;
" and that Images be ſet up, with all the other ancient Ceremo-
" nies.

8. "That the new Service ſhould be laid aſide, ſince it was like a "*Chriſtmas* Game: and the old Service again ſhould be uſed with the "Proceſſion in *Latin*.

9. "That all Preachers in their Sermons, and Prieſts in the Maſs, "ſhould pray for the Souls in Purgatory.

10. "That the Bible ſhould be called in, ſince otherwiſe the Clergy "could not eaſily confound the Hereticks.

11. "That Dr. *Moreman*, and *Criſpin*, ſhould be ſent to them, and "put in their Livings.

12. "That Cardinal *Pool* ſhould be reſtored, and made of the Kings "Council.

13. "That every Gentleman might have only one Servant for every "hundred Marks of yearly Rent that belonged to him.

14. "That the half of the Abbey and Church-Lands ſhould be taken "back, and reſtored to two of the chief Abbeys in every County: and "all the Church Boxes for ſeven years ſhould be given to ſuch Houſes, "that ſo devout Perſons might live in them, who ſhould pray for the "King and the Common-wealth.

15. "And that for their particular grievances, they ſhould be redreſ-"ſed, as *Humphrey Arundel* and the *Major* of *Bodmyn* ſhould inform the "King, for whom they deſired a ſafe conduct.

Cranmer drew an Anſwer to them. *Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.*

Theſe Articles being ſent to the Council, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* was ordered to draw an Anſwer to them, which I have ſeen corrected with his own Hand. The Subſtance of it was, That their Demands were inſolent, ſuch as were dictated to them by ſome ſeditious Prieſts: they did not know what General Councils had decreed; nor was there any thing in the Church of *England* contrary to them, though many things had been formerly received which were ſo: and for the Decrees, they were framed by the Popes to enſlave the World, of which he gave ſeveral Inſtances.

For the *Six Articles*, he ſays, They had not been carried in Parliament if the late King had not gone thither in Perſon, and procured that Act; and yet of his own accord he ſlackened the execution of it.

To the third, it was ſtrange that they did not deſire to know in what terms they worſhiped God: and for the Maſs, the ancient Canons required the People to communicate in it, and the Prayers in the Office of the Maſs did ſtill imply that they were to do it.

For the hanging up and adoring the Hoſt, it was but lately ſet up by Pope *Innocent*, and *Honorius*, and in ſome Places it had never been received.

For the fifth, the Ancient Church received that Sacrament frequently, and in both kinds.

To the ſixth, Baptiſm in Caſes of neceſſity was to be adminiſtred at any time: but out of theſe Caſes it was fit to do it ſolemnly; and in the Ancient Church it was chiefly done on the Eves of *Eaſter* and *Whit-Sunday*, of which uſage ſome Footſteps remained ſtill in the old Offices.

To the ſeventh, theſe were late ſuperſtitious devices: Images were contrary to the Scriptures, firſt ſet up for remembrance, but ſoon after made Objects of Worſhip.

1549.

To the eight, The old Service had many ludicrous things in it; the new was ſimple and grave: If it appeared ridiculous to them, it was as the *Goſpel* was long ago, fooliſhneſs to the *Greeks*.

To the ninth, The Scriptures ſay nothing of it: it was a ſuperſtitious Invention derogatory to Chriſts death.

To the tenth, The Scriptures are the Word of God, and the readieſt way to confound that which is Hereſie indeed.

To the eleventh, Theſe were ignorant, ſuperſtitious, and deceitful Perſons.

To the twelfth, *Pool* had been attainted in Parliament for his ſpiteful Writings and Doings againſt the late King.

To the thirteenth, It was fooliſh and unreaſonable: one Servant could not do a Man's buſineſs; and by this, many Servants would want employment.

To the fourteenth, This was to rob the King, and thoſe who had theſe Lands of him; and would be a means to make ſo foul a Rebellion be remembred in their Prayers.

To the fifteenth, Theſe were notorious Traitors, to whom the Kings Council was not to ſubmit themſelves.

After this, they grew more moderate, and ſent eight Articles: 1. Concerning Baptiſm. 2. About Confirmation. 3. Of the Maſs. 4. For reſerving the Hoſt. 5. For Holy Bread and Water. 6. For the old Service. 7. For the ſingle Lives of Prieſts. 8. For the *Six Articles*: and concluded, *God ſave the King*, for they were *His*, *both Body and Goods*. To this there was an Anſwer ſent in the Kings Name, on the *8th* of *July*, (ſo long did the Treaty with them hold) in which, after Expreſſions of the Kings affection to his People, he taxes their riſing in Arms againſt him their King as contrary to the Laws of God: He tells them, That they are abuſed by their Prieſts, as in the Inſtance of Baptiſm, which according to the Book might, neceſſity requiring it, be done at all times: that the Changes that had been ſet out, were made after long and great conſultation; and the Worſhip of this Church, by the advice of many Biſhops and Learned Men, was reformed, as near to what Chriſt and his Apoſtles had taught and done, as could be: and all things had been ſetled in Parliament. But the moſt ſpecious thing that miſled them being that of the Kings Age, it was ſhewed them that his Blood, and not his Years, gave him the Crown: and the ſtate of Government requires, that at all times there ſhould be the ſame Authority in Princes, and the ſame Obedience in the People. It was all penned in a high threatning Style, and concluded with an earneſt Invitation of them to ſubmit to the Kings Mercy, as others that had riſen had alſo done, to whom he had not only ſhewed Mercy, but granted Redreſs of their juſt grievances: otherwiſe they might expect the utmoſt ſeverity that Traitors deſerved.

They make new Demands.

Which were alſo rejected.

But nothing prevailed on this enraged Multitude, whom the Prieſts inflamed with all the Artifices they could imagine: and among whom the Hoſt was carried about by a Prieſt on a Cart, that all might ſee it. But when this Commotion was thus grown to a Head, the Men of *Norfolk* roſe the *6th* of *July*, being led by one *Ket* a Tanner. Theſe pretended nothing of Religion, but only to ſuppreſs and deſtroy the Gentry, and to raiſe the commons, and to put new Councellors about the King.

The Rebellion in *Norfolk* headed by *Ket* a Tanner.

They

1549. They encreaſed mightily, and became 20000 ſtrong, but had no Order nor Diſcipline, and committed many horrid outrages. The *Sheriff* of the County came boldly to them, and required them in the Kings Name to diſperſe, and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they had put him cruelly to death. They came to *Monſhold* Hill above *Norwich*, and were much favoured by many in that City. *Parker*, afterwards Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, came among them, and preached very freely to them, of their ill Lives, their Rebellion againſt the King, and the Robberies they daily committed: by which he was in great danger of his Life. *Ket* aſſumed to himſelf the Power of Judicature, and under an old Oak, called from thence *the Oak of Reformation*, did ſuch Juſtice as might be expected from ſuch a Judge, and in ſuch a Camp. The *Marqueſs* of *Northampton* was ſent againſt them, but with Orders to keep at a diſtance from them, and to cut off their Proviſions; for ſo it was hoped that without the ſhedding much Blood they might come to themſelves again. When the news of this Riſing came into *York-ſhire*, the Commons there roſe alſo; being further encouraged by a *Prophecy*; That there ſhould be no King nor Nobility in *England*, that the Kingdom ſhould be ruled by four Governours choſen by the Commons, who ſhould hold a Parliament, in commotion, to begin at the *South* and *North* Seas. This they applied to the *Devon-ſhire* Men on the *South* Seas, and themſelves on the *North* Seas. They at their firſt riſing fired Beacons, and ſo gathered the Country, as if it had been for the defence of the Coaſt; and meeting two Gentlemen, with two others with them, they without any provocation murdered them, and left their naked Bodies unburied. At the ſame time that *England* was in this Commotion, the News came that the *French* King had ſent a great Army into the Territory of *Bulloigne*, ſo that the Government was put to moſt extraordinary ſtraits.

A Riſing in *York-ſhire.*

The *French* fall into the *Bullogneſe.*

A Faſt at Court, where *Cranmer* preached.
Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.

There was a *Faſt* proclaimed in and about *London*. *Cranmer* preached on the Faſt-day at Court. I have ſeen the greateſt part of his *Sermon* under his own Hand: and it is the only *Sermon* of his I ever ſaw. It is a very plain unartificial Diſcourſe, no ſhews of Learning, or conceits of Wit in it, but he ſeverely expoſtulated in the Name of God with his Hearers, for their ill Lives, their Blaſphemies, Adulteries, mutual Hatred, Oppreſſion, and Contempt of the Goſpel: and complained of the ſlackneſs in puniſhing theſe ſins, by which the Government became in ſome ſort guilty of them. He ſet many Paſſages of the *Jewiſh* Story before them of the Judgments ſuch ſins drew on, and of Gods Mercy in the unexpected deliverances they met with upon their true Repentance. But he chiefly lamented the ſcandal given by many who pretended a zeal for Religion, but uſed that for a Cloak to diſguiſe their other Vices: He ſet before them the freſh Example of *Germany*, where People generally loved to hear the Goſpel, but had not amended their Lives upon it; for which God had now, after many years forbearance, brought them under a ſevere ſcourge, and intimated his apprehenſions of ſome ſignal ſtroke from Heaven upon the Nation, if they did not repent.

Exeter beſieged.

The Rebels in *Devon-ſhire* went and beſieged *Exeter*, where the Citizens reſiſted them with great courage: they ſet fire to the Gates of the City, which thoſe within fed with much Fuel for hindering their entry, till they had raiſed a Rampart within the Gates, and when the Rebels

came

1549. came to enter, the Fire being ſpent, they killed many of them. The Rebels alſo wrought a Mine, but the Citizens Countermined, and pour'd in ſo much Water as ſpoiled their Powder. So finding they could do nothing by force, they reſolved to lie about the Town, reckoning that the want of Proviſion would make it ſoon yield. The Lord *Ruſſel*, having but a ſmall Force with him, ſtayed a while for ſome Supplies, which Sir *William Herbert* was to bring him from *Briſtol*. But being afraid that the Rebels ſhould incloſe him, he marched back from *Honnington* where he lay; and finding they had taken a Bridge behind him, he beat them from it, killing 600 of them without any loſs on his ſide. By this he underſtood their ſtrength, and ſaw they could not ſtand a brisk Charge, nor rally when once in diſorder. So the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola* that commanded ſome *Germans*, joyning him, he returned to raiſe the Siege of *Exeter*, which was much ſtraitned for want of Victuals. The Rebels had now ſhut up the City twelve days, they within had eat their Horſes, and endured extream Famine, but reſolved to periſh rather than fall into the Hands of thoſe Savages; for the Rebels were indeed no better. They had block'd up the Ways, and left 2000 Men to keep a Bridge which the Kings Forces were to paſs. But the Lord *Ruſſel* broke thorough them, and killed about 1000 of them; upon that the Rebels raiſed the Siege, and retired to *Lanceſton*. The Lord *Ruſſel* gave the Citizens of *Exeter* great thanks in the Kings Name for their Fidelity and Courage: and purſued the Rebels, who were now going off in Parties, and were killed in great numbers. Some of their Heads, as *Arundel*, and the *Major* of *Bodmyne*, *Temſon*, and *Barret*, two Prieſts, with ſix or ſeven more, were taken and hanged. And ſo this Rebellion was happily ſubdued in the *Weſt*, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, to the great Honour of the Lord *Ruſſel*; who with a very ſmall Force had ſaved *Exeter*, and diſperſed the Rebels Army, with little or no loſs at all.

But is reliev-ed, and the Rebels defeated by the Lord *Ruſſel*.

But the *Marqueſs* of *Northampton* was not ſo ſucceſsful in *Norfolk*. He carried about 1100 Men with him, but did not obſerve the Orders given him, and ſo marched on to *Norwich*. The Rebels were glad of an occaſion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next day with great fury, and the Town not being ſtrong, he was forced to quit it, but loſt 100 of his Men in that Action, among whom was the Lord *Sheffield*, who was much lamented. The Rebels took about 30 Priſoners, with which they were much lifted up. This being underſtood at *Court*, the Earl of *Warwick* was ſent againſt them, with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horſe that were prepared for an Expedition to *Scotland*: He came to *Norwich*, but was ſcarce able to defend it; for the Rebels fell often in upon him, neither was he well aſſured of the Town. But he cut off their Proviſions, ſo that the Rebels, having waſted all the Country about them, were forced to remove. And then he followed them with his Horſe. They turned upon him, but he quickly routed them, and killed 2000 of them, and took *Ket* their Captain, with his Brother, and a great many more. *Ket* was hanged in Chains at *Norwich* next *January*.

Warwick diſperſes the Rebels at *Norfolk*

The Rebels in *York-ſhire* had not become very numerous, not being above 3000 in all: but hearing of the defeating of thoſe in other Parts, they accepted of the offer of Pardon that was ſent them: only ſome

few

1549. few of the chief Ringleaders continued to make new ſtirs, and were taken, and hanged, in *York* the *September* following.

When theſe Commotions were thus over, the *Protector* preſſed that there might be a general and free Pardon ſpeedily proclaimed, for quieting the Country, and giving their Affairs a reputation abroad. This was much oppoſed by many of the Council, who thought it better to accompliſh their ſeveral ends, by keeping the People under the laſh, than by ſo profuſe a Mercy: But the *Protector* was reſolved on it, judging A general Pardon. the ſtate of Affairs required it. So he gave out a general Pardon of all that had been done before the 21*ſt* of *Auguſt*, excepting only thoſe few whom they had in their hands, and reſolved to make publick Examples. Thus was *England* delivered from one of the moſt threatning Storms that at any time had broke out in it: in which deliverance the great prudence and temper of the *Protector* ſeems to have had no ſmall ſhare. Of this whole Matter Advertiſement was given to the Forreign Miniſters, in Collection Number 36. a Letter which will be found in the *Collection*.

A Viſitation at *Cambridge*. There was this Year a Viſitation of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: *Ridley* was appointed to be one of the Viſitors, and to preach at the opening of it: he thereupon writ to *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to let him know what was to be done at it, that ſo his Sermon might be adjuſted to their buſineſs. He received anſwer, That it was only to remove ſome ſuperſtitious Practiſes and Rites, and to make ſuch Statutes as ſhould be found needful. But when he went to *Cambridge*, he ſaw the Inſtructions went further. They were required to procure a reſignation of ſome Colledges, and to unite them with others; and to convert ſome Fellowſhips appointed for encouraging the Study of Divinity, to the Study of the Civil Law. In particular *Clare-Hall* was to be ſuppreſſed. But the Maſter and Fellows would not reſign, and after two days labouring to perſwade them them to it, they abſolutely refuſed to do it. Upon this *Ridley* ſaid he could not with a good Conſcience go on any further in that matter: the Church was already ſo robbed and ſtript, that it ſeemed there was a deſign laid down by ſome, to drive out all Civility, Learning, and Religion out of the Nation: therefore he declared he would not concurre in ſuch things, and deſired leave to be gone. The other Viſitors complained of him to the *Protector*, that he had ſo troubled them with his *barking*, (ſo indecently did they expreſs that ſtrictneſs of Conſcience in him) that they could not go on in the Kings Service: and becauſe *Clare-hall* was then full of Northern People, they imputed his unwillingneſs to ſuppreſs that Houſe, to his partial affection to his Countrymen, for he was born in the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*. Upon this the Protector writ a chiding Letter to him. To it he writ an Anſwer ſo ſutable to what became a Biſhop, who would put all things to hazard rather than do any thing againſt his Conſcience, that I thought it might do no ſmall right to his Memory to put it with the Anſwer which the Protector Collection Numb. 59, 60. writ to him in the *Collection*. Theſe with many more I found among his Majeſties Papers of State, in that Repoſitory of them commonly called the *Paper-Office*. To which I had a free acceſs by a Warrant which was procured to me from the King, by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, who very cheerfully and generouſly expreſſed his readineſs to aſſiſt me in any thing that might compleat the Hiſtory of our Reformation. That Office was firſt ſet up by

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1549.

the care of the Earl of *Saliſbury*, when he was Secretary of State in King *James*'s time: which though it is a copious and certain Repertory for thoſe that are to write our Hiſtory ever ſince the Papers of State were laid up there, yet for the former times it contains only ſuch Papers as that great Miniſter could then gather together, ſo that it is not ſo compleat in the Tranſactions that fall within the time of which I writ.

A conteſt about pronouncing the *Greek*.

There was alſo a ſettlement made of the Controverſie concerning the *Greek* Tongue. There had been in King *Henry*'s time a great Conteſt raiſed concerning the Pronunciation of the *Greek* Vowels. That Tongue was but lately come to any perfection in *England*, and ſo no wonder the *Greek* was pronounced like *Engliſh*, with the ſame ſound and apertures of the Mouth: To this Mr. *Cheek*, then Reader of that Tongue in *Cambridge*, oppoſed himſelf, and taught other Rules of Pronunciation. *Gardiner* was it ſeems ſo afraid of every Innovation, though ever ſo much in the right, that he contended ſtifly to have the old Pronunciation retained: and *Cheek* perſiſting in his Opinion, was either put from the Chair, or willingly left it to avoid the Indignation of ſo great and ſo ſpiteful a Man as *Gardiner* was, who was then Chancellor of the Univerſity: *Cheek* wrote a Book in vindication of his way of pronouncing *Greek*; of which this muſt be ſaid, That it is very ſtrange to ſee how he could write with ſo much Learning and Judgment on ſo bare a Subject. *Redmayn*, *Poinet*, and other learned Men were of his ſide, yet more covertly: but Sir *Tho. Smith*, now Secretary of State, writ three Books on the ſame Argument, and did ſo evidently confirm *Cheeks* Opinion, that the Diſpute was now laid aſide, and the true way of pronouncing the *Greek* took place; the rather becauſe *Gardiner* was in diſgrace, and *Cheek* and *Smith* were in ſuch Power and Authority: So great an Influence had the Intereſts of Men in ſupporting the moſt ſpeculative and indifferent things.

Bonner falls into trouble.

Soon after this, *Bonner* fell into new troubles, he continued to oppoſe every thing, as long as it was ſafe for him to do it, while it was under debate, and ſo kept his Intereſt with the *Papiſts*: but he complied ſo obediently with all the Laws and Orders of *Council*, that it was not eaſie to find any matter againſt him. He executed every Order that was ſent him, ſo readily, that there was not ſo much as ground for any Complaint; yet it was known he was in his Heart againſt every thing they did, and that he cheriſhed all that were of a contrary mind. The Council being informed, that upon the Commotions that were in *England*, many in *London* withdrew from the Service and Communion, and frequented Maſſes, which was laid to his charge, as being negligent in the execution of the Kings Laws and Injunctions; they writ to him on the 23*d* of *July*, to ſee to the correcting of theſe things, and that he ſhould give good example himſelf. Upon which, on the 26*th* following, he ſent about a Charge to execute the Order in this Letter, which he ſaid he was moſt willing and deſirous to do. Yet it was ſtill obſerved, that whatſoever obedience he gave, it was againſt his Heart. And therefore he was called before the Council the 11*th* of *Auguſt*. There a Writing was deliver'd to him, complaining of his remiſneſs; and particularly that whereas he was wont formerly on all high *Feſtivals* to officiate himſelf, yet he had ſeldom or never done it, ſince the *New Service* was ſet out: as alſo that Adultery was openly practiſed in his Dioceſs, which he took

Injunctions are given him.

1549. no care according to his Paſtoral Office to reſtrain or puniſh: therefore he was ſtrictly charged to ſee theſe things reformed. He was alſo ordered to preach on *Sunday* come three weeks at St. *Pauls Croſs:* and that he ſhould preach there once a quarter for the future, and be preſent at every *Sermon* made there, except he were ſick: that he ſhould officiate at St. *Pauls* at every high *Feſtival*, ſuch as were formerly called *Majus duplex*, and give the Communion: that he ſhould proceed againſt all who did not frequent the Common-Prayer, nor receive the Sacrament once a year; or did go to Maſs: that he ſhould ſearch out and puniſh Adulterers: that he ſhould take care of the reparation of Churches, and paying Tythes, in his Dioceſs, and ſhould keep his reſidence in his Houſe in *London*. As to his Sermon, he was required to preach againſt Rebellion, ſetting out the hainouſneſs of it; he was alſo to ſhew what was true Religion, and that external Ceremonies were nothing in themſelves; but that in the uſe of them Men ought to obey the Magiſtrate, and joyn true devotion to them, and that the King was no leſs King, and the People no leſs bound to obey, when he was in Minority, than when he was of full Age.

In his Sermon he did not ſet forth the King Power under Age, as he had been required to do.

On the firſt of *September*, being the day appointed for him to preach, there was a great Aſſembly gathered to hear him. He touched upon the Points that were enjoyned him, excepting that about the Kings Age, of which he ſaid not one word. But ſince the manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament was a thing which he might yet ſafely ſpeak of, he ſpent moſt of his *Sermon* on the aſſerting the Corporal Preſence; which he did with many ſharp reflections on thoſe who were of another mind. There were preſent among others *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, ſoon after Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, who came and informed againſt him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the Kings Age, ſo he had touched the other Points but ſlightly, and did ſay many other things which tended to ſtir up diſorder and diſſention. Upon this there was a *Commiſſion* iſſued out to *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, with the two *Secretaries* of State, and Dr. *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to examine that matter. They or any two of them had full power by this Commiſſion to ſuſpend, impriſon or deprive him, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. They were to proceed in the Summary way, called in their Courts *De plano*.

Rot. Pat. 11. *Par.* 3. *Reg.*

He is proceeded againſt.

On the 10*th* of *September Bonner* was ſummoned to appear before them at *Lambeth*. As he came into the place where they ſate, he carried himſelf as if he had not ſeen them, till one pulled him by the ſleeve to put off his Cap to the Kings Commiſſioners; upon which he proteſted he had not ſeen them; which none of them could believe. He ſpake ſlightingly to them of the whole matter, and turned the diſcourſe off to the *Maſs*, which he wiſhed were had in more reverence. When the Witneſſes were brought againſt him, he jeered them very undecently, and ſaid the one talked *like a Gooſe*, and the other *like a Woodcock*, and denied all they ſaid. The *Arch-biſhop* asked him, whether he would refer the matter in proof to the People that heard him? and ſo asked whether any there preſent had heard him ſpeak of the Kings Authority when under Age? Many anſwered, *No, No*: *Bonner* looked about, and laughed, ſaying, *Will you believe this fond People?* Some he called *Dunces*, and others *Fools*, and behaved himſelf more like a Mad-man than a *Biſhop*. The next day he was again brought before them. Then the *Commiſſion* was read. The *Arch-biſhop* opened the

Regiſt. Bonner.

His inſolent behaviour.

Matter, and deſired *Bonner* to anſwer for himſelf: He read a *Proteſtation* which he had prepared, ſetting forth, that ſince he had not ſeen the *Commiſſion*, he reſerved to himſelf power to except, either to his Judges, or to any other Branch of the *Commiſſion*, as he ſhould afterwards ſee cauſe. In this he called it a pretended Commiſſion, and them pretended Judges, which was taxed as irreverent: but he excuſed it, alledging that theſe were terms of Law which he muſt uſe, and ſo not be precluded from any Objections he might afterwards make uſe of. The *Bill* of Complaint was next read, and the two Informers appeared with their Witneſſes to make it good. But *Bonner* objected againſt them, that they were notorious Hereticks, and that the ill Will they bore him, was becauſe he had aſſerted the true Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar: that *Hooper* in particular had in his *Sermon*, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and miſ-recited his Sayings, *like an Aſſe*, as he was *an Aſſe indeed*; ſo ill did he govern his Tongue: Upon this *Cranmer* asked him, whether he thought Chriſt was in the Sacrament with Face, Mouth, Eyes, Noſe, and the other Lineaments of his Body? and there paſſed ſome words between them on that Head: but *Cranmer* told him that was not a time and place to diſpute, they were come to execute the Kings *Commiſſion*. So *Bonner* deſired to ſee both it, and the denunciation; which were given him, and the Court adjourned till the 13*th*.

His Defences.

Secretary *Smith* ſate with them at their next Meeting, which he had not done the former day, though his Name was in the *Commiſſion*: Upon this *Bonner* proteſted, that according to the *Canon* Law none could act in a Commiſſion, but thoſe who were preſent the firſt day in which it was read. But to this it was alledged, that the conſtant practice of the Kingdom had been to the contrary: that all whoſe Names were in any Commiſſion, might ſit and judge, though they had not been preſent at the firſt opening of it. This Proteſtation being rejected, he read his Anſwer in writing to the Accuſation. He firſt objected to his Accuſers, that they were Hereticks in the matter of the Sacrament: and ſo were, according to the Laws of the Catholick Church, under Excommunication, and therefore ought not to be admitted into any Chriſtian Company. Then he denied that the Injunctions given to him had been ſigned, either with the Kings Hand or Signet, or by any of his Council. But upon the whole matter he ſaid he had in his Sermon condemned the late Rebellion in *Cornwall*, *Devon-ſhire*, and *Norfolk*, and had ſet forth the Sin of Rebellion according to ſeveral Texts of Scripture: He had alſo preached for obedience to the Kings Commands; and that no Ceremonies that were contrary to them ought to be uſed; in particular he had exhorted the People to come to Prayers, and to the Communion, as it was appointed by the King, and wondered to ſee them ſo ſlack in coming to it: which he believed flowed from a falſe opinion they had of it. And therefore he taught, according to that which he conceived to be the duty of a faithful Paſtor, the true Preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament: which was the true Motive of his Accuſers in their proſecuting him thus. But though he had forgot to ſpeak of the Kings Power under Age, yet he had ſaid that which neceſſarily inferred it; for he had condemned the late Rebels, for riſing againſt their lawful King, and had applied many Texts of Scripture to them, which clearly implied,

1549. that the Kings Power was then entire, otherwiſe they could not be Rebels.

These are rejected.

But to all this it was anſwered, That it was of no great conſequence who were the Informers, if the Witneſſes were ſuch that he could not except againſt them: beſides, they were impow'red by their Commiſſion to proceed *ex Officio*; ſo that it was not neceſſary for them to have any to accuſe. He was told that the Injunctions were read to him in *Council* by one of the *Secretaries*, and then were given to him by the *Protector* himſelf; that afterwards they were called for, and that Article concerning the Kings Power before he came to be of Age being added, they were given him again by Secretary *Smith*; and he promiſed to execute them. He was alſo told, that it was no juſt excuſe for him to ſay he had forgot that about the Kings Power; ſince it was the chief thing pretended by the late Rebels, and was mainly intended by the *Council* in their Injunctions; ſo that it was a poor ſhift for him to pretend he had forgot it, or had ſpoken of it by a conſequence.

The Court adjourned to the 16*th* day. And then *Latimer* and *Hooper* offered to purge themſelves of the Charge of Hereſie, ſince they had never ſpoken nor written of the Sacrament, but according to the Scripture: and whereas *Bonner* had charged them, that on the firſt of *September* they had entred into conſultation and confederacy againſt him, they proteſted, they had not ſeen each other that day, nor been known to one another till ſome days after. *Bonner* upon this read ſome Paſſages of the Sacrament out of a Book of *Hoopers*, whom he called *that Varlet*. But *Cranmer* cut off the diſcourſe, and ſaid, it was not their buſineſs to determine that Point, and ſaid to the People, that the Biſhop of *London* was not accuſed for any thing he had ſaid about the Sacrament. Then *Bonner*, turning to ſpeak to the People, was interrupted by one of the *Delegates*, who told him, he was to ſpeak to them, and not to the People: at which ſome laughing, he turned about in great fury, and ſaid, *Ah Woodcocks! Woodcocks!* But to the chief Point, he ſaid he had prepared Notes of what he intended to ſay about the Kings Power in his Minority; from the Inſtances in Scripture, of *Achaz*, and *Oſias*, who were Kings at Ten, of *Solomon*, and *Manaſſes*, who Reigned at Twelve, and of *Joſias*, *Joachim*, and *Joas*, who began to Reign when they were but Eight years old. He had alſo gathered out of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, that *Henry* the third, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the ſecond, *Henry* the ſixth, and *Edward* the fifth, were all under Age: and even their late King was but eighteen when he came to the Crown: and yet all theſe were obeyed as much before, as after they were of full Age. But theſe things had eſcaped his memory, he not having been much uſed to preach. There had been alſo a long Bill ſent him from the Council to be read, of the defeat of the Rebels, which he ſaid, had diſordered him: and the Book in which he had laid his Notes, fell out of his hands, when he was in the Pulpit: for this he appealed to his two Chaplains, *Bourn* and *Harpſfield*, whom he had deſired to gather for him the Names of thoſe Kings who Reigned before they were of Age. For the other Injunctions, he had taken care to execute them, and had ſent Orders to his Arch-deacons to ſee to them: and as far as he underſtood, there were no Maſſes nor Service in *Latin* within his Dioceſs, except at the Lady *Maries*, or in the Chappels of Ambaſſadors. But the *Delegates* required him poſitively

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1549.

tively to anſwer, whether he had obeyed that Injunction about the Kings Authority or not; otherwiſe they would hold him as guilty: and if he denied it, they would proceed to the examination of the Witneſſes. He refuſing to anſwer otherwiſe than he had done, they called the Witneſſes, who were Sir *John Cheek* and four more, who had their Oaths given them: and *Bonner* deſiring a time to prepare his interrogatories, it was granted. So he drew a long Paper of twenty Interrogatories, every one of them containing many Branches in it; full of all the niceties of the *Canon Law*: a taſt of which may be had from the third in number, which is indeed the moſt material of all. The Interrogatory was, "Whether they, or any of them, were preſent at his *Sermon*, where "they ſtood, and near whom, when they came to it, and at what part of "his *Sermon*, how long they tarried, at what part they were offended, "what were the formal Words, or Subſtance of it, who with them did "hear it, where the other Witneſſes ſtood, and how long they tarried, or "when they departed?

The Court adjourned to the 18*th* of *September*: And then there was read a Declaration from the King, explaining their former Commiſſion, chiefly in the Point of the Denunciation, that they might proceed either that way, or *ex Officio*, as they ſaw cauſe: giving them alſo Power finally to determine the matter, cutting off all ſuperfluous delays. *Bonner* gave in alſo ſome other Reaſons, why he ſhould not be obliged to make a more direct Anſwer to the Articles objected againſt him: The chief of which was, That the Article about the Kings Age was not in the Paper given him by the Protector, but afterwards added by Secretary *Smith* of his own Head. *Cranmer* admoniſhed him of his irreverence, ſince he called them always his *pretended* Judges. *Smith* added, That though Proctors did ſo in common matters, for their Clients, yet it was not to be endured in ſuch a Caſe, when he ſaw they acted by a ſpecial Commiſſion from the King. New Articles were given him more explicite and plain than the former, but to the ſame purpoſe. And five Witneſſes were ſworn upon theſe, who were all the Clerks of the Council, to prove that the Article about the Kings Age was ordered by the whole Council, and only put in writing by Secretary *Smith*, at their Command. He was appointed to come next day, and make his Anſwer. But on the 19*th* two of his Servants came, and told the Delegates, that he was ſick, and could not attend. It was therefore ordered, That the Knight-Marſhal ſhould go to him; and if he were ſick, let him alone; but if it were not ſo, ſhould bring him before them next day. On the 20*th* *Bonner* appearing, anſwered as he had done formerly; only he proteſted, that it was his opinion, that the King was as much a King, and the People as much bound to obey him, before he was of Age, as after it: And after that, Secretary *Smith* having taken him up more ſharply than the other *Delegates*, he proteſted againſt him as no competent Judge, ſince he had expreſſed much paſſion againſt him, and had not heard him patiently, but had compared him to Thieves and Traitors, and had threatned to ſend him to the Tower to ſit with *Ket* and *Arundel*; and that he had added ſome things to the Injunctions given him by the *Protector*, for which he was now accuſed, and did alſo proceed to judge him, notwithſtanding his Proteſtation, grounded on his not being preſent when the *Commiſſion* was firſt opened and received by the Court. But this Proteſtation alſo

He proteſts againſt Secretary *Smith*.

1549. was rejected by the *Delegates*; and *Smith* told him, That whereas he took exception at his ſaying that he acted as Thieves and Traitors do, it was plainly viſible in his doings: upon which, *Bonner*, being much inflamed, ſaid to him, That as he was *Secretary* of *State*, and a *Privy Councellor*, he honoured him; but as he was Sir *Tho. Smith*, he told him, he lied, and that he defied him. At this the Arch-biſhop chid him, and ſaid, he deſerved to be ſent to Priſon for ſuch irreverent carriage. He anſwered, he did not care whither they ſent him, ſo they ſent him not to the Devil, for thither he would not go: he had a few Goods, a poor Carkaſs, and a Soul: the two former were in their power, but the laſt was in his own. After this, being made to withdraw, he, when called in again, put in an Appeal from them to the King, and read an Inſtrument of it, which he had prepared at his own Houſe that Morning: and ſo would make no other anſwer, unleſs the *Secretary* ſhould remove. For this contempt he was ſent to the Priſon of the *Marſhalſea*; and as he was led away, he broke out in great paſſion, both againſt *Smith*, and alſo at *Cranmer*, for ſuffering Hereticks to infect the People, which he required him to abſtain from, as he would anſwer for it to God and the King.

On the 23*d* he was again brought before them, where, by a ſecond Inſtrument, he adhered to his former Appeal. But the *Delegates* ſaid, they would go on, and judge him, unleſs there came a *Superſedeas* from the King, and ſo required him to anſwer thoſe Articles which he had not yet anſwered, otherwiſe they would proceed againſt him as *Contumax*, and hold him as *Confeſſing*. But he adhered to his Appeal, and ſo would anſwer no more. New matter was alſo brought, of his going out of St. *Pauls* in the midſt of the *Sermon* on the 15*th* of the Month, and ſo giving a publick diſturbance and ſcandal: and of his writing next day to the Lord *Major*, not to ſuffer ſuch Preachers to ſow their ill Doctrine. This was occaſioned by the Preachers ſpeaking againſt the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament: But he would give the Court no account of that matter; ſo they adjourned to the 27*th*, and from that to the firſt of *October*. In that time great endeavours were uſed to perſwade him to ſubmit, and to behave himſelf better for the future; and upon that condition he was aſſured he ſhould be gently uſed. But he would yield to nothing. So on the firſt of *October*, when he was brought before them, the *Arch-biſhop* told him, they had delayed ſo long, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with him; and therefore wiſhed him to ſubmit. But he read another Writing, by which he proteſted, that he was brought before them by force, and that otherwiſe he would not have come, ſince, that having appeal'd from them, he looked on them as his Judges no more. He ſaid, that he had alſo written a Petition to the Lord *Chancellor*, complaining of the *Delegates*, and deſiring that his Appeal might be admitted; and ſaid, by that Appeal it was plain, that he eſteemed the King to be cloathed with his full Royal Power, now that he was under Age, ſince he thus appealed to him. Upon which the *Arch-biſhop*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Secretary *Smith*, and the Dean of St. *Pauls*, gave Sentence againſt him; that ſince he had not declared the Kings Power, while under Age, in his *Sermon*, as he was commanded by the *Protector* and *Council*, therefore the *Arch-biſhop*, with the Conſent and Aſſent of his *Colleagues*, did deprive him of the Biſhoprick of *London*.

He is deprived from his Biſhoprick.

1549.

don. Sentence being thus given, he appealed again by word of mouth. The Court did alſo order him to be carried to Priſon, till the King ſhould conſider further of it. This account of his Trial is drawn from the Regiſter of *London*, where all theſe Particulars are inſerted. From thence it was that *Fox* printed them. For *Bonner*, though he was afterward Commiſſioned by the Queen to deface any Records that made againſt the Catholick Cauſe, yet did not care to alter any thing in this Regiſter after his re-admiſſion in Queen *Maries* time. It ſeems he was not diſpleaſed with what he found Recorded of himſelf in this matter.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

Thus was *Bonner* deprived of his Biſhoprick of *London*. This Judgment, as all ſuch things are, was much cenſured: It was ſaid, it was not Canonical, ſince it was by a Commiſſion from the King, and ſince Secular Men were mixed with Clergy-men in the cenſure of a Biſhop. To this it was anſwered, That the Sentence being only of deprivation from the See of *London*, it was not ſo entirely an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, but was of a mixed nature, ſo that Lay-men might joyn in it: and ſince he had taken a Commiſſion from the King for his Biſhoprick, by which he held it only during the Kings pleaſure, he could not complain of this deprivation, which was done by the Kings Authority. Others who looked further back, remembred that *Conſtantine* the Emperor had appointed Secular Men to enquire into ſome things objected to Biſhops, who were called *Cognitores*, or *Triors*: and ſuch had examined the buſineſs of *Cecilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, even upon an Appeal, after it had been tried in ſeveral Synods; and given *Judgment* againſt *Donatus* and his Party. The ſame *Conſtantine* had alſo by his Authority put *Euſtathius* out of *Antioch*, *Athanaſius* out of *Alexandria*, and *Paul* out of *Conſtantinople*: and though the Orthodox Biſhops complained of theſe Particulars, as done unjuſtly at the falſe ſuggeſtion of the *Arrians*; yet they did not deny the Emperors Authority in ſuch Caſes. Afterwards the Emperors uſed to have ſome Biſhops attending on them in their *Comitatus* or Court, to whoſe Judgment they left moſt Cauſes, who acted only by Commiſſion from the Emperor. So *Epiphanius* was brought to condemn *Chryſoſtome* at *Conſtantinople*, who had no Authority to judge him by the Canons. Others objected, that it was too ſevere to deprive *Bonner* for a defect in his memory; and that therefore they ſhould have given him a new Tryal in that Point, and not have proceeded to cenſure him on ſuch an omiſſion; ſince he proteſted it was not on deſign, but a pure forgetfulneſs: and all People perceived clearly it had been before-hand reſolved to lay him aſide, and that therefore they now took him on this diſadvantage, and ſo deprived him. But it was alſo well known, that all the Papiſts infuſed this Notion into the People, of the Kings having no Power till he came to be of Age; and he being certainly one of them, there was reaſon to conclude, that what he ſaid for his defence, was only a Pretence; and that it was of deſign that he had omitted the mentioning the Kings Power when under Age. The adding of Impriſonment to his Deprivation was thought by ſome to be an extream accumulation of Puniſhments. But that was no more than what he drew upon himſelf by his rude and contemptuous behaviour. However, it ſeems that ſome of theſe Objections wrought on Secretary *Petre*, for he never ſate with the Delegates after the firſt day, and he was now turning about to another Party.

On

1549.

On the other hand, *Bonner* was little pitied by moſt that knew him. He was a cruel, and fierce Man: he underſtood little of Divinity, his Learning being chiefly in the Canon Law. Beſides, he was looked on generally as a Man of no Principles. All the obedience he gave either to the Laws, or the Kings Injunctions, was thought a compliance againſt his Conſcience, extorted by fear. And his undecent carriage during his proceſs had much expoſed him to the People: ſo that it was not thought to be hard dealing, though the Proceedings againſt him were ſummary and ſevere. Nor did his carriage afterward during his impriſonment diſcover much of a Biſhop or a Chriſtian. For he was more concerned to have *Puddings* and *Pears* ſent him, than for any thing elſe. This I gather from ſome original Letters of his to *Richard Leechmore* Eſq; in *Worceſter-ſhire*, (which were communicated to me by his Heir Lineally deſcended from him, the Worſhipful Mr. *Leechmore*, now the Senior Bencher of the *Middle-Temple*;) of which I tranſcribed the latter part of one, that will be found in the *Collection*. In it he deſires a large quantity of Pears and Puddings to be ſent him: otherwiſe he gives thoſe to whom he writes an odd ſort of Benediction, very unlike what became a Man of his Character, he gives them *to the Devil, to the Devil*, and *to all the Devils*, if they did not furniſh him well with Pears and Puddings. It may perhaps be thought indecent to print ſuch Letters, being the privacies of friendſhip, which ought not to be made publick; but I confeſs, *Bonner* was ſo brutiſh, and ſo bloody a Man, that I was not ill pleaſed to meet with any thing that might ſet him forth in his natural Colours to the World.

Collection Number 37.

Forreign Affairs.

Thus did the Affairs of *England* go on this Summer within the Kingdom; but it will be now neceſſary to conſider the ſtate of our Affairs in Forreign Parts. The King of *France* finding it was very chargeable to carry on the War wholly in *Scotland*, reſolved this year to leſſen that Expence, and to make War directly with *England*, both at Sea and Land. So he came in perſon with a great Army, and fell into the Country of *Bulloigne*, where he took many little Caſtles about the Town; as *Sellaque*, *Blackneſs*, *Hambletue*, *Newhaven*, and ſome leſſer ones. The *Engliſh* Writers ſay, thoſe were ill provided, which made them be ſo eaſily loſt: but *Thuanus* ſays, they were all very well ſtored. In the night they aſſaulted *Bullingberg*, but were beat off: then they deſigned to burn the Ships that were in the Harbour, and had prepared Wild-fire with other combuſtible Matter, but were driven away by the *Engliſh*. At the ſame time the *French* Fleet met the *Engliſh* Fleet at *Jerſey*, but, as King *Edward* writes in his Diary, they were beat off with the loſs of 1000 Men; though *Thuanus* puts the loſs wholly on the *Engliſh* ſide. The *French* King ſate down before *Bulloigne*, in *September*, hoping that the diſorders then in *England*, would make that Place be ill ſupplied, and eaſily yielded: the *Engliſh* finding *Bullingberg* was not tenable, razed it, and retired into the Town: but the Plague broke into the *French* Camp, ſo the King left it under the command of *Chaſtilion*. He endeavoured chiefly to take the *Pierre*, and ſo to cut off the Town from the Sea, and from all communication with *England*: and after a long Battery he gave the Aſſault upon it, but was beat off. There followed many Skirmiſhes between him and the Garriſon, and he made many attempts to cloſe up the Channel, and thought to have ſunk a Galley full of Stones and Gravel in it; but in

The *French* take many Places about *Bulloigne*.

all theſe he was ſtill unſucceſsful. And therefore Winter coming on, the Siege was raiſed; only the Forts about the Town, which the *French* had taken, were ſtrongly garriſoned: ſo that *Bulloigne* was in danger of being loſt the next year.

The *Engliſh* unſucceſsful in *Scotland*.

In *Scotland* alſo, the *Engliſh* Affairs declined much this year. *Thermes*, before the Winter was ended, had taken *Broughty* Caſtle, and deſtroyed almoſt the whole Garriſon. In the Southern Parts there was a change made of the Lords Wardens of the *Engliſh* Marches. Sir *Robert Bowes* was complained of, as negligent in relieving *Hadingtoun* the former year; ſo the Lord *Dacres* was put in his room. And the Lord *Gray*, who loſt the great advantage he had when the *French* raiſed the Siege of *Hadingtoun*, was removed, and the Earl of *Rutland* was ſent to command. The Earl made an Inroad into *Scotland*, and ſupplied *Hadingtoun* plentifully with all ſorts of Proviſions, neceſſary for a Siege. He had ſome *Germans*, and *Spaniards* with him: but a Party of *Scotch* Horſe ſurpriſed the *Germans* Baggage; and *Romero* with the *Spaniſh* Troop was alſo fallen on, and taken, and almoſt all his Men were cut off. The Earl of *Warwick* was to have marched with a more conſiderable Army this Summer into *Scotland*, had not the diſorders in *England* diverted him, as it has been already ſhewn. *Thermes* did not much more this Year He intended once to have renewed the Siege of *Hadingtoun*; but when he underſtood how well they were furniſhed, he gave it over. But the *Engliſh* Council, finding how great a charge the keeping of it was, and the Country all about it being deſtroyed, ſo that no Proviſions could be had, but what were brought from *England*, from which it was 28 Miles diſtant, reſolved to withdraw their Garriſon, and quit it, which was done on the firſt of *October*: So that the *Engliſh* having now no Garriſon within *Scotland*, but *Lauder*, *Thermes* ſate down before that, and preſſed it, ſo that had not the Peace been made up with *France*, it had fallen into his Hands.

The ſtate of *Germany*.

Things being in this diſorder both at home and abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperors Aid; and he was ſo ill ſatisfied with the Changes that had been made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. The confuſions this year occaſioned that Change to be made in the Office of the daily Prayers; where the Anſwer to the Petition, *Give Peace in our time O Lord*, which was formerly, and is ſtill continued, was now made, *Becauſe there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou O God.* For now the Emperor having reduced all the Princes, and moſt of the Cities, of *Germany* to his obedience, none but *Magdeburg* and *Breame* ſtanding out, did by a miſtake, incident to great Conquerors, neglect thoſe advantages which were then in his hands, and did not proſecute his Victories; but leaving *Germany*, came this Summer into the *Netherlands*, whither he had ordered his Son Prince *Philip* to come from *Spain* to him, thorough *Italy* and *Germany*, that he might put him into poſſeſſion of theſe Provinces, and make them ſwear Homage to him. Whether at this time the Emperor was beginning to form the deſign of retiring, or whether he did this only to prevent the Mutinies and Revolts that might fall out upon his death, if his Son were not in actual poſſeſſion of them, is not ſo certain. One thing is memorable, in that Tranſaction that was called the *Lætus Introitus*, or the terms upon which he was received Prince of *Brabant*, to which the other Provinces

1549.

Cott. Library *Galba* B. 12.

had been formerly united into one Principality; after many Rules and Limitations of Government, in the matter of Taxes, and publick Aſſemblies, the not keeping up of Forces, and governing them not by Strangers, but by Natives, it was added, "That if he broke theſe Conditions, it ſhould be free for them not to obey him or acknowledge him "any longer, till he returned to govern according to their Laws. This was afterwards the chief ground on which they juſtified their ſhaking off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, all theſe Conditions being publickly violated

Jealouſies ariſe in the Emperors Family.

At this time there were great jealouſies in the Emperors Family. For as he intended to have had his Brother reſign his Election to be King of the *Romans*, that it might be transferred on his own Son; ſo there were deſigns in *Flanders*, which the *French* cheriſhed much, to have *Maximilian*, *Ferdinands* Son, the moſt accompliſh'd and vertuous Prince that had been for many Ages, to be made their Prince. The *Flemings* were much diſguſted with the Queen Regents Government, who, when there was need of Money, ſent to *Bruges*, and *Antwerp*, ordering Deputies to be ſent her from *Flanders*, and *Brabant*: and when they were come, ſhe told them what Money muſt be raiſed; and if they made any objections, ſhe uſed to bid them give over merchandizing with the Emperor, for he muſt and would have the Money he asked: ſo that nothing remained to them, but to ſee how to raiſe what was thus demanded of them, rather than deſired from them. This, as the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador writ from *Bruges*, ſeemed to be the reaſon that moved the Emperor to make his Son ſwear to ſuch Rules of Government; which, the Sequel of his Life ſhewed, he meant to obſerve in the ſame manner that his Father had done before him. At the ſame time, in *May* this year, I find a ſecret Advertiſement was ſent over from *France* to the *Engliſh* Court, that there was a private Treaty ſet on foot between that King and the Princes of *Germany*, for reſtoring the liberty of the Empire: but that the King of *France* was reſolved to have *Bulloigne* in his Hands before he entred on new Projects. Therefore it was propoſed to the Protector, to conſider whether it were not beſt to deliver it up by a Treaty, and ſo to leave the King of *France* free to the defence of their Friends in the Empire: for I find the conſideration of the Proteſtant Religion was the chief meaſure of our Councils all this Reign.

A great Faction againſt the Protector.

Upon this there was great diſtraction in the Councils at home. The Protector was inclined to deliver up *Bulloigne* for a Sum of Money, and to make Peace both with the *French* and *Scots*. The Kings Treaſure was exhauſted, Affairs at home were in great confuſion, the defence of *Bulloign* was a great charge, and a War with *France* was a thing of that conſequence, that in that ſtate of Affairs it was not to be adventured on. But on the other hand, thoſe who hated the Protector, and meaſured Councils more by the bravery than the ſolidity of them, ſaid, it would be a reproach to the Nation to deliver up a Place of that conſequence, which their late King, in the declining of his days, had gained with ſo much loſs of Men and Treaſure: and to ſell this for a little Money was accounted ſo ſordid, that the Protector durſt not adventure on it.

Pagets Advice about Foreign Affairs.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

Upon this occaſion I find Sir *William Paget* (being made Comptroller of the Kings Houſhold, which was then thought an advancement from the Office of a Secretary of State) made a long Diſcourſe, and put it in Writing. The ſubſtance of it was, to ballance the dangers in which *England* was at that time. The Buſineſs of *Scotland* and *Bulloigne* drew *France* into a Quarrel againſt it. On the account of Religion, it had no reaſon to expect much from the Emperor. The Intereſt of *England* was then to preſerve the Proteſtants of *Germany*; and therefore to unite with *France*, which would be eaſily engaged in that Quarrel againſt the Emperor. He propoſed a firm Alliance with the *Venetians*, who were then jealous of the Emperors Progreſs in *Italy*, and would be ready to joyn againſt him, if he were throughly engaged in *Germany*; and by their means, *England* was to make up an agreement with *France*. On the other hand, *William Thomas*, then a Clerk of the Council, writ a long Diſcourſe of other Expedients: He agreed with *Paget*, as to the ill ſtate of *England*, having many Enemies, and no Friends. The *North* of *England* was waſted by the incurſion of the *Scots*. *Ireland* was alſo in an ill condition; for the Natives there did generally joyn with the *Scots*, being addicted to the old Superſtition. The Emperor was ſo ſet on reducing all to one Religion, that they could expect no great Aid from him, unleſs they gave him ſome hope of returning to the *Roman* Religion. But the continuance of the War would undo the Nation: for if the War went on, the People would take advantage from it to break out into new diſorders: it would be alſo very diſhonourable to deliver up, or rather to ſell, the late Conqueſts in *France*. Therefore he propoſed, that to gain time, they ſhould treat with the Emperor, and even give him hopes of re-examining what had been done in Religion: though there was danger even in that, of diſheart'ning thoſe of *Magdeburg*, and the few remaining Proteſtants in *Germany*; as alſo they might expect the Emperor would be highly enraged when he ſhould come to find that he had been deluded: but the gaining of time was then ſo neceſſary, that the preſervation of the Nation depended on it. For *Scotland* he propoſed, that the Governour of that Kingdom ſhould be preſſed to pretend to the Crown; ſince their Queen was gone into a ſtrange Country: by this means *Scotland* would be for that whole Age ſeparated from the Intereſts of *France*, and obliged to depend on *England*: and the *French* were now ſo hated in *Scotland*, that any who would ſet up againſt them would have an eaſie Work, eſpecially being aſſiſted by the nearneſs of *England*. And for *Ireland*, he propoſed, that the chief Heads of Families ſhould be drawn over, and kept at Court. And that *England* thus being reſpited from Forreign War, the Nation ſhould be armed, and exerciſed, the Coin reformed, Treaſure laid up, and things in the Government at home that were uneaſie ſhould be corrected.

Thomas's Advice differs from his.

Cott. Libr. Veſpaſian D. 18.

Thus I have opened the Councils at that time, as I found them laid before me in theſe Authentick Papers, from which I drew them. The reſult of their Conſultation was to ſend over Sir *William Paget* to joyn with Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Reſident at the Emperors Court. His Inſtructions will be found in the *Collection*. The Subſtance of them was, That the Treaty between the Emperor and the late King ſhould be renewed with this King, and confirmed by the Prince and the States of *Flanders*: that ſome ambiguous Paſſages in it ſhould be cleared: that the Emperor would comprehend *Bulloigne* within the League defenſive, and ſo protect it, *England* being ready to offer any thing reciprocal in the room of it. He was alſo to ſhew their readineſs to agree to the

Paget ſent over to treat with the Emperor.

Collection Number 38.

1549. Emperor concerning the Lady *Maries* Marriage, to adjuſt ſome differences occaſioned by the complaints made of the Admiralty, and about Trade: to ſhew the reaſon of the Meſſages that paſſed between them and *France*; and to engage, that if the Emperor would heartily aſſiſt them, they would never agree with *France*. *Paget* was alſo to propoſe, as of himſelf, that *Bulloigne* ſhould be put into the Emperors Hands upon a reaſonable recompence. Thus was *Paget* inſtructed, and ſent over in *June* this Year. But the Emperor put him off with many delays, and ſaid, The carrying of his Son about the Towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, with the many Ceremonies and Entertainments that followed it, made it not eaſie for him to conſider of Matters that required ſuch deep conſultation. He put him off from *Bruſſels* to *Gaunt*, and from *Gaunt* to *Bruges*. But *Paget* growing impatient of ſuch delays, ſince the *French* were marched into the *Bulloigneſe*; the Biſhop of *Arras*, (Son to *Granvell* that had been long the Emperors chief Miniſter) who was now like to ſucceed in his Fathers room that was old and infirm, and the two Preſidents of the Emperors Councils, St. *Maurice* and *Viglius*, came to Sir *William Paget*, and had a long communication with him and *Hobbey*, an account whereof will be found in the *Collection* in a Diſpatch from them to the Protector.

Collection Number 39.

He meets with the Emperors Miniſters.

They firſt treated of an explanation of ſome ambiguous words in the Treaty, to which the Emperors Miniſters promiſed to bring them an Anſwer. Then they talked long of the Matters of the Admiralty, the Emperors Miniſters ſaid, no juſtice was done in *England* upon the Merchants complaints: *Paget* ſaid, every Mariner came to the Protector, and if he would not ſollicite their buſineſs, they run away with a Complaint that there was no Juſtice; whereas he thought, that as they medled with no private matters, ſo the Protector ought to turn all theſe over upon the Courts that were the competent Judges. But the Biſhop of *Arras* ſaid, There was no Juſtice to be had in the Admiralty Courts, who were indeed Parties in all theſe Matters: *Paget* ſaid, There was as much Juſtice in the *Engliſh* Admiralty Courts as was in theirs: and the Biſhop confeſſed, there were great corruptions in all theſe Courts. So *Paget* propoſed, that the Emperor ſhould appoint two of his Council to hear and determine all ſuch Complaints, in a Summary way, and the King ſhould do the like in *England*. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, the Biſhop ſaid, the Emperor was willing his Son ſhould confirm it; but that he would never ſue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties: and he ſaid, when it was objected that the Treaty with *France* was confirmed by the three Eſtates, that the Prerogative of the *French* Crown was ſo reſtrained that the King could alienate nothing of his Patrimony without the Parliament of *Paris* and his three Eſtates. He believed the King of *England* had a greater Prerogative: he was ſure the Emperor was not ſo bound up: he had fifteen or ſixteen ſeveral Parliaments, and what work muſt he be at if all theſe muſt deſcant on his Tranſactions? When this general diſcourſe was over, the two Preſidents went away: but the Biſhop of *Arras* ſtaid with him in private. *Paget* propoſed the Buſineſs of *Bulloigne*: but the Biſhop having given him many good words in the general, excepted much to it, as diſhonourable to the Emperor; ſince *Bulloigne* was not taken when the League was concluded between the Emperor and *England*: ſo that if he ſhould now include it

in

1549.

in the League, it would be a breach of Faith and Treaties with *France*: and he ſtood much on the Honour and Conſcience of obſerving theſe Treaties inviolably. So this Converſation ended; in which the moſt remarkable Paſſage is, that concerning the Limitations on the *French* Crown, and the Freedoms of the *Engliſh*; for at that time the Kings Prerogative in *England* was judged of that extent, that I find in a Letter written from *Scotland*, one of the main Objections made to the marrying their Queen to the King of *England* was, That an Union with *England* would much alter the conſtitution of their Government, the Prerogatives of the Kings of *England* being of a far larger extent than thoſe in *Scotland*.

Collection Number 4[illegible].

Two or three days after the former Converſation, the Emperors Miniſters returned to *Pagets* Lodging, with anſwer to the Propoſitions which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had made: of which a full account will be found in the *Collection* in the Letter which the Ambaſſadors writ upon it into *England*. The Emperor gave a good anſwer to ſome of the Particulars, which were ambiguous in former Treaties. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, he offered, that the Prince ſhould joyn in it; but ſince the King of *England* was under Age, he thought it more neceſſary that the Parliament of *England* ſhould confirm it. To which *Paget* anſwered, That their Kings, as to the Regal Power, were the ſame in all the Conditions of Life: and therefore when the Great Seal was put to any agreement, the King was abſolutely bound by it. If his Miniſters engaged him in ill Treaties, they were to anſwer for it at their Perils; bu[illegible]oever the King was tied by it. They diſcourſed long about the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, but ended in nothing. And as for the main buſineſs about *Bulloigne*, the Emperor ſtood on his Treaties with the *French*, which he could not break: upon which *Paget* ſaid to the Biſhop, that his Father had told him, they had ſo many Grounds to quarrel with *France*, that he had his Sleeve full of them, to produce when there ſhould be occaſion to make uſe of them. But finding the Biſhops Anſwers were cold, and that he only gave good words, he told him that *England* would then ſee to their own ſecurity: and ſo he took that for the Emperors final Anſwer, and thereupon reſolved to take his leave, which he did ſoon after, and came back into *England*. But at home the Councils were much divided, of which the ſad Effects broke out ſoon afterward.

Debates in Council concerning Peace.

It was propoſed in Council, that the War with *Scotland* ſhould be ended. For it having been begun, and carried on, only on deſign to obtain the Marriage, ſince the hopes of that were now ſo far gone, that it was not in the power of the *Scots* themſelves to retrieve them, it was a vain and needleſs expence both of Blood and Money to keep it up; and ſince *Bulloigne* was by the Treaty, after a few more years, to be delivered up to the *French*, it ſeemed a very unreaſonable thing, in the low ſtate to which the Kings Affairs were driven, to enter on a War; in which they had little reaſon to doubt but they ſhould loſe *Bulloigne*, after the new expence of a Siege and another years War. The Protector had now many Enemies, who laid hold on this conjuncture to throw him out of the Government. The Earl of *Southampton* was brought into the Council, but had not laid down his ſecret hatred of the Protector; and did all he could to make a Party againſt him. The Earl of *Warwick* was

the

1549. the fitteſt Man to work on: him therefore he gained over to his ſide, and having formed a confidence in him, he ſhewed him, that he had really got all theſe Victories for which the Protector triumphed: he had won the Field of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*, and had ſubdued the Rebels of *Norfolk*: and as he had before defeated the *French*, ſo if he were ſent over thither, new Triumphs would follow him: but it was below him to be ſecond to any. So he engaged him to quarrel in every thing with the Protector, all whoſe wary motions were aſcribed to fear or dullneſs. To others he ſaid, What friendſhip could any expect from a Man who had no pity on his own Brother? But that which provoked the Nobility moſt, was the partiality the Protector had for the Commons in the Inſurrections that had been this Summer. He had alſo given great Grounds of jealouſie, by entertaining Forreign Troops in the Kings Wars; which, though it was not objected to him, becauſe the Council had conſented to it, yet it was whiſpered about, that he had extorted that Conſent. But the noble Palace he was raiſing in the *Strand*, (which yet carries his Name) out of the ruines of ſome Biſhops Houſes, and Churches, drew as publick an envy on him as any thing he had done. It was ſaid, that when the King was engaged in ſuch Wars, and when *London* was much diſordered by the Plague, that had been in it for ſome Months, he was then bringing Architects from *Italy*, and deſigning ſuch a Palace as had not been ſeen in *England*. It was alſo ſaid, That many Biſhops and Cathedrals had reſigned many Mannours to him, for obtaining his favour. Though this was not done without leave obtained from the King; for in a Grant of ſome Lands made to him by the King, the 11*th* of *July*, in the ſecond year of his Reign, it is ſaid, That theſe Lands were given him as a Reward of his Services in *Scotland*, for which he was offered greater Rewards; but that he refuſing to accept of ſuch Grants as might too much impoveriſh the Crown, had taken a Licence to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for his alienating ſome of the Lands of that Biſhoprick to him: he is in that Patent called by the *Grace of God* Duke of *Somerſet*, which had not of late years been aſcribed to any but Sovereign Princes. It was alſo ſaid, That many of the Chantry Lands had been ſold to his Friends at eaſie rates; for which they concluded he had great Preſents: and a courſe of unuſual greatneſs had raiſed him up too high; ſo that he did not carry himſelf towards the Nobility with that equality that they expected from him.

Complaints againſt the Protector.

Rot. Pat. 4. Par. 2. Reg.

All theſe things concurred to beget him many Enemies, and he had very few Friends, for none ſtuck firmly to him, but *Paget*, and Secretary *Smith*, and eſpecially *Cranmer*, who never forſook his Friend. All that favoured the old Superſtition were his Enemies: and ſeeing the Earl of *Southampton* heading the Party againſt him, they all run in to it. And of the Biſhops, that were for the Reformation, *Goodrich* of *Ely* likewiſe joyned to them: He had attended on the Admiral in his Preparations for death, from whom, it ſeems, he drank in ill impreſſions of the Protector. All his Enemies ſaw, and he likewiſe ſaw it himſelf, that the continuance of the War muſt needs deſtroy him; and that a Peace would confirm him in his Power, and give him time and leiſure to break thorough the Faction, that was now ſo ſtrong againſt him, that it was not probable he could maſter it without the help of ſome time. So in the Council his Adverſaries delivered their Opinions againſt all

motions

1549.

motions for Peace: and though upon *Pagets* return from *Flanders*, it appeared to be very unreaſonable to carry on the War; yet they ſaid, *Paget* had ſecret Inſtructions to procure ſuch an Anſwer, that it might give a colour to ſo baſe a Project. The Officers that came over from theſe Places that the *French* had taken, pretended, as is common for all Men in ſuch Circumſtances, that they wanted things neceſſary for a Siege; and though in truth it was quite contrary, (as we read in *Thuanus*) yet their Complaints were cheriſhed and ſpread about among the People. The Protector had alſo, againſt the Mind of the Council, ordered the Garriſon to be drawn out of *Hadingtoun*; and was going, notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, to make Peace with *France*; and did in many things act by his own Authority, without asking their advice, and often againſt it. This was the aſſuming a Regal Power, and ſeemed not to be endured by thoſe who thought they were in all Points his equals. It was alſo ſaid, That when, contrary to the late Kings Will, he was choſen *Protector*, it was with that ſpecial condition, that he ſhould do nothing without their conſent: and though by the Patent he had for his Office, his Power was more enlarged; (which was of greater force in Law, than a private Agreement at the Council Table) yet even that was objected to him, as an high preſumption in him to pretend to ſuch a vaſt Power. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great Heats among them: ſeveral Perſons interpoſed to mediate, but to no effect: for the Faction againſt him was now ſo ſtrong, that they reſolved to ſtrip him of his exorbitant Power, and reduce him to an equality with themſelves. The King was then at *Hampton-Court*, where alſo the Protector was, with ſome of his own Retainers and Servants about him; which encreaſed the Jealouſies; for it was given out, that he intended to carry away the King. So on the *6th* of *October* ſome of the Council met at *Ely* Houſe: the Lord *St. John* Preſident, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Arundel*, and *Southampton*, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edmund Pecham*, Sir *Edw. Wotton*, and Dr. *Wotton*; and Secretary *Petre* being ſent to them in the Kings Name, to ask what they met for, joyned himſelf likewiſe to them. They ſate as the Kings Council, and entred their Proceedings in the Council-Book, from whence I draw the account of this Tranſaction.

Moſt of the Council ſeparate from him.

Theſe being met together, and conſidering the diſorders that had been lately in *England*, the loſſes in *Scotland* and *France*, laid the blame of all on the Protector, who, they ſaid, was given up to other Councils, ſo obſtinately, that he would not hearken to the adviſes they had given him, both at the Board, and in private; and they declared, that having intended that day to have gone to *Hampton-Court*, for a friendly communication with him, he had raiſed many of the Commons to have deſtroyed them, and had made the King ſet his Hand to the Letters he had ſent for raiſing Men; and had alſo diſperſed ſeditious Bills againſt them; therefore they intended to ſee to the ſafety of the King and the Kingdom. So they ſent for the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, and required them to obey no Letters ſent them by the Protector, but only ſuch as came from themſelves. They alſo writ many Letters to the Nobility and Gentry over *England*, giving them an account of their Deſigns and Motives, and requiring their aſſiſtance. They alſo ſent for the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and he ſubmitted to their Orders. Next day,

the

1549.

Collection Number 41.

the Lord Chancellor, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and the Lord *Chief-Juſtice Montague*, joyned with them. Then they wrote to the King a Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) full of expreſſions of their duty and care of his Perſon, complaining of the Duke of *Somerſet's* not liſtening to their Councils, and of his gathering a Force about him for maintaining his wilful doings: they owned that they had cauſed Secretary *Petre* to ſtay with them, and in it they endeavoured to perſwade the King that they were careful of nothing ſo much as of his preſervation. They alſo wrote to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and to Sir *William Paget*, to ſee to the Kings Perſon, and that his own Servants ſhould attend on him, and not thoſe that belonged to the Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Protector, hearing of this diſorder, had removed the King to *Windſor* in all haſt; and had taken down all the Armour that was either there, or at *Hampton-Court*, and had armed ſuch as he could gather about him for his preſervation.

The City of *London* joyns with them.

The Protector offers to treat and ſubmit.

The Council at *London* complained much of this, that the King ſhould be carried to a Place where there were no Proviſions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need to be ſent to him from *London*. And on the 8*th* of *October* they went to *Guild-hall*, when they gave an account of their Proceedings to the Common-Council of the City: and aſſured them, they had no thoughts of altering the Religion, as was given out by their Enemies, but intended only the ſafety of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and for theſe ends deſired their aſſiſtance. The whole Common-Council with one Voice, declared, they thanked God for the good intentions they had expreſſed, and aſſured them they would ſtand by them with their Lives and Goods. At *Windſor*, when the Protector underſtood, that not only the City, but the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, of whom he had held himſelf aſſured, had forſaken him, he reſolved to ſtruggle no longer: and though it is not improbable, that he, who was chiefly accuſed for his protecting the Commons, might have eaſily gathered a great Body of Men for his own preſervation; yet he reſolved rather to give way to the Tide that was now againſt him. So he proteſted before the King and the few Councellors then about him, that he had no deſign againſt any of the Lords; and that the Force he had gathered was only to preſerve himſelf from any violent attempt that might be made on his Perſon: he declared, that he was willing to ſubmit himſelf; and therefore propoſed, that two of thoſe Lords ſhould be ſent from *London*, and they, with two of thoſe that were yet about the King, ſhould conſider what might be done, in whoſe determination he would acquieſce: and deſired, that whatſoever was agreed on, ſhould be confirmed in Parliament. Hereupon there was ſent to *London* a Warrant under the Kings Hand, for any two of the Lords of the Council that were there to come to *Windſor* with twenty Servants a-piece, who had the Kings Faith for their ſafety in coming and going: and *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to them to diſpoſe them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel Councils, nor to be miſled by them who meant otherwiſe than they profeſſed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This ſeemed to point at the Earl of *Southampton*.

On the *9th* of *October* the Council at *London* encreaſed by the acceſſion of the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Ant. Wingfield*, and Sir *John Baker*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. For now thoſe who had ſtood off a while; ſeeing the Protector was reſolved to yield, came and united themſelves with the prevailing Party: ſo that they were in all two and twenty. They were informed, that the Protector had ſaid, that if they intended to put him to death, the King ſhould die firſt; and if they would famiſh him, they ſhould famiſh the King firſt: and that he had armed his own Men, and ſet them next to the Kings Perſon, and was deſigning to carry him out of *Windſor*, and as ſome reported, out of the Kingdom: upon which they concluded, that he was no more fit to be Protector. But of thoſe words no proofs being mentioned in the Council-Books, they look like the forgeries of his Enemies to make him odious to the People. The Council ordered a Proclamation of their Proceedings to be printed, and writ to the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* acquainting them with what they had done. They alſo wrote to the King (as will be found in the *Collection*) acknowledging the many bonds that lay on them in gratitude both for his Fathers goodneſs to them, and his own, to take care of him. They deſired he would conſider, they were his whole Council, except one or two; and were thoſe whom his Father had truſted with the Government: that the Protector was not raiſed to that Power by his Fathers Will, but by their choice, with that condition; that he ſhould do all things by their advice; which he had not obſerved, ſo that they now judged him moſt unworthy of theſe Honours: therefore they earneſtly deſired they might be admitted to the Kings Preſence, to do their duties about him, and that the Forces gathered about his Perſon might be ſent away, and the Duke of *Somerſet* might ſubmit himſelf to the Order of Council. They alſo wrote to the Arch-biſhop and Sir *William Paget*, (which is in the *Collection*) charging them as they would anſwer it, that the Kings Perſon might be well looked to, that he ſhould not be removed from *Windſor*, and that he ſhould be no longer guarded by the Duke of *Somerſets* Men, (as they ſaid he had been, of which they complained ſeverely) but by his own ſworn Servants; and they required them to concur in advancing the deſire they had ſignified by their Letter to the King, proteſting that they would do with the Duke of *Somerſet*, as they would deſire to be done by, and with as much moderation and favour as in honour they could: ſo that there was no reaſon to apprehend from them ſuch cruelty as they had mentioned in their Letters. Theſe were ſent by Sir *Philip Hobbey*, who was returned from *Flanders*, and had been ſent by the King to *London* on the day before. Upon this, *Cranmer*, and *Paget*, (as is entred in the Council-Book) perſwaded both the King and the Protector to grant their deſire. The Protectors Servants were diſmiſſed, and the Kings were ſet about his Perſon. And *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to the Council at *London*, that all they had propoſed ſhould be granted: They deſired to know whether the King ſhould be brought to *London*, or ſtay at *Windſor*: and that three of the Lords might be ſent thither, who ſhould ſee all things done according to their minds: and for other things they referred them to *Hobbey* that carried the Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) upon this the Council ſent Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, and Sir *J. Williams*, to *Windſor*, with a charge to ſee that the

1549.

Collection Number 42.

Collection Number 43.

Collection Number 44.

1549. Duke of *Somerſet* ſhould not withdraw before they arrived, and that Sir *Tho. Smith* the Secretary, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *John Thynn*, *Edw. Wolfe*; and *William Cecil*, ſhould be reſtrained to their Chambers, till they examined them. On the 12*th* of *October* the whole Council went to *Windſor*, and coming to the King, they proteſted that all they had done was out of the zeal and affection they had to his Perſon and Service. The King received them kindly, and thanked them for their care of him, and aſſured them that he took all they had done in good part. On the 13*th* day they ſate in Council, and ſent for thoſe who were ordered to be kept in their Chambers; only *Cecil* was let go. They charged them, that they had been the chief Inſtruments about the Duke of *Somerſet* in all his wilful Proceedings; therefore they turned *Smith* out of his Place of Secretary, and ſent him with the reſt to the Tower of *London*. On the day following, the Protector was called before them, and Articles of Miſdemeanours and high Treaſon were laid to his charge, (which will be found in the *Collection*.) The Subſtance of them was, That being made Protector, on condition that he ſhould do nothing without the conſent of the other Executors, he had not obſerved that Condition, but had treated with Ambaſſadors, made Biſhops and Lord-Lieutenants, by his own Authority: and that he had held a Court of Requeſts in his own Houſe; and had done many things contrary to Law, had embaſed the Coin, had in the Matter of Incloſures ſet out Proclamations, and given Commiſſions againſt the mind of the whole Council: that he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late Inſurrections, but had juſtified and encouraged them: that he had neglected the Places the King had in *France*, by which means they were loſt: that he had perſwaded the King that the Lords who met at *London* intended to deſtroy him, and had deſired him never to forget it, but to revenge it, and had required ſome young Lords to keep it in his remembrance; and had cauſed thoſe Lords to be proclaimed Traitors: that he had ſaid, If he ſhould die, the King ſhould die too: that he had carried the King ſo ſuddenly to *Windſor*, that he was not only put in great fear, but caſt into a dangerous diſeaſe: that he had gathered the People, and armed them for War; and had armed his Friends and Servants; and left the Kings Servants unarmed: and that he intended to fly to *Jerſey*, or *Garnſey*. So he was ſent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the Earls of *Suſſex*, and *Huntington*. That day the King was carried back again to *Hampton-Court*; and an Order was made, that ſix Lords ſhould be the Governours of his Perſon: who were the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lords *St. John*, *Ruſſel*, and *Wentworth*. Two of thoſe were in their courſe to attend conſtantly on the King.

He is accuſed and ſent to the Tower. Collection Number 45.

Cenſures paſſed upon him.

And thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet* from his high Offices and great Truſt. The Articles objected to him ſeem to ſay as much for his juſtification, as the Anſwers could do, if they were in my Power. He is not accuſed of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of ſuch things as are incident to all Men that are of a ſudden exalted to a high and diſproportioned greatneſs. What he did about the Coin, was not for his own advantage, but was done by a common miſtake of many Governours, who, in the neceſſity of their Affairs, fly to this as their laſt ſhift, to draw out their buſineſs as long as is poſſible; but it ever rebounds on the

1549.

the Government to its great prejudice and loſs. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Proſperity: and ſet himſelf in his impriſonment to ſtudy, and reading: and falling on a Book that treated of Patience, both from the Principles of Moral Philoſophy, and of Chriſtianity; he was ſo much taken with it, that he ordered it to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and writ a Preface to it himſelf, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. *Peter Martyr* writ him alſo a long conſolatory Letter, which was printed, both in *Latin*, and in an *Engliſh* Tranſlation: and all the Reformed, both in *England*, and abroad, looked on his Fall as a publick loſs to that whole Intereſt which he had ſo ſteadily ſet forward.

The Papiſts much lifted up.

But on the other hand, the Popiſh Party were much lifted up at his Fall; and the rather, becauſe they knew the Earl of *Southampton*, who they hoped ſhould have directed all Affairs, was entirely theirs. It was alſo believed, that the Earl of *Warwick* had given them ſecret Aſſurances: So it was underſtood at the Court of *France*, as *Thuanus* writes. They had alſo, among the firſt things they did, gone about to diſcharge the Duke of *Norfolk* of his long impriſonment, in conſideration of his great Age, his former Services, and the extremity of the Proceedings againſt him, which were ſaid to have flowed chiefly from the ill Offices the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him. But this was ſoon laid aſide. So now the Papiſts made their Addreſſes to the Earl of *Warwick*. The Biſhop of *Winchester* wrote to him a hearty Congratulation, rejoycing that the late tyranny (ſo he called the Duke of *Somerſets* Adminiſtration) was now at an end: he wiſhed him all proſperity, and deſired, that when he had leiſure from the great Affairs, that were in ſo unſetled a condition, ſome regard might be had of him. The Biſhop of *London*, being alſo in good hopes, ſince the Protector, and *Smith*, whom he eſteemed his chief Enemies, were now in diſgrace, and *Cranmer* was in cold, if not in ill terms, with the Earl of *Warwick*, ſent a Petition that his Appeal might be received, and his Proceſs reviewed. Many alſo began to fall off from going to the *Engliſh* Service, or the Communion; hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been ſetled by the Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Earl of *Warwick*, finding the King ſo zealouſly addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one ſo much to him, as the promoting it further would do, ſoon forſook the Popiſh Party, and was ſeemingly the moſt earneſt on a further Reformation that was poſſible. I do not find that he did write any Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Winchester*. He continued ſtill a Priſoner. And for *Bonners* Matter, there was a new Court of Delegates appointed to review his Appeal, conſiſting of four Civilians, and four Common Lawyers; who having examined it, reported, that the Proceſs had been legally carried on, and the Sentence juſtly given, and that there was no good reaſon why the Appeal ſhould be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the Council, they ſent for *Bonner* in the beginning of *February*, and declared to him, that his Appeal was rejected, and that the Sentence againſt him was in full force ſtill.

But their hopes ſoon vaniſh.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Emperor.

But the Buſineſs of *Bulloigne* was that which preſſed them moſt. They miſdoubting, as was formerly ſhewn, that *Paget* had not managed that

1549. matter dexterouſly and earneſtly with the Emperor, ſent on the 18*th* of *October* Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, and Sir *Phil. Hobbey* to him, to entreat him to take *Bulloigne* into his protection; they alſo ſent over the Earl of *Huntington* to command it, with the addition of a thouſand Men for the Garriſon. When the Ambaſſadors came to the Emperor, they deſired leave to raiſe 2000 Horſe and 3000 Foot in his Dominions for the preſervation of *Bulloigne*. The Emperor gave them very good words, but inſiſted much on his League with *France*: and referred them to the Biſhop of *Arras*, who told them plainly the thing could not be done. So Sir *Tho. Cheyney* took his leave of the Emperor, who at parting deſired him to repreſent to the Kings Council, how neceſſary it was to conſider matters of Religion again, that ſo they might be all of one mind; for, to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not aſſiſt them ſo effectually as otherwiſe he deſired to do. And now the Council ſaw clearly, they had not been deceived by *Paget* in that Particular, and therefore reſolved to apply themſelves to *France* for a Peace. But now the Earl of *Warwick* falling off wholly from the Popiſh Party, the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great diſcontent. He was neither reſtored to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treaſurer, (that Place, which was vacant by the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall, being now given to the Lord *St. John*, who ſoon after, was made Earl of *Wilt-ſhire*:) nor was he made one of thoſe who had charge of the Kings Perſon. So he began to lay a Train againſt the Earl of *Warwick*; but he was too quick for him, and diſcovered it: upon which he left the Court in the night, and it was ſaid, he poiſoned himſelf, or pined away with diſcontent, for he died in *July* after.

Cotton Libr. *Galba B.* 12.

The Earl of *Southampton* leaves the Court.

A new Office for Ordinations.

So now the Reformation was ordered to be carried on: and there being one part of the Divine Offices not yet reformed, that is, concerning the giving Orders, ſome Biſhops and Divines, brought now together by a Seſſion of Parliament, were appointed to prepare a Book of Ordination.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

An Act againſt Tumultuary Aſſemblies.

But now I turn to the Parliament, which ſate down on the 4*th* of *November*. In it a ſevere Law was made againſt unlawful Aſſemblies: that if any, to the number of twelve ſhould meet together unlawfully, for any matter of State, and being required by any lawful Magiſtrate, ſhould not diſperſe themſelves, it ſhould be Treaſon: and if any broke Hedges, or violently pulled up Pales, about Incloſures, without lawful Authority, it ſhould be Felony. It was alſo made Felony to gather the People together without Warrant, by ringing of Bells, or ſound of Drums and Trumpets, or the firing of Beacons. There was alſo a Law made againſt Prophecies concerning the King or his Council, ſince by theſe the People were diſpoſed to ſedition: for the firſt offence it was to be puniſhed by Impriſonment for a year, and 10 *l.* Fine: For the ſecond, it was Impriſonment during Life, with the forfeiture of Goods and Chattels. All this was on the account of the Tumults the former year, and not with any regard to the Duke of *Somerſets* ſecurity, as ſome have without any reaſon fancied: for he had now no Intereſt in the Parliament, nor was he in a condition any more to apprehend Tumults againſt himſelf, being ſtript of his ſo much envied greatneſs. Another Law was made againſt Vagabonds, relating, That the former Statute made in this Reign being too ſevere, was by that means not executed: ſo it was repealed, and the

And againſt Vagabonds.

1549.

the Law made in King *Henry* the *8th*'s Reign put in force: Proviſions were laid down for relieving the Sick and Impotent, and ſetting the Poor, that were able, to work: That once a month there ſhould be every where a Viſitation of the Poor, by thoſe in Office, who ſhould ſend away ſuch as did not belong to that Place, and thoſe were to be carried from Conſtable to Conſtable, till they were brought to ſuch Places as were bound to ſee to them. There was a Bill brought in for the repealing of a Branch of the Act of Uniformity, but it went no further than one reading.

The Biſhops move for a reviving of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures.

On the 14*th* of *November* the Biſhops made a heavy complaint to the Lords, of the abounding of vice and diſorder, and that their Power was ſo abridged, that they could puniſh no ſin, nor oblige any to appear before them, or to obſerve the Orders of the Church. This was heard by all the Lords with great regret, and they ordered a Bill to be drawn about it. On the 18*th* of *November* a Bill was brought in, but rejected at firſt reading, becauſe it ſeemed to give the Biſhops too much Power. So a ſecond Bill was appointed to be drawn by a Committee of the Houſe. It was agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons, who laid it aſide after the ſecond reading. They thought it better to renew the deſign that was in the former Reign, of two and thirty Perſons being authorized to compile the Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and when that was prepared, it ſeemed more proper, by confirming it, to eſtabliſh Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, than to give the Biſhops any Power, while the Rules of their Courts were ſo little determined or regulated: So an act paſſed, empow'ring the King to name ſixteen Perſons of the Spiritualty, of whom four ſhould be Biſhops, and ſixteen of the Temporalty, of whom four ſhould be common Lawyers, who within three years ſhould compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and thoſe, being nothing contrary to the Common and Statute Laws of the Land, ſhould be publiſhed by the Kings Warrant, under the Great Seal, and have the force of Laws in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Thus they took care that this ſhould not be turn'd over to an uncertain Period, as it had been done in the former Reign, but deſigned that it ſhould be quickly finiſhed. The Biſhops of that time were generally ſo backward in every ſtep to a Reformation, that a ſmall number of them was made neceſſary to be of this Commiſſion. The effect that it had ſhall be afterwards opened.

1550.

An Act about the Forms of giving Orders

An Act about the Duke of *Somerſet.*

There was a Bill brought in to the Houſe of Commons, That the Preaching and holding of ſome Opinions ſhould be declared *Felony:* it paſſed with them, but was laid aſide by the Lords. A Bill for the Form of Ordaining Miniſters was brought in to the Houſe of Lords, and was agreed to, the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Weſtminſter*, proteſting againſt it. The Subſtance of it was, That ſuch Forms of Ordaining Miniſters as ſhould be ſet forth by the advice of ſix Prelates and ſix Divines, to be named by the King, and authorized by a Warrant under the Great Seal, ſhould be uſed after *April* next, and no other. On the ſecond of *January* a Bill was put in againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, of the Articles formerly mentioned, with a Confeſſion of them Signed by his Hand. This he was prevailed with to do, upon aſſurances given that he ſhould be gently dealt with, if he would freely confeſs, and ſubmit himſelf to the Kings mercy. But it was ſaid by ſome of the Lords, that they did not know whether that Confeſſion was not drawn from

1550. him by force: and that it might be an ill Preſident to paſs Acts upon ſuch Papers, without examining the Party, whether he had ſubſcribed them freely and uncompelled: ſo they ſent four Temporal Lords, and four Biſhops, to examine him concerning it. And the day following, the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* made the Report, that he thanked them for that kind Meſſage, but that he had freely ſubſcribed the Confeſſion that lay before them. He had made it on his Knees before the King and Council, and had Signed it on the 13*th* of *December*. He proteſted his offences had flowed from raſhneſs and indiſcretion, rather than malice, and that he had no treaſonable deſign againſt the King or his Realms. So he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000 *l.* a year of Land, and he loſt all his Goods and Offices. Upon this he wrote to the Council, acknowledging their favour, in bringing off his Matter by a Fine: he confeſs'd, that he had fall'n into the frailties that often attend on great Places, but what he had done amiſs was rather for want of true Judgment, than from any malicious meaning: he humbly deſired they would interpoſe with the King for a moderation of his Fine, and that he might be pardoned and reſtored to favour; aſſuring them, that for the future he ſhould carry himſelf ſo humbly and obediently, that he ſhould thereby make amends for his former follies: This was much cenſured by many, as a ſign of an abject Spirit: others thought it was wiſely done in him, once to get out of Priſon on any terms, ſince the greatneſs of his former condition gave ſuch jealouſie to his Enemies, that unleſs he had his pardon, he would be in continual danger, as long as he was in their hands. So on the *6th* of *February* he was ſet at liberty, giving Bond of 10000 *l.* for his good behaviour; and being limited that he ſhould ſtay at the Kings Houſe of *Sheen*, or his own of *Zion*, and ſhould not go four Miles from them, nor come to the King or the Council, unleſs he were called: He had his Pardon on the 1*6th* of *February*, and carried himſelf after that ſo humbly, that his behaviour, with the Kings great kindneſs to him, did ſo far prevail, that on the 10*th* of *April* after, he was reſtored into favour, and ſworn of the Privy-Council. And ſo this ſtorm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his carriage in it was thought to have ſo little of the *Hero*, that he was not much conſidered after this.

The Reformation is ſet on vigorouſly.

But to go on with the buſineſs of the Parliament; reports had been ſpread, that the old Service would be again ſet up: and theſe were much cheriſhed by thoſe who ſtill loved the former ſuperſtition: who gave out, that a change was to be expected, ſince the New Service had been only the Act of the Duke of *Somerſet*. Upon this the Council wrote on *Chriſtmas* day a Letter to all the Biſhops of *England*, to this effect, “That whereas the *Engliſh* Service had been deviſed by Learned Men, “according to the Scripture, and the uſe of the Primitive Church; there“fore, for putting away thoſe vain expectations, all Clergy-men were “required, to deliver to ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the King to receive them, all Antiphonales, Miſſals, Grayles, Proceſſionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuaſſes, Journals, and Ordinals, after the uſe “of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, or any other private uſe: requiring them “alſo to ſee to the obſerving one uniform Order in the Service ſet forth “by the common conſent of the Realm: and particularly to take care that “there ſhould be every where proviſion made of Bread and Wine for

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1550.

Collection Number 48.

" Communion on *Sunday.* This will be found in the *Collection.* But to give a more publick declaration of their zeal, an Act was brought into Parliament about it, and was agreed to by all the Lords; except the Earl of *Darby*, the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carliſle*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and the Lords *Morley*, *Stourton*, *Windſor*, and *Wharton*. By it, not only all the Books formerly mentioned were to be deſtroyed, but all that had any Image that had belonged to any Church or Chappel, were required to deface it before the laſt of *June:* and in all the Primers ſet out by the late King the Prayers to the Saints were to be daſhed out. There was alſo an Act for a Subſidy to be payed in one year, for which there was a Releaſe granted of a Branch of the Subſidy formerly given. Laſt of all came the Kings general Pardon, out of which thoſe in the Tower, or other Priſons, on the account of the State, as alſo all Anabaptiſts were excepted.

Thus were all Matters ended, and on the firſt of *February* the Parliament was prorogued. Only in the Honſe of Commons there was a Debate that deſerves to be remembred. It ſeems that before this time the Eldeſt Sons of Peers were not Members of the Houſe of Commons: and Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, becoming, by the death of his elder Brother, Heir apparent to the Lord *Ruſſel*; it was on the 21*ſt* of *Jan.* carried upon a Debate, *That he ſhould abide in the Houſe as he was before.* So it is entred in the Original Journal of the Houſe of Commons, which was communicated to me by Mr. *Surle*, and Mr. *Clark*, in whoſe Hands it is now, and is the firſt Journal that ever was taken in that Houſe.

But it may be expected that I ſhould next give an account of the Forms of Ordination now agreed on. Twelve were appointed by the Council to prepare the Book; among whom, *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was one, but he would not conſent to the Reformations that were propoſed in it: So on the 8*th* of *February* he was called before the Council, and required to agree to that which all the reſt had conſented to. But he could not be prevailed with to do it. Wherefore on the fourth of *March* he was committed to the *Fleet*, becauſe (as it is entred in the Council Books) that he obſtinately denied to ſubſcribe the Book for the making of Biſhops and Prieſts. He had hitherto oppoſed every thing done towards Reformation in Parliament, though he had given an entire obedience to it when it was enacted. He was a Man of a gentle temper, and great prudence, that underſtood Affairs of State better than Matters of Religion. But now it was reſolved to rid the Church of thoſe Compliers, who ſubmitted out of fear, or intereſt, to ſave their Benefices; but were ſtill ready upon any favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old ſuperſtition.

Heath Biſhop of *Worceſter* put in Priſon for not agreeing with the others appointed to draw the Book for Ordinations.

As for the Forms of Ordination, they found, that the Scripture mentioned only the Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, In the fourth Council of *Carthage*, and in the pretended Works of *Denis* the *Areopagite*, there was no more uſed. Therefore all thoſe additions, of Anointing, and giving them Conſecrated Veſtments, were later Inventions. But moſt of all the conceit, which from the time of the Council of *Florence* was generally received, that the Rites by which a Prieſt was ordained, were the delivering him the Veſſels for conſecrating the Euchariſt, with a Power to offer Sacrifice to God for

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1550. the dead and the living. This was a vain Novelty, only ſet up to ſupport the belief of Tranſubſtantiation: and had no ground, in the Scriptures, nor the Primitive Practice. So they agreed on a Form of ordaining Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops, which is the ſame we yet uſe, except in ſome few words, that have been added ſince in the Ordination of a Prieſt, or Biſhop. For there was then no expreſs mention made in the words of Ordaining them, that it was for the one, or the other Office: In both it was ſaid, *Receive thou the Holy Ghoſt, in the Name of the Father*, &c. But that having been ſince made uſe of to prove both Functions the ſame, it was of late years altered, as it is now. Nor were theſe words, being the ſame in giving both Orders, any ground to infer that the Church eſteemed them one Order; the reſt of the Office ſhewing the contrary very plainly. Another difference between the Ordination Book ſet out at that time, and that we now uſe, was, that the Biſhop was to lay his one Hand on the Prieſts Head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, ſaying the words now ſaid at the delivery of the Bible. In the Conſecration of a Biſhop there was nothing more than what is yet in uſe, ſave that a Staff was put into his Hand, with this Bleſſing, *Be to the Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd.* By the Rule of this Ordinal, a Deacon was not to be ordained before he was 21, a Prieſt before he was 24, nor a Biſhop before he was 30 years of Age.

The Additions brought into the Church of *Rome* in giving Orders.

In this Ritual all thoſe ſuperadded Rites were cut off, which the later Ages had brought in, to dreſs up theſe Performances with the more pomp: whereof we have ſince a more perfect account, than it was poſſible for them then to have. For in our Age *Morinus*, a learned Prieſt of the Oratorian Order, has publiſhed the moſt ancient Rituals he could find; by which it appears how theſe Offices ſwelled in every Age by ſome new addition. About the middle of the ſixth *Century*, they anointed and bleſſed the Prieſts Hands in ſome parts of *France*: though the *Greek* Church never uſed anointing; nor was it in the *Roman* Church two Ages after that: for Pope *Nicolaus* the firſt plainly ſays, it was never uſed in the Church of *Rome*. In the *8th Century*, the Prieſts Garments were given with a ſpecial Benediction, for the Prieſts *offering expiatory Sacrifices*: It was no ancienter that that Phraſe was uſed in Ordinations: and in that ſame Age there was a ſpecial Benediction of the Prieſts Hands, uſed before they were anointed: and then his Head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical Law, and partly becauſe the People believed that their Kings derived the Sacredneſs of their Perſons, from their being anointed: So the Prieſts having a mind to have their Perſons ſecured and exempted from all Secular Power, were willing enough to uſe this Rite in their Ordinations: and in the *10th Century*, when the belief of Tranſubſtantiation was received, the delivering of the Veſſels for the Euchariſt, with the Power of offering Sacrifices, was brought in, beſides a great many other Rites. So that the Church did never tie it ſelf to one certain Form of Ordinations; nor did it always make them with the ſame Prayers; for what was accounted anciently the Form of Ordination, was in the later Ages but a preparatory Prayer to it.

Interrogations and Sponſions in the new Book.

The moſt conſiderable addition that was made in the Book of Ordinations, was the putting Queſtions to the Perſons to be ordained: who

1550. by anſwering theſe, make ſolemn Declarations or Sponſions and Vows to God. The firſt Queſtion when one is preſented to Orders, is, *Do you truſt that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghoſt, to take upon you this Office and Miniſtration, to ſerve God, for the promoting his Glory, and for the edifying of his People?* To which he is to anſwer, *He truſts he is.* It has been oft lamented, that many come to receive Orders before ever they have ſeriouſly read over theſe Queſtions, and examined themſelves whether they could with a good Conſcience make the Anſwers there preſcribed: ſince it is ſcarce credible that Men of common honeſty would lie in the Preſence of God, on ſo great an occaſion: and yet it is too viſible, that many have not any ſuch inward vocation, nor have ever conſidered ſeriouſly what it is. If it were well apprehended, that heat that many have to get into Orders would ſoon abate; who perhaps have nothing in their Eye, but ſome Place of Profit, or Benefice, to which way muſt be made by that preceding Ceremony: and ſo enter into Orders, as others are aſſociated into Fraternities and Corporations, with little previous ſenſe of that Holy Character, they are to receive, when they thus dedicate their Lives and Labours to the Service of God, in the Goſpel. In the Primitive Church the apprehenſion of this made even good and holy Men afraid to enter under ſuch Bonds: and therefore they were often to be drag'd almoſt by force, or catched at unawares, and be ſo initiated: as appears in the Lives of theſe two *Greek* Fathers *Nazianzen* and *Chryſoſtome.* If Men make their firſt ſtep to the Holy Altar, by ſuch a lye, as is their pretending to a motion of the Holy Ghoſt, concerning which they know little, but that they have nothing at all of it; they have no reaſon to expect that Bleſſing which otherwiſe attends on ſuch Dedications. And it had been happy for the Church, if all thoſe that are authorized to confer Orders, had ſtood on this more critically; and not been contented with a bare putting theſe Queſtions to thoſe who come to be ordained; but had uſed a due ſtrictneſs before hand, ſutable to that grave admonition of St. *Pauls* to *Timothy*, *Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, and be not partaker of other Mens ſins.*

In the Sponſions made by the Prieſts, they bind themſelves to *teach the People committed to their charge, to baniſh away all erroneous Doctrines, and to uſe both publick and private Monitions, and Exhortations, as well to the Sick, as the Whole, within their Cures, as need ſhall require, and as occaſion ſhall be given.* Such as remember that they have plighted their Faith for this to God, will feel the Paſtoral Care to be a Load indeed, and ſo be far enough from relinquiſhing it, or hiring it out perhaps to a looſe or ignorant Mercenary. Theſe are the blemiſhes and ſcandals that lie on our Church, brought on it partly by the corruption of ſome Simoniacal Patrons, but chiefly by the negligence of ſome, and the faultineſs of other Clergy-men: Which could never have loſt ſo much ground in the Nation, upon ſuch trifling accounts, as are the Conteſts ſince raiſed about Ceremonies; if it were not that the People, by ſuch palpable faults in the Perſons and behaviour of ſome Church-men, have been poſſeſſed with prejudices, firſt againſt them, and then upon their account againſt the whole Church: ſo that theſe corrupt Church-men are not only to anſwer to God for all thoſe Souls within their charge, that have periſhed through their neglect, but in a great degree for all the miſchief of the Schiſm among us; to the nouriſhing whereof they have given ſo great

1550. and palpable occaſion. The importance of thoſe things made me judge they deſerved this digreſſion, from which I now turn to other Affairs.

It is reſolved to deliver *Bulloigne* to the *French*.

Pope *Paul* the third dies.

Cardinal *Pool* was elected Pope.

The Buſineſs of *Bulloigne* lay heavy on the Council. The *French* had ſtopt all communication between *Calais* and it; ſo that it was not eaſie to ſupply it from thence. The Council, to rid the Nation of the Forreigners, ſent them all to *Calais* with 3000 *Engliſh*, and reſolved to force a way through, if it came to extremities: but at this time both the *French* and *Engliſh* were well diſpoſed to a Peace. The King of *France* knew the Emperor intended to go into *Germany* next Summer; ſo he longed to be at liberty to wait on his Motions. The *Engliſh* Council, that oppoſed the delivery of *Bulloigne*, chiefly to throw off the Duke of *Somerſet*, that being done, were all convinced that it was not worth the coſt and danger of a War: only they ſtood on the indecency of yielding it; eſpecially, they having raiſed ſuch clamours againſt the Protector, when he went about the delivering it up. So they made great ſhews of preparations to defend it: but at the ſame time were not unwilling to liſten to Propoſitions of Peace. One *Guidotti*, a Florentine that lived in *England*, was employed by the Conſtable of *France*, *Mountmorancy*, to ſet on a Treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any orders from that King. He went often to and again between *Paris* and *London*, and at laſt it was reſolved on both ſides that there ſhould be a Treaty. But at this time there was a great change of Affairs in *Italy*. Pope *Paul* the third having held that See fifteen years, died the 10*th* of *November*, in the 82*d* Year of his Age: much broken in mind at the calamity of his Family, the killing of his Son, the loſs of *Placentia*, and the ingratitude of his Grand-child. Upon his death all the Cardinals, being gathered from *Bollogna*, *Trent*, and other neighbouring Places, entred the Conclave: where one that is to have ſuch a ſhare in the following part of this Work, was ſo much concerned, that it will be no impertinent digreſſion to give an account of it. There were great animoſities between the Imperialiſts and the *French*: Cardinal *Farneſe* had alſo many Votes that followed him: ſo that theſe three Factions, were either of them ſtrong enough to exclude any that was unacceptable to them. Cardinal *Pool* was ſet up by *Farneſe*, as a moderate Imperialiſt, who had carried it ſo well at *Trent*, that they ſaw he would not blindly follow the Emperor. He had lived many years at *Viterbo*, where he was made Legate, after he had given over his Practices againſt *England*. There he gave himſelf wholy to the Study of Divinity, not without ſome imputations of favouring Hereſie. For one *Antonio Flaminio*, that was alſo ſuſpect of *Lutheraniſme*, lived with him. *Tremellius* that learned *Jew*, who had been Baptized in his Houſe, was alſo known to incline that way: and many, who left their Monaſteries, and went to *Germany*, uſed to ſtay ſome time with him on their way, and were well received by him: nor would he proceed againſt any ſuſpected of Hereſie. There was cauſes enough to raiſe ſuſpicion in a leſs jealous People than *Italians*. Yet the vaſt zeal that he had ſhewn for the exaltation of the Papacy, made all thoſe things be over-looked. He was ſent one of the Popes Legates to *Trent*, where he aſſerted the *German* Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith: But upon the Emperors ſetting out the *Interim* he wrote freely againſt it. He was indeed a Man of an eaſie and gene-

1550.

generous temper, but much in the Power of thoſe whom he loved and truſted. *Farneſe* therefore looking on him as one that would be governed by him, and that was acceptable to the Imperialiſts, and not much hated by the *French*, the Cardinal of *Guiſe* being his Friend, reſolved to promote him: and by the ſcrutiny they made, it was found that they were within two of the number that was requiſite. But he ſeemed ſo little concerned at it himſelf, that he deſired them not to make too much haſt in a thing of that nature: for that dignity was rather to be undertaken with fear, than to be ambitiouſly deſired. The Cardinals, who had heard of ſuch things among the Ancient *Romans*, but had ſeen few ſuch modern Inſtances, and who valued Men by nothing more than their ambitious aſpiring, imputed this either to dullneſs, or hypocriſie: He himſelf ſeemed nothing affected with it, and did not change his behaviour, and carried it with an equality of mind, that became one who had divided his time between Philoſophy and Divinity. *Caraffa*, that hated him, did all he could to alienate the Conclave from him: he objected to him, not only Hereſie, but alſo the ſuſpition of incontinence, ſince he bred up a Nun who was believed to be his Daughter. Of theſe things he coldly purged himſelf; he ſhew'd that he had ſuffered ſo much on the account of Religion in his own Country, that he was beyond the ſuſpition of Hereſie: and he proved that the Girl whom he maintained among the Nuns, was an *Engliſh-man's* Daughter, to whom he had aſſigned an allowance. *Caraffa* prevailed little, and the next night the number was compleat: ſo that the Cardinals came to adore him, and make him Pope; but he receiving that, with his uſual coldneſs ſaid, it was night, and God loved light better than darkneſs, therefore he deſired to delay it till day came. The *Italians* who, what ever Judges they may be about the qualifications of ſuch a Pope as is neceſſary for their Affairs, underſtood not this temper of mind, which in better times would have recommended one with the higheſt advantages, ſhrunk all from him: and after ſome intrigues uſual on ſuch occaſions, choſe the Cardinal *de Monte*, afterwards Pope *Julius* the third, who gave a ſtrange Omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own Hat, according to the cuſtom of the Popes who beſtow their Hats before they go out of the Conclave, on a mean Servant of his, who had the charge of a Monkey that he kept: and being asked what he obſerved in him to make him a Cardinal, he anſwered, as much as the Cardinals had ſeen in him to make him Pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the ſecret of this Promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Upon this occaſion I ſhall refer the Reader to a Letter which I have put in the *Collection*, written by Cardinal *Woolſey* upon the death of Pope *Adrian* the ſixth, to get himſelf choſen Pope; it ſets out ſo naturally the Intrigues of that Court on ſuch occaſions, that though it belongs to the former Volume, yet having fallen upon it ſince I publiſhed it, I thought it would be no unacceptable thing to inſert in this Volume, though it does not belong to it. It will demonſtrate how likely it is, that a Biſhop choſen by ſuch Arts, ſhould be the infallible Judge of Controverſies, and the Head of the Church.

Collection Number 47.

A Treaty between the *Engliſh* and *French*.

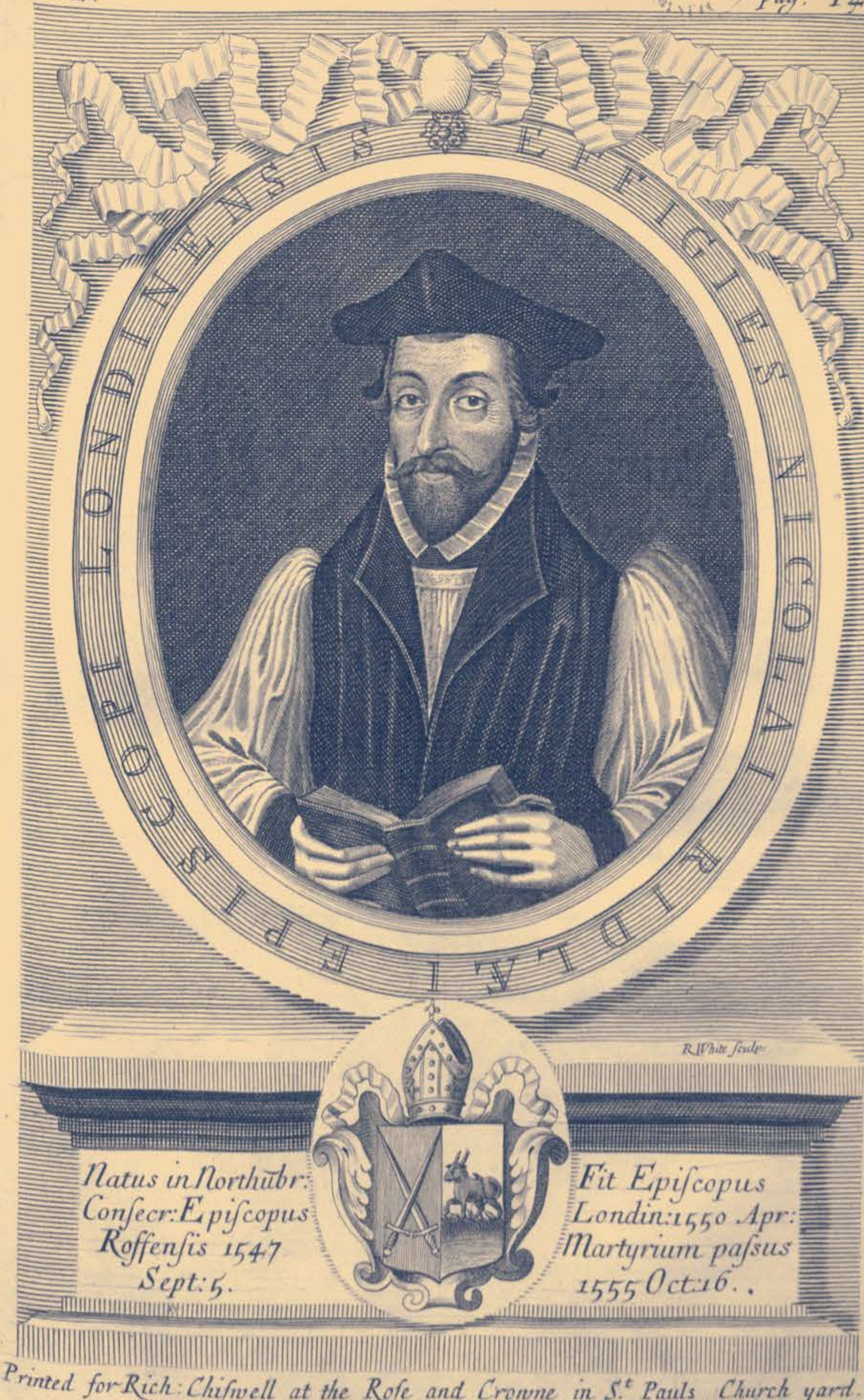
And now to return to *England*; it was reſolved to ſend Ambaſſadors to *France*: who were, the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Paget* now made a Lord, Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John Maſon*. Their Inſtructions will be found

1550. in the *Collection*. The Subſtance of them was, they were not to ſtick about the Place of Treaty, but to have it at *Calais*, or *Bulloigne*, if it might be: they were to agree to the delivery up of *Bulloigne*, but to demand that the *Scotch* Queen ſhould be ſent back, for perfecting the Marriage formerly agreed on: That the Fortifications of *Newhaven*, and *Blackneſs*, ſhould be ruinated: That the perpetual Penſion agreed to King *Henry* ſhould ſtill be payed, together with all Arrears that were due before the Wars: they were only to inſiſt on the laſt, if they ſaw the former could not be obtained: They were to agree the time and manner of the delivery of *Bulloigne* to be as honourable as might be. For *Scotland*, they being alſo in War with the Emperor, the King of *England* could not make Peace with them, unleſs the Emperor, his Ally, who had made War on them upon his account, were alſo ſatisfied: All Places there, were to be offered up, except *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*. If the *French* ſpoke any thing of the Kings marrying their Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, they were to put it off; ſince the King was yet ſo young. They were alſo at firſt to agree to no more but a Ceſſation. So they went over on the 21*ſt* of *January*; the *French* Commiſſioners appointed to treat with them were *Rochpot*, *Chaſtilion*, *Mortier*, and *de Sany*, who deſired the Meeting might be near *Bulloigne*, though the *Engliſh* endeavoured to have brought it to *Guiſnes*. Upon the *Engliſh* laying out their Demands, the *French* anſwered them roundly, that for delivering up the Queen of *Scots*, they would not treat about it; nor about a perpetual Penſion; ſince, as the King was reſolved to marry the *Scotch* Queen to the *Dolphin*, ſo he would give no perpetual Penſion, which was in effect to become a tributary Prince: but for a Sum of Money they were ready to treat about it. As to *Scotland*, they demanded, that all the Places that had been taken ſhould be reſtored, as well as *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſſe*. The latter two were ſoon yielded to, but the Commiſſioners were limited as to the former. There was alſo ſome diſcourſe of razing the Fortifications of *Alderney*, and *Sark*, two ſmall Iſlands in the Channel, that belonged to *England*: the latter was in the Hands of the *French*, who were willing to yield it up, ſo the Fortifications both in it and *Alderny* were razed. Upon this there were ſecond Inſtructions ſent over from the Council, (which are in the *Collection*) that they ſhould ſo far inſiſt on the keeping of *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as to break up their Conference upon it; but if that did not work on the *French*, they ſhould yield it rather than give over the Treaty. They were alſo inſtructed to require Hoſtages from the *French* till the Money were all payed, and to offer Hoſtages on the part of *England* till *Bulloigne* was delivered; and to ſtruggle in the matter of the Iſles all they could, but not to break about it. Between the giving the firſt and ſecond Inſtructions, the Lord *St. John* was created Earl of *Wilt-ſhire*, as appears by his Subſcriptions. The Commiſſioners finiſhed their Treaty about the end of *February*, on theſe Articles, On condition that all Claims of either ſide ſhould be reſerved as they were at the beginning of the War. This was a temper between the *Engliſh* demand, of all the Arrears of King *Henry*'s Penſion; and the *French* denial of it: for thus the King reſerved all the right he had before the War. *Bulloigne* was to be delivered within ſix Months, with all the Places about it, and the Ordnance, except what the *Engliſh* had caſt

Collection Number 48. Instructions given to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors.

Collection Number 49.

Articles of the Treaty.


EFFIGIES NICOLAI RIDLÆI EPISCOPI LONDINENSIS
R White ſculp

Natus in Northūbr:
Conſecr: Epiſcopus
Roſſenſis 1547
Sept: 5.

Fit Epiſcopus
Londin: 1550 Apr:
Martyrium paſſus
1555 Oct: 16.

Printed for Rich: Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard.

caſt ſince they had it: for which Surrender the *French* were to pay 400000 Crowns, (then of equal value with the *Engliſh* Noble) the one half three days after the Town was in their Hands, and the other in the *Auguſt* after. There was to be a Peace with *Scotland*; and *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſſe*, were to be razed: and there was to be a free Trade between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*. Six Hoſtages were to be given on either ſide: all the *Engliſh* were to be ſent back upon the delivery of the Town: and three of the *French* on the firſt, and the reſt on the ſecond Payment. The *French* Hoſtages were the Duke of *Enghien*, the Marqueſs *de Mean*, Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, *Monmorancy* Son to the Conſtable, the Duke of *Tremoville*, the Vicedam of *Churtres*, and *Henandy* Son to *Annebault* the Admiral. On the *Engliſh* ſide were, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Arundels* Son, the Lord *Strange*, and the Lord *Matravers*. So was the Peace concluded: all the Articles in it were duly performed, and the Hoſtages delivered back. It was proclaimed in *London* on the 29*th* of *March*, being confirmed by both the Kings. Only it was much obſerved, that when it was to be confirmed in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick*, on pretence of ſickneſs, was abſent: thoſe who began to conceive great jealouſies of him, thought this was to make a ſhew to the People that he abhorred ſo diſhonourable a thing, as himſelf had oft called it during the Duke of *Somerſets* Adminiſtration, and that therefore he would not by his Preſence ſeem to conſent to it, though he had Signed all the Orders for it.

The Earl of *Warwick* governs the Councils.

And now was the King entring in the fourth Year of his Reign, free from all Wats, which had hitherto much diſtracted his Government. So the Council was more at leiſure to ſettle the Affairs at home. But the Earl of *Warwick*, beginning to form great deſigns, reſolved firſt to make himſelf popular, by calling all that had medled in the Kings Affairs to a ſtrict account: and either to make them compound for great Sums, by which the Kings Debts ſhould be payed; or to keep them under the laſh till he made them ſubſervient to his ends. He began with the Earl of *Arundel*, to whoſe charge many things being laid, he ſubmitted himſelf to a Fine of 12000 *l.* to be paid in twelve years. This was the more taken notice of, becauſe *Southampton*, *Arundel*, and he, with Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Rolls, had been the chief contrivers of the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall: *Southampton* was driven away, *Arundel* fined, and *Southwell* was ſoon after put in the *Fleet*, for diſperſing ſome ſeditious Bills. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a ſecret Curſe on thoſe who had conſpired againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*; and the delivery of *Bulloigne* made it yet more plain, that the Charge againſt him was chiefly grounded on malice. After *Arundels* diſgrace, all the Duke of *Somerſets* Friends made their Compoſitions, and were diſcharged. Sir *Tho. Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Tho. Fiſher*, and *William Gray*, each of them acknowledged they owed the King 3000 *l.* and Sir *Jo. Thynn* ſubmitted to 6000 *l.* Fine.

Ridley made Biſhop of *London*.

But I ſhall next proſecute the Narration of what concerned the Church. It was now reſolved to fill the See of *London*: *Ridley* being eſteemed both the moſt learned, and moſt throughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the Man. So on the 21*ſt* of *February* he was writ for, and on the 24*th* he was declared Biſhop of *Loudon* and *Weſtminſter*,

1550. and was to have 1000 *l.* a year of the Rents of the Biſhoprick; and for his further Supply, was diſpenſed with to hold a Prebendary of *Canterbury* and *Weſtminſter.* It was thought needleſs to have two Biſhopricks ſo near one another; and ſome, gaping after the Lands of both, procured this Union. But I do not ſee any reaſon to think, that at any time in this Reign, the ſuppreſſion of the Deanries and Prebends in Cathedrals was deſigned. For neither in the ſuppreſſion of the Biſhopricks of *Weſtminſter*, *Glouceſter*, or *Dureſme*, was there any attempt made to put down the Deanries or Prebendaries in theſe Places: ſo that I look on this as a groundleſs conceit, among many others that paſs concerning this Reign. For *Thirleby* of *Weſtminſter*, there was no cauſe given to throw him out; for he obeyed all the Laws and Injunctions when they came out, though he generally oppoſed them when they were making. So to make way for him, *William Reps*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, was prevailed with to reſign, and he was promoted to that See, vacant (as his Patent has it) by the free reſignation of *William* the former Biſhop. And the ſame day, being the firſt of *April*, *Ridley* was made Biſhop of *London* and *Weſtminſter.* Both were, according to the common Form, to be Biſhops *durante vita naturali* during Life.

Proceedings againſt *Gardiner.*

Some Articles are ſent to him.

The See of *Wincheſter* had been two years as good as vacant, by the long impriſonment of *Gardiner*, who had been now above two years in the *Tower.* When the Book of Common-Prayer was ſet out, the Lord *St. John*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ſent with it to him, to know of him whether he would conform himſelf to it, or not: and they gave him great hopes, that if he would ſubmit, the Protector would ſue to the King for mercy to him. He anſwered, That he did not know himſelf guilty of any thing that needed mercy: ſo he deſired to be tried, for what had been objected to him, according to Law. For the Book, he did not think that while he was a Priſoner he was bound to give his Opinion about ſuch things, it might be thought he did it, againſt his Conſcience, to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of Priſon, he ſhould either obey it, or be liable to puniſhment according to Law. Upon the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Herbert*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ſent to him: (*Fox* ſays, this was on the *9th* of *July*; but there muſt be an error in that, for *Gardiner* in his Anſwer ſays, That upon the Duke of *Somerſets* coming to the *Tower*, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewel Feaſt, but when theſe were with him a Month or thereabout had paſſed: ſo it muſt have been in *November* the former year.) They brought him a Paper, to which they deſired he would ſet his Hand. It contained firſt a Preface, which was an acknowledgment of former faults, for which he had been juſtly puniſhed: There were alſo divers Articles contained in it, which were, touching the Kings Supremacy; his Power of appointing or diſpencing with Holy-days and Faſts; that the Book of Common-Prayer ſet out by the King and Parliament was a moſt Chriſtian and Godly Book, to be allowed of by all Biſhops and Paſtors in *England*, and that he ſhould both in Sermons and Diſcourſes commend it to be obſerved; that the Kings Power was compleat now when under Age, and that all owed Obedience to him, now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old; that the ſix Articles were juſtly abrogated; and that the King had full Authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in

the

Which he Signed with ſome Exceptions.

New Articles ſent to him.

But he refuſing to Sign them,

Was hardly uſed.

the Church both in *England* and *Ireland*. He only excepted to the Preface; and offered to Sign all the Articles, but would have had the Preface left out. They bid him rather write on the Margent his Exceptions to it; ſo he writ, that he could not with a good Conſcience agree to the Preface, and with that Exception he ſet his Hand to the whole Paper. The Lords uſed him with great kindneſs, and gave him hope that his troubles ſhould be quickly ended. *Herbert*, and *Petre*, came to him ſome time after that, but how ſoon is not ſo clear, and preſſed him to make the acknowledgment without exception; he refuſed it, and ſaid, he would never defame himſelf, for when he had done it, he was not ſure but it might be made uſe of againſt him as a Confeſſion. Two or three days after that, *Ridley* was ſent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new Articles. In this Paper the acknowledgment was more general than in the former: It was ſaid here in the Preface, that he had been ſuſpected of not approving the Kings Proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and ſo deſerved the Kings diſpleaſure, for which he was ſorry: The Articles related to the Popes Supremacy, the ſuppreſſion of Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Maſſes, Images, the adoring the Sacrament, the Communion in both kinds, the aboliſhing the old Books, and bringing in the new Book of Service, and that for ordaining of Prieſts and Biſhops, the compleatneſs of the Scripture, and the uſe of it in the Vulgar Tongue, the lawfulneſs of Clergy-mens Marriage, and to *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe that it had been on good conſiderations ordered to be ſet up in Churches. He read all theſe, and ſaid, he deſired firſt to be diſcharged of his impriſonment, and then he would freely anſwer them all, ſo as to ſtand by it, and ſuffer if he did amiſs: but he would trouble himſelf with no more Articles, while he remained in Priſon; ſince he deſired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of Mercy, but of Juſtice. After that, he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him they ſate by a ſpecial Commiſſion to judge him, and ſo required him to ſubſcribe the Articles that had been ſent to him. He prayed them earneſtly to put him to a Trial for the grounds of his Impriſonment, and when that was over he would clearly anſwer them in all other things: but he did not think he could ſubſcribe all the Articles after one ſort; ſome of them being about Laws already made, which he could not qualifie, others of them being matters of Learning, in which he might uſe more freedom: In concluſion, he deſired leave to take them with him, and he would conſider how to anſwer them. But they required him to ſubſcribe them all, without any qualification; which he refuſed to do. Upon this the Fruits of his Biſhoprick were ſequeſtred; and he was required to conform himſelf to their Orders within three Months, upon pain of deprivation; and the liberty he had, of walking in ſome open Galleries, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was not in them, was taken from him: and he was again ſhut up in his Chamber.

All this was much cenſured, as being contrary to the liberties of *Engliſh-men*, and the Forms of all legal Proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a Man in Priſon upon a complaint againſt him; and without any further enquiry into it, after two years durance to put Articles to him. And they which ſpoke freely, ſaid it favoured too much

1550. of the Inquiſition. But the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King being in the Popes room, there were ſome things gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excuſed than juſtified this hard meaſure he met with. The ſequel of this buſineſs ſhall be related in its proper place.

Latimers advice to the King concerning his Marriage.

This *Lent* old *Latimer* preached before the King. The diſcourſe of the Kings marrying a Daughter of *France* had alarum'd all the Reformers, who rather enclined to a Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. (To a Marriage with her it is no wonder they all wiſhed well: for both *Ferdinand* and his Son *Maximilian* were looked upon as Princes that in their Hearts loved the Reformation, and the Son was not only the beſt Prince, but accounted one of the beſt Men of the Age.) But *Latimer* in his Sermon adviſed the King to marry in the Lord; and to take care that Marriages might not be made only as bargains, which was a thing too frequently done, and occaſioned ſo much Whoredom and Divorcing in the Nation. He run out in a ſad lamentation of the vices of the time, the vanity of Women, the luxury and irregularity of Men, he complain'd, that many were Goſpellers for love of the Abbey and Chantry Lands: he preſſed, that the diſcipline of the Church, and the excommunicating of ſcandalous Perſons, might be again ſet-up: he adviſed the King to beware of ſeeking his pleaſure too much, and to keep none about him who would ſerve him in it: he ſaid he was ſo old, that he believed he would never appear there more, and therefore he diſcharged his Conſcience freely: he complained the Kings Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers lived high, made great Purchaſes, and built Palaces: he prayed them all to be good to the King, and not to defraud the poor Tradeſ-men that wrought for his Stores, who were ill payed. This I ſet down not ſo much to give an account, of that Sermon, as of the ſtate of the Court and Nation, which he ſo freely diſcourſed of.

Hooper is made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*.

But refuſes to wear the Epiſcopal Veſtments.

Upon this a great Diſpute riſes.

Wakeman, that had been Abbot of *Tewksbury*, and was after made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, died in *December* laſt year: and on the third of *July* this year, *Hooper* was by Letters Patents appointed to be his Succeſſor. Upon which there followed a Conteſt that has ſince had ſuch fatal conſequences, that of it we may ſay with St. *James*; *How great a matter hath a little fire kindled?* It has been already ſhewn, that the Veſtments uſed in Divine Service, were appointed to be retained in this Church: but *Hooper* refuſed to be conſecrated in the Epiſcopal Veſtments. The grounds he went on were, That they were humane Inventions, brought in by Tradition or Cuſtom, not ſutable to the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Religion: that all ſuch Ceremonies were condemned by St. *Paul* as beggerly Elements: that theſe Veſtments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the Maſs, with much pomp, and had been conſecrated for that effect: therefore he deſired to be excuſed from the uſe of them. *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, on the other hand, alledged, that Traditions in matters of Faith were juſtly rejected, but in matters of Rites and Ceremonies Cuſtom was oft a good Argument for the continuance of that which had been long uſed. Thoſe Places of St. *Paul* did only relate to the obſervance of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, which ſome in the Apoſtles times pleaded were ſtill to be retained, upon the Authority of their firſt Inſtitution by *Moſes*: ſo this implying, that the Meſſias was not yet come, in whom

1550.

all theſe had their accompliſhment, the Apoſtles did condemn the uſe of them on any ſuch account; though when the bare obſerving them, without the opinion of any ſuch neceſſity in them, was likely to gain the *Jews*, they both uſed Circumciſion, and purified themſelves in the Temple: If then they who had ſuch abſolute Authority in thoſe matters, did condeſcend ſo far to the weakneſs of the *Jews*; it was much more becoming Subjects to give obedience to Laws in things indifferent. And the abuſe that had been formerly, was no better reaſon to take away the uſe of theſe Veſtments, than it was to throw down Churches, and take away the Bells, becauſe the one had been conſecrated, and the other baptized, with many ſuperſtitious Ceremonies. Therefore they required *Hooper* to conform himſelf to the Law. *Cranmer*, who, to his other excellent qualities, had joyned a ſingular modeſty and diſtruſt of himſelf, writ about this difference to *Bucer*, reducing it to theſe two plain Queſtions. *Whether it was lawful and free from any ſin againſt God, for the Miniſters of the Church of* England *to uſe thoſe Garments in which they did then officiate; ſince they were required to do it by the Magiſtrates command? And whether he that affirmed that it was unlawful, or on that account refuſed, to uſe thoſe Veſtments, did not ſin againſt God; calling that unclean, which God had ſanctified, and the Magiſtrate required; ſince he thereby diſturbed the publick order of the Kingdom?* To this *Bucer* writ a large Anſwer on the 8*th* of *December* this Year. He thought that thoſe who uſed theſe Garments ought to declare they did not retain them as parts of *Moſes* Law, but as things commanded by the Law of the Land: he thought every Creature of God was good, and no former abuſe could make it ſo ill, that it might not be retained; and ſince theſe Garments had been uſed by the Ancient Fathers before Popery, and might ſtill be of good uſe to the weak when well underſtood, and help to maintain the Miniſterial Dignity, and to ſhew that the Church did not of any lightneſs change old Cuſtoms; he thought the retaining them was expedient: that ſo the People might, by ſeeing theſe Veſtments, conſider of the candor and purity that became them: and in this ſenſe he thought to the Pure all things were pure; and ſo the Apoſtles complied in many things with the *Jews*. Upon the whole matter, he thought they ſinned who refuſed to obey the Laws in that particular. But he added, That ſince theſe Garments were abuſed by ſome to ſuperſtition, and by others to be matter of contention, he wiſhed they were taken away, and a more compleat Reformation eſtabliſhed: he alſo prayed that a ſtop might be put to the ſpoiling of Churches, and that Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline againſt offenders might be ſet up: for, *ſaid he*, unleſs theſe manifeſt and horrid Sacriledges be put down, and the compleat Kingdom of Chriſt be received, ſo that we all ſubmit to his Yoke; how intolerably ſhall the wrath of God break out on this Kingdom? The Scriptures ſets many ſuch Examples before our Eyes, and *Germany* offers a moſt dreadful proſpect of what *England* might look for.

Bucers Opinion concerning them.

He writ alſo to *Hooper* upon the ſame Argument. He wiſhed the Garments were removed by Law; but argued fully for the uſe of them till then: he lamented the great corruptions that were among the Clergy, and wiſhed that all good Men would unite their ſtrength againſt theſe; and then leſſer abuſes would be more eaſily redreſſed. He alſo anſwered

1550. *Hoopers* Objections on the Principles formerly laid down. *Peter Martyr* was alſo writ to; and, as he writ to *Bucer*, he was fully of his mind, and approved of all he had writ about it. And he added theſe words, which I ſhall ſet down in his own terms, copied from the Original Letter: *Quæ de* Hopero *ad me ſcribis, non potuerunt non videri mira; Certè illis auditis obſtupui. Sed bene habet, quod Epiſcopi Literas meas viderunt; unde invidia ego quidem ſum liberatus. Ecce illius cauſa ſic jacet, ut melioribus & pijs nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, idq; mihi graviſſimè, talia inter Evangelij profeſſores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi ſit interdicta concio, non videtur poſſe quieſcere: ſuæ fidei confeſſionem edidit, qua rurſus multorum animos exacerbavit: deinde queritur de Conſiliarijs, & fortaſſe, quod mihi non refert, de nobis: Deus fœlicem Cataſtrophen non lætis actibus imponat.* In *Engliſh:* What you wrote to me about *Hooper* could not but ſeem wonderful to me: when I heard it I was ſtruck with it. It was well that the Biſhops ſaw my Letters, by which I am freed from their diſpleaſure. His buſineſs is now at that paſs, that the beſt and moſt pious diſprove of it. I am grieved, and ſadly grieved, that ſuch things ſhould fall out among the Profeſſors of the Goſpel. All this while in which he is ſuſpended from preaching, he cannot be at reſt: he has ſet out a profeſſion of his Faith, by which he has provoked many: he complains of the Privy-Councellors, and perhaps of us too, of which he ſays nothing to me. God give an happy iſſue to theſe uncomfortable beginnings. This I ſet down more fully, that it may appear how far either of theſe Divines were from cheriſhing ſuch ſtiffneſs in *Hooper*. He had been Chaplain to the Duke of *Somerſet*, as appear'd by his defence of himſelf in *Bonners* Proceſs; yet he obtained ſo much favour of the Earl of *Warwick*, that he writ earneſtly in his behalf to the Arch-biſhop to diſpence with the uſe of the Garments, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience at his Conſecration. *Cranmer* wrote back, That he could not do it without incurring a *Præmunire:* So the King was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it, without any danger which the Law could bring on him for ſuch an omiſſion. But though this was was done on the 4*th* of *Auguſt*, yet he was not conſecrated till *March* next year; and in the mean while it appears by *Peter Martyrs* Letters, that he was ſuſpended from Preaching.

And P. *Martyrs.*

A Congregation of *Germans* in *London.*

This Summer *John a Laſco*, with a Congregation of *Germans* that fled from their Country upon the perſecution raiſed there, for not receiving the *Interim*, was allowed to hold his Aſſembly at St. *Auſtins* in *London.* The Congregation was erected into a Corporation. *John a Laſco* was to be Superintendent, and there were four other Miniſters aſſociated with him. For the curioſity of the thing, I have put the Patents in the *Collection.* There were alſo 380 of the Congregation made Denizens of *England*, as appears by the Records of their Patents. But *a Laſco* did not carry himſelf with that decency that became a Stranger who was ſo kindly received: for he wrote againſt the Orders of this Church, both in the matter of the Habits, and about the Poſture in the Sacrament, being for ſitting rather than kneeling.

Collection Number 51.

Polidore Virgil leaves *England.*

This Year *Polidore Virgil*, who had been now almoſt forty years in *England*, growing old, deſired leave to go nearer the Sun. It was granted him on the ſecond of *June:* and in conſideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his Hiſtory, he was

Rot. Pat. 4 *Ed.* 6. 2. *Part.*

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1550.

permitted to hold his Archdeaconry of *Wells*, and his Prebend of *Nonnington*, notwithſtanding his abſence out of the Kingdom. On the *26th* of *June Poinet* was declared Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Coverdale* was made Coadjutor to *Veyſy* Biſhop of *Exeter*.

A Review of the Common-Prayer-Book.

About the end of this Year, or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-Prayer-Book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in ſome of the Biſhops, who by ſuch yielding might be prevailed on to concurre in it; or in compliance with the People, who were fond of their old Superſtitions. So now a review of it was ſet about. *Martin Bucer* was conſulted in it; and *Aleſſe*, the *Scotch* Divine mentioned in the former part, tranſlated it into *Latin* for his uſe. Upon which *Bucer* writ his Opinion, which he finiſhed, the fifth of *January* in the Year following. The Subſtance of it was, That he found all things in the Common-Service and daily Prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures. He adviſed, that in Cathedrals the Quire might not be too far ſeparated from the Congregation, ſince in ſome Places the People could not hear them read Prayers. He wiſhed there were a ſtrict diſcipline to exclude ſcandalous Livers from the Sacrament. He wiſhed the old Habits might be laid aſide, ſince ſome uſed them ſuperſtitiouſly, and others contended much about them. He did not like the half Office of Communion or Second-Service to be ſaid at the Altar, when there was no Sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the People to receive at leaſt once a year, and would have them preſs'd to it much more frequently. He diſliked that the Prieſts generally read Prayers with no devotion, and in ſuch a Voice that the People underſtood not what they ſaid. He would have the Sacrament delivered into the Hands, and not put into the Mouths of the People. He cenſured praying for the dead, of which no mention is made in the Scripture, nor by *Juſtin Martyr* an Age after. He thought that the Prayer, that the Elements might be to us the Body and Blood of Chriſt, favoured Tranſubſtantiation too much: a ſmall variation might bring it nearer to a Scripture Form. He complained that Baptiſm was generally in Houſes, which being the receiving Infants into the Church, ought to be done more publickly. The Hallowing of the Water, the Chriſme, and the White Garment he cenſured, as being too Scenical: He excepted to the exorciſing the Devil, and would have it turned to a Prayer to God: that authoritative way of ſaying *I adjure* not being ſo decent. He thought the God-fathers anſwering in the Childs Name, not ſo well as to anſwer in their own, that they ſhould take care in theſe things, all they could. He would not have Confirmation given upon a bare recital of the Catechiſme; but would have it delayed till the Perſons did really deſire to renew the Baptiſmal Vow. He would have Catechiſing every Holy-day, and not every ſixth *Sunday*: and that People ſhould be ſtill Catechized, after they were Confirmed, to preſerve them from ignorance. He would have all Marriages to be made in the full Congregation. He would have the giving Unction to the Sick, and praying for the Dead, to be quite laid aſide; as alſo the offering the Chriſomes at the Churching of Women. He adviſed, that the Communion ſhould be celebrated four times a year. He ſadly lamented the want of faithful Teachers; and intreated the Arch-biſhop to ſee to the mending of this, and to think on ſome ſtricter ways of examining thoſe who were to be ordained, than

Bucers Advice concerning it.

1550. barely the putting of ſome Queſtions to them. All this I have gathered out the more largely, that it may appear how carefully things were then conſidered ; and that almoſt in every particular, the moſt material things which *Bucer* excepted to, were corrected afterwards.

But at the ſame time, the King having taken ſuch care of him, that hearing he had ſuffered in his health laſt Winter by the want of a Stove, ſuch as is uſed in *Germany*, he had ſent him 20 *l.* to have one made for him ; he was told that the King would expect a New-years-gift from him, of a Book made for his own uſe. So upon that occaſion he writ a Book entituled, *Concerning the Kingdom of Christ.* He ſets out in it the miſeries of *Germany*, which he ſays were brought on them by their ſins ; for they would bear no diſcipline ; nor were the Miniſters ſo earneſt in it, as was fitting: though in *Hungary* it was otherwiſe. He writes largely of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline ; which was intended chiefly for ſeparating ill Men from the Sacrament ; and to make good Men avoid their company, whereby they might be aſhamed. He preſſes much the Sanctification of the Lords-day, and of the other Holy-days, and that there might be many days of Faſting: but he thought *Lent* had been ſo abuſed, that other times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of Pluralities, and Non-reſidence, as a remainder of Popery ; ſo hurtful to the Church, that in many Places there were but one or two, or few more Sermons in a whole year: But he thought that much was not to be expected from the greateſt part of the Clergy, unleſs the King would ſet himſelf vigorouſly to Reform theſe things. Laſtly, he would have a compleat expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church digeſted, and ſet out: and he propoſed divers Laws to the Kings conſideration ; as,

Bucer writ a Book for the Kings uſe.

1. For Catechiſing Children.

2. For Sanctifying Holy-days.

3. For Preſerving Churches for Gods Service, not to be made Places for walking, or for Commerce.

4. To have the Paſtoral Function entirely reſtored to what it ought to be, that Biſhops throwing off all Secular cares, ſhould give themſelves to their Spiritual Employments: he adviſes that Coadjutors might be given to ſome, and a Council of Presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the Laws againſt their minds, theſe he would have deprived. He adviſes Rural Biſhops to be ſet over twenty or thirty Pariſhes, who ſhould gather their Clergy often together, and inſpect them cloſely: And that a Provincial Synod ſhould meet twice a year, where a Secular Man in the Kings Name ſhould be appointed to obſerve their Proceedings.

5. For reſtoring Church-Lands, that all who ſerved the Church might be well provided: If any lived in luxury, upon their high Revenues, it was reaſonable to make them uſe them better ; but not to blame or rob the Church for their fault.

6. For the maintenance of the Poor, for whom anciently a fourth part of the Churches Goods was aſſigned.

The 7*th* was about Marriage. That the prohibited degrees might be well ſetled ; Marriage without conſent of Parents annulled ; and that a ſecond Marriage might be lawful after a Divorce, which he thought might be made for Adultery and ſome other reaſons.

8. For

1550.

8. For the Education of Youth.

9. For reſtraining the exceſs of ſome Peoples living.

10. For reforming and explaining the Laws of the Land which his Father had begun.

11. To place good Magiſtrates; that no Office ſhould be ſold, and that Inferior Magiſtrates ſhould often give an account to the Superior, of the Adminiſtration of their Offices.

12. To conſider well who were made Judges.

13. To give order that none ſhould be put in Priſon upon ſlight offences.

The 14*th* was for moderating of ſome puniſhments; chiefly, the putting Thieves to death, which was too ſevere, whereas Adultery was too ſlightly paſſed over: though Adultery be a greater wrong to the ſuffering Party, than any Theft, and ſo was puniſhed with death by *Moſes* Law.

The King thinks of Reforming many abuſes.

Coll. K. *Edw.* Remains, Number 2.

This Book was ſent to the young King. And he having received it, ſet himſelf to write a general Diſcourſe about a Reformation of the Nation, which is the ſecond among the Diſcourſes written by him, that follow the Journal of his Reign. In it he takes notice of the Corrections of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under conſideration; as alſo that it was neceſſary there ſhould be a Rule of Church-diſcipline, for the cenſures of ill Livers; but he thought that Power was not to be put into the Hands of all the Biſhops at that time. From thence he goes on to diſcourſe of the ill ſtate of the Nation, and of the remedies that ſeemed proper for it. The firſt he propoſes was the Education of Youth, next the correction of ſome Laws, and there either broke it off, or the reſt of it is loſt. In which, as there is a great diſcovery of a marvellous probity of mind, ſo there are ſtrange hints, to come from one not yet fourteen years of Age. And yet it is all written with his own Hand, and in ſuch a manner, that any who ſhall look on the Original, will clearly ſee it was his own Work: The Stile is ſimple, and ſutable to a Child: few Men can make ſuch Compoſures, but ſomewhat above a Child will appear in their Stile, which makes me conclude it was all a device of his own.

He writes a Journal of all Proceedings during his Reign.

This Year the King began to write his Journal himſelf. The firſt three years of his Reign are ſet down in a ſhort way of recapitulating matters. But this Year he ſet down what was done every day, that was of any moment, together with the Forreign News that were ſent over. And oftentimes he called to mind Paſſages ſome days after they were done; and ſometime after the middle of a Month he tells what was done in the beginning of it. Which ſhews clearly it was his own Work; for if it had been drawn for him by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his memory, it would have been more exact; ſo that there remains no doubt with me but that it was his own originally. And therefore ſince all who have writ of that time have drawn their Informations from that Journal; and though they have printed ſome of the Letters he wrote, when a Child, which are indeed the meaneſt things that ever fell from him; yet, except one little fragment, nothing of it has been yet publiſhed; I have copied it out entirely, and ſet it before my Collection. I have added to it ſome other Papers that were alſo writ by him. The firſt of theſe is in *French*: It is a Collection of many Paſſages

Coll. K. *Edw.* Remains, Number 1.

out

1550.

out of the Old Teſtament againſt Idolatry, and the worſhiping of Images, which he dedicated to his Unkle, being then Protector: the Original under his own hand lies in *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, from whence I copied the Preface and the Concluſion, which are printed in the Collection after his Journal.

Ridley viſits his Dioceſs.

There was nothing elſe done of moment this Year, in relation to the Church, ſave the Viſitation made of the Dioceſs of *London* by *Ridley* their new Biſhop. But the exact time of it is not ſet down in the Regiſter. It was according to King *Edwards* Journal ſome time before the 26*th* of *June*: for he writes, that on that day Sir *Jo. Yates* the high Sheriff of *Eſſex* was ſent down with Letters to ſee the Biſhop of *Londons* Injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of Superaltaries, Altars, and ſuch like Ceremonies and Abuſes: ſo that the Viſitation muſt have been about the beginning of *June*. The Articles of it are in Biſhop *Sparrows* Collection. They are concerning the Doctrines and Lives, and Labours, and Charities, of the Clergy; *viz.* Whether they ſpake in favour of the Biſhop of *Rome*, or againſt the uſe of the Scripture, or againſt the Book of Common-Prayer? Whether they ſtirred up Sedition, or ſold the Communion or Trentals, or uſed private Maſſes any where? Whether any Anabaptiſts or others uſed private Conventicles, with different Opinions and Forms from theſe eſtabliſhed? Whether there were any that ſaid the wickedneſs of the Miniſter took away the effect of the Sacraments, or denied Repentance to ſuch as ſinned after Baptiſm? Other Queſtions were about Baptiſms, and Marriages. Whether the Curates did viſit the Sick, and bury the Dead, and expound the Catechiſme, at leaſt ſome part of it, once in ſix weeks? Whether any obſerved abrogated Holy-days, or the Rites that were now put down?

Collection Number 52.

To theſe he added ſome Injunctions which are in the *Collection*.* Moſt of them relate to the old Superſtitions, which ſome of the Prieſts were ſtill inclinable to practiſe, and for which they had been gently, if at all, reproved by *Bonner*. Such were, waſhing their Hands at the Altar, holding up the Bread, licking the Chalice, bleſſing their Eyes with the Patten or Sudary, and many other Relicks of the Maſs. The Miniſters were alſo required to charge the People oft to give Alms, and to come oft to the Communion, and to carry themſelves reverently at Church. But that which was moſt new, was, that there having been great Conteſts about the Form of the Lords Board, whether it ſhould be made as an Altar, or as a Table; Therefore, ſince the Form of a Table was more like to turn the People from the Superſtition of the Popiſh Maſs, and to the right uſe of the Lords Supper, he exhorted the Curates and Churchwardens to have it in the faſhion of a Table, decently covered: and to place it in ſuch part of the Quire or Chancel as ſhould be moſt meet, ſo that the Miniſters and Communicants ſhould be ſeparated from the reſt of the People: and that they ſhould put down all By-Altars.

He orders all Altars to be turned to Tables for the Communion.

There are many Paſſages among Ancient Writers, that ſhew their Communion-Tables were of Wood; and that they were ſo made as Tables, that thoſe who fled into Churches for Sanctuary, did hide themſelves under them. The Name *Altar* came to be given to theſe generally, becauſe they accounted the Euchariſt a Sacrifice of Praiſe, as alſo a Commemorative Sacrifice of the Oblation which Chriſt made of himſelf

1550.

on the Croſs. From hence it was, that the Communion-Table was called alſo an *Altar*. But now it came to be conſidered, whether, as theſe terms had been on good reaſon brought in to the Church, when there was no thought of the corruptions that followed; ſo if it was not fit, ſince they did ſtill ſupport the belief of an expiatory Sacrifice in the Maſs, and the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation, and were always but Figurative Forms of Speech, to change them: and to do that more effectually, to change the Form and Place of them. Some have fondly thought, that *Ridley* gave this Injunction after the Letter which the Council writ to him, in the end of *November* following. But as there was no fit time to begin a Viſitation after that time this year, ſo the Stile of the Injunctions ſhews they were given before the Letter. The Injunction only *exhorts* the Curates to do it, which *Ridley* could not have done in ſuch ſoft words, after the Council had *required and commanded* him to do it: So it appears, that the Injunctions were given only by his Epiſcopal Power. And that afterwards the ſame matter being brought before the Council, who were inform'd, that in many Places there had been Conteſts about it, ſome being for keeping to their old Cuſtom, and others being ſet on a change, the Council thought fit to ſend their Letter concerning it to *Ridley* in the beginning of *November* following. The Letter ſets out, that Altars were taken away in divers Places, upon good and godly conſiderations, but ſtill continued in other Places; by which there roſe much contention among the Kings Subjects; therefore, for avoiding that, they did charge and command him to give ſubſtantial order through all his Dioceſs for removing all Altars, and ſetting up Tables every where for the Communion to be adminiſtred in ſome convenient part of the Chancel: And that theſe Orders might be the better received, there were Reaſons ſent with the Letters, which he was to cauſe diſcreet Preachers to declare, in ſuch Places as he thought fit, and that himſelf ſhould ſet them out in his own Cathedral, if conveniently he could,

The Reaſons were, to remove the People from the ſuperſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs: and becauſe *a Table* was a more proper Name than *an Altar*, for that on which the Sacrament was laid. And whereas in the Book of Common-Prayer theſe terms are promiſcuouſly uſed, it is done without preſcribing any thing about the Form of them, ſo that the changing the one into the other did not alter any part of the Liturgy. It was obſerved, that Altars were erected for the Sacrifices under the Law, which ceaſing they were alſo to ceaſe: and that Chriſt had inſtituted the Sacrament not at an Altar, but at a Table. And it had been ordered by the Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer, that if any doubt aroſe about any part of it, the determining of it ſhould be referred to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs. Upon theſe Reaſons therefore was this change ordered to be made all over *England*, which was univerſally executed this year.

Sermons on working days forbidden.

There began this year a Practice which might ſeem in it ſelf not only innocent, but good, of preaching Sermons and Lectures on the week days, to which there was great running from neighbouring Pariſhes. This as it begat emulation in the Clergy, ſo it was made uſe of as a Pretence for many to leave their labour, and gad idly about. Upon complaint therefore made of it, *Ridley* had a Letter ſent to him from the

1550. Council, againſt all preaching on working-days, on which there ſhould only be Prayers. How this was ſubmitted to then, is not clear. But it cannot be denied, that there have been ſince that time exceſſes on all hands in this matter: while ſome have, with great ſincerity and devotion, kept up theſe in Market-Towns; but others have carried them on with too much faction, and a deſign to detract from ſuch as were not ſo eminent in their way of preaching. Upon theſe abuſes, while ſome Rulers have ſtudied to put all ſuch Performances down, rather than to correct the abuſes in them, great contradiction has followed on it; and the People have been poſſeſſed with unjuſt prejudices againſt them, as hinderers of the Word of God; and that oppoſition has kept up the zeal for theſe Lectures. Which nevertheleſs, ſince they have been more freely preach'd, have of late years produced none of the ill effects that did follow them formerly when they were endeavoured to be ſuppreſſed.

And thus I end the Tranſactions about Religion this Year. The reſt of the Affairs at home were chiefly for the regulating of many abuſes, that had grown up and been nouriſh'd by a long continuance of War. All the Forreign Soldiers were diſmiſſed. And though the Duke of *Lunenburg* had offered the King 10000 Men to his aſſiſtance, and deſired to enter into a Treaty of Marriage for the Lady *Mary*: they only thanked him for the offer of his Soldiers, of which they, being now at peace with all their Neighbours, had no need; and ſince the Propoſition for marrying the Lady *Mary* to the Infant of *Portugal* was yet in dependance, they could not treat in that kind with any other Prince till that Overture was ſome way ended. There were endeavours alſo for encouraging Trade, and reforming the Coin. And at the Court things began to put on a new Viſage: for there was no more any faction; the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, being now joyned into a near alliance; the Earls eldeſt Son, the Lord *Liſle*, marrying the Dukes Daughter; ſo that there was a good proſpect of happy times.

The Affairs of *Scotland*. In *Scotland*, the Peace being proclaimed, the Government was now more entirely in the Hands of the Duke of *Caſtelherault*, who gave himſelf up wholly to the Counſels of his baſe Brother, who was Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*. And he was ſo abandoned to his pleaſures, that there was nothing ſo bad that he was aſhamed of. He kept another Mans Wife openly for his Concubine. There were alſo many exceſſes in the Government. Which things, as they alienated all Peoples minds from the Clergy, ſo they diſpoſed them to receive the new Doctrines, which many Teachers were bringing from *England*, and prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards. The Queen Mother went over into *France* in *September*, pretending it was to ſee her Daughter, and the reſt of her Kindred there: where ſhe laid down the Method for the wreſting of the Government of *Scotland* out of the Governours Hands, and taking it into her own.

And of *Germany*. The Emperor appointed a Diet of the Empire to meet in the end of *July*, and required all to appear perſonally at it, except ſuch as were hindered by ſickneſs, of which they were to make Faith upon Oath. And at the ſame time he proſcribed the Town of *Magdeburg*. But the Magiſtrates of that Town ſet out a large *Manifeſto* for their own vindication, as they had done the former Year. They ſaid, they were ready

“ to give him all the obedience, that they were bound to by the Laws of 1550.
“ the Empire: they were very apprehenſive of the miſchiefs of a Civil
“ War: they were not ſo blind as to think they were able to reſiſt the Em-
“ perors great Armies, lifted up with ſo many Victories, if they truſted
“ only to their own ſtrength: they had hitherto done no act of hoſtility
“ to any, but what they were forced to for their own defence. It was
“ viſible, the true ground of the War of *Germany* was Religion, to ex-
“ tinguiſh the Light of the Goſpel, and to ſubdue them again to the Pa-
“ pal Tyranny. For the Artifices that were formerly uſed to diſguiſe it did
“ now appear too manifeſtly; ſo that it was not any more denied. But it
“ would be too late to ſee it, when *Germany* was quite oppreſſed. In Civil
“ Matters, they ſaid, they would yield to the miſeries of the time. But
“ St. *Peter* had taught them that it was better to obey God than Man: and
“ therefore they were reſolved to put all things to hazard, rather than to
“ make Shipwrack of Faith and a good Conſcience. There were Tumults raiſed in *Strasburg*, and divers other Towns, againſt thoſe who ſet up the Maſs among them; and generally all *Germany* was diſpoſed to a Revolt, if they had had but a Head to lead them.

The Emperor had alſo ſet out a very ſevere Edict in *Flanders*, when he left it; againſt all that favoured the new Doctrines, as they were called. But the execution of this was ſtopt at the interceſſion of the Town of *Antwerp*, when they perceived the *Engliſh* were reſolved to remove from thence, and carry their Trade to ſome other Place. When the Diet was opened, the Emperor preſſed them to ſubmit to the Council which the new Pope had removed back to *Trent*. *Maurice* of *Saxe* anſwered, he could not ſubmit to it, unleſs all that had been done formerly in it ſhould be reviewed, and the Divines of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion were both heard and admitted to a Suffrage, and the Pope ſhould ſubject himſelf to their Decrees, and diſpence with the Oath which the Biſhops had ſworn to him. On theſe terms he would ſubmit to it, and not otherwiſe. This was refuſed to be entred into the Regiſters of the Diet by the Elector of *Mentz*; but there was no haſt, for the Council was not to ſit till the next year. The Emperor complained much, that the *Interim* was not generally received: to which it was anſwered by the Princes, that it was neceſſary to give the People time to overcome their former prejudices. All ſeemed to comply with him. And *Maurice* did ſo inſinuate himſelf into him, that the Siege of *Magdeburg* being now formed, and a great many Princes having gathered Forces againſt it, among whom the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Duke of *Meklebury* were the moſt forward; yet he got himſelf declared by the Diet General of the Empire, for the reduction of that Place, and he had 100000 Crowns for undertaking it, and 60000 Crowns a Month were appointed for the expence of the War. He ſaw well, that if *Magdeburg* were cloſely preſs'd, it would ſoon be taken, and then all *Germany* would be brought to the Emperors devotion: and ſo the War would end in a ſlavery. But he hoped ſo to manage this ſmall remainder of the War, as to draw great effects from it. This was a fatal ſtep to the Emperor, thus to truſt a Prince who was of a different Religion, and had a deep reſentment of the injury he had done him, in detaining his Father-in-law the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* Priſoner, againſt the Faith he had given him. But the Emperor reckoned, that as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe* in

1550.

his Hands, *Maurice* durſt not depart from his Intereſts; ſince it ſeemed an eaſie thing for him to repoſſeſs the other of his Dominions and Dignity. Thus was the crafty Emperor deluded, and now put that, upon which the compleating of his great deſigns depended, into the Hands of one that proved too hard for him at that in which he was ſuch a Maſter, *Cunning and Diſſimulation.*

1551.

The Compliance of the Popiſh Clergy.

Collection Number 53.

In theſe Conſultations did this Year end. In the beginning of the next Year, there was a great complaint brought againſt Dr. *Oglethorp*, afterwards Biſhop of *Carliſle* under Queen *Mary*, and now Preſident of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford:* But he, to ſecure himſelf from that part of the Complaint that related to Religion, being accuſed as one that was againſt the new Book of Service, and the Kings other Proceedings, Signed a Paper, (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he declared, “That he had never taught any thing openly againſt thoſe, but that “he thought them good, if well uſed: and that he thought the order of “Religion now ſet forth to be better and much nearer the uſe of the “Apoſtolical and Primitive Church than that which was formerly: and that in “particular, he did approve of the Communion in both kinds, the “Peoples communicating always with the Prieſt, the Service in *Engliſh*, and “the Homilies that had been ſet forth: and that he did reject the lately “received Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, as being not agreeable to the “Scriptures, or to Ancient Writers: but he thought there was an “inconceivable Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and that therefore “it ſhould be received not without great examination before-hand. So compliant was he now, though he became of another mind in Queen *Maries* time; yet then he was more moderate, than the greateſt part of thoſe who did now comply moſt ſervily. In particular, Dr. *Smith* had written a Book for the Cælibate of Prieſts, and had oppoſed all the Changes that had been made: He was brought to *London* upon the Complaints that were ſent up againſt him from *Oxford*, but after a whiles impriſonment, he was ſet at liberty, giving Surety for his good behaviour: and carried himſelf ſo obediently after it, that *Cranmer* got his Sureties to be diſcharged, upon which he writ him a Letter as full of acknowledgment as was poſſible: which is in the *Collection.* “He proteſted he ſhould “retain the ſenſe of it as long as he lived: he wiſhed that he had never “written his Book of the Cælibate of Prieſts, which had been printed “againſt his Will: he found he was miſtaken in that which was the “foundation of it all, that the Prieſts of *England* had taken a Vow “againſt Marriage: he deſired to ſee ſome of the Collections *Cranmer* had “made againſt it. (It ſeems *Cranmer* was enquiring after a *MS.* of *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, for he tells him, “They were in *Magdalen* Colledge “Library:) he acknowledged the Arch-biſhops great gentleneſs toward all “thoſe who had been complained of for Religion in that Univerſity: “and proteſted, that for his own part, if ever he could ſerve his baſeſt “Servant, he would do it; wiſhing that he might periſh if he thought “otherwiſe than he ſaid: and wiſhed him long Life for the propagation “and advancement of the Chriſtian Doctrine. Soon after he writ another Letter to *Cranmer*, in which he cited ſome Paſſages out of *Auſtin* concerning his Retractations; and profeſſes he would not be aſhamed to make the like, and to ſet forth Chriſts true Religion; and called, in St.

Collection Number 54.

Pauls words, *God to be a Witneſs againſt his Soul if he lied.* He had alſo in the beginning of this Reign made a Recantation Sermon of ſome Opinions he had held concerning the Maſs, but what theſe were, King *Edwards* Journal (from whence I gather it) does not inform us. *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* did alſo now ſo far comply, as to preach a Sermon at Court againſt Tranſubſtantiation, though he had refuſed to ſet his Hand to the Book of Common-Prayer, before it was enacted by Law. For the Principle that generally run among the Popiſh Party, was, that though they would not conſent to the making of ſuch Alterations in Religion, yet being made, they would give obedience to them, which *Gardiner* plainly profeſſed: and it appeared in the practice of all the reſt. This was certainly a groſs ſort of compliance, in thoſe who retained the old Opinions, and yet did now declare againſt them; and in the Worſhip they offered up to God, acted contrary to them; which was the higheſt degree of prevarication both with God and Man that was poſſible. But *Cranmer* was always gentle and moderate. He left their private Conſciences to God: but thought, that if they gave an external obedience, the People would be brought to receive the Changes more eaſily; whereas the proceeding ſeverely againſt them might have raiſed more oppoſition. He was alſo naturally a Man of Bowels and Compaſſion, and did not love to drive things to extremities: he conſidered that Men who had grown old in ſome errors could not eaſily lay them down, and ſo were by degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the Proceedings againſt *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But *Gardiner* he knew to be ſo inveterate a Papiſt, and ſo deep a Diſſembler, that he was for throwing him out, not ſo much for the Particulars objected to him, as upon the ill Character he had of him. *Bonner* had alſo deceived him ſo formerly, and had been ſo cruel a Perſecutor upon the Statute of the Six Articles, and was become ſo brutal and luxurious, that he judged it neceſſary to purge the Church of him. And the Sees of *London*, and *Wincheſter*, were of ſuch conſequence, that he was induced, for having theſe well ſupplied, to ſtretch a little in theſe Proceedings againſt thoſe diſſembling Biſhops.

Bucers Death.

In the end of *February* he loſt his friend *Martin Bucer*, on whoſe aſſiſtance he had depended much, in what remained yet to be done. *Bucer* died of the Stone, and Griping of the Guts, on the 28*th* of *February.* He lay ill almoſt all that Month, and expreſſed great deſire to die. *Bradford*, who will be mentioned in the next Book with much Honour, waited moſt on him in his ſickneſs. He lamented much the deſolate State of *Germany*, and expreſſed his apprehenſions of ſome ſuch ſtroke coming upon *England*, by reaſon of the great diſſoluteneſs of the Peoples Manners, of the want of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the general neglect of the Paſtoral Charge. He was very patient in all his pain, which grew violent on him; he lay oft ſilent, only after long intervals cried out ſometimes, *Chaſtiſe me Lord, but throw me not off in mine old Age.* He was by order from *Cranmer*, and Sir *John Cheek*, buried with the higheſt Solemnities that could be deviſed, to expreſs the value the Univerſity had for him. The Vice-Chancellor, and all the Graduates, and the Major, with all the Town, accompanied his Funeral to St. *Maries*; where, after Prayers, *Haddon* the Univerſity Orator made ſuch a Speech concerning him, and pronounced it with that affe-

1551.

ction, that almoſt the whole Aſſembly ſhed Tears. Next Dr. *Parker*, that had been his moſt intimate Friend, made an *Engliſh* Sermon, in his praiſe, and concerning the ſorrowing for our departed Friends. And the day following Dr. *Redmayn*, then Mr. of *Trinity* Colledge, made another Sermon concerning Death: and in it gave a full account of *Bucers* Life and Death. He particularly commended the great ſweetneſs of his temper, to all, but remarkably to thoſe who differed from him. *Redmayn* and he had differed in many things, both concerning Juſtification, and the Influences of the Divine Grace. But he ſaid, as *Bucer* had ſatisfied him in ſome things, ſo he believed if he had lived he had ſatisfied him in more; and that he being dead, he knew none alive from whom he could learn ſo much. This Character given him by ſo grave and learned a Man, who was in many Points of a different perſwaſion from him, was a great commendation to them both. And *Redmayn* was indeed an extraordinary Perſon. All in the Univerſity, that were eminent either in *Greek* or *Latin* Poetry, did adorn his Coffin with Epitaphs: in which they expreſſed a very extraordinary ſenſe of their loſs: about which one *Carr* writ a copious and paſſionate Letter to Sir *John Cheek*. But *Peter Martyr* bore his death with the moſt ſenſible ſorrow that could be imagined; having in him loſt a *Father*, and the only intimate Friend he had in *England*.

His Character.

He was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate Perſon. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the Reformers for Learning: but for Zeal, for true Piety, and a moſt tender care of preſerving Unity among the Forreign Churches, *Melancthon* and he, without any injury done the reſt, may be ranked a-part by themſelves. He was much oppoſed by the Popiſh Party at *Cambridge*; who, though they complied with the Law, and ſo kept their Places, yet either in the way of Argument, as it had been for diſputes ſake, or in ſuch Points as were not determined, ſet themſelves much to leſſen his eſteem. Nor was he furniſhed naturally with the quickneſs that is neceſſary for a Diſpute, from which they ſtudied to draw advantages: and therefore *Peter Martyr* writ to him to avoid all publick Diſputes with them. For they did not deal candidly on theſe occaſions. They often kept up their Queſtions till the hour of the Diſpute, that ſo the extemporary faculty of him who was to preſide might be the more expoſed; and right or wrong they uſed to make Exclamations, and run away with a Triumph: In one of his Letters to *Bucer*, he particularly mentions Dr. *Smith* for an Inſtance of this. It was that *Smith* he ſaid who writ againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, and yet was believed to live in Adultery with his Mans Wife. This Letter was occaſioned by the Diſputes that were in *Auguſt* the former Year, between *Bucer* and *Sedgwick*, *Young* and *Pern*, about the Authority of the Scripture, and the Church. Which Diſputes *Bucer* intending to publiſh, cauſed them to be writ out, and ſent the Copy to them to be corrected, offering them, that if any thing was omitted that they had ſaid, or if they had any thing elſe to ſay which was forgot in the Diſpute, they might add it: but they ſent back the Papers to him without vouchſafing to read them. At *Ratisbone* he had a Conference with *Gardiner*, who was then King *Henry*'s Ambaſſador: in which *Gardiner* broke out into ſuch a violent paſſion, that as he ſpared no reproachful words, ſo the Company thought he would have fall'n on *Bucer* and beat him: he was in ſuch diſorder, that the little Vein between his Thumb and Fore-finger did ſwell and palpitate, which *Bucer* ſaid he had never before that obſerved in any Perſon in his life. 1551.

Gardiner is deprived.

But as *Bucer* was taken away by death, ſo *Gardiner* was ſoon after put out, which was a kind of death; though he had afterwards a Reſurrection fatal to very many. There was a Commiſſion iſſued out, to the Arch-biſhop, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, Secretary *Petre*, Judge *Hales*, *Griffith*, and *Leyſon*, two Civilians, and *Goodrick*, and *Goſnold*, two Maſters of *Chancery*, to proceed againſt *Gardiner* for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a Compurgation, by which he endeavoured to ſhew there was malice born to him, and Conſpiracies againſt him, as appeared by the Buſineſs of Sir *Hen. Knevet*, mentioned in the former Part, and the leaving him out of the late Kings Will, which he ſaid was procured by his Enemies. He complained of his long Impriſonment without any Trial, and that Articles of one ſort after another were brought to him: ſo that it was plain he was not detained for any Crime, but to try if ſuch uſage could force him to do any thing, that ſhould be impoſed on him. He declared, that what Order ſoever were ſet out by the Kings Council, he ſhould never ſpeak againſt it, but to the Council themſelves: and that though he could not give conſent to the Changes before they were made, he was now well ſatisfied to obey them; but he would never make any acknowledgment of any fault. The things chiefly laid againſt him, were, that being required, he refuſed, to preach concerning the Kings Power when he was under Age; and that he had affronted Preachers ſent by the King into his Dioceſs; and had been negligent in obeying the Kings Injunctions; and continued, after all, ſo obſtinate, that he would not confeſs his fault, nor ask the King mercy. His Crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely aſſerting the Kings Power under Age, might have been a great mean for preventing the Rebellion and Effuſion of Blood; which had afterwards happened, chiefly on that pretence, to which his obſtinacy had given no ſmall occaſion. Upon this, many Witneſſes were examined; chiefly the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earls of *Wilt-ſhire*, and *Bedford*, who depoſed againſt him. But to this he anſwered, That he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private Diſcourſe, to which he did not think himſelf bound to give obedience. Other Witneſſes were alſo examined on the other Particulars. But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in Perſon. Yet his Judges, on the 18*th* of *April*, gave ſentence againſt him; by which, for his diſobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his Biſhoprick. Upon that he renewed his Proteſtation and Appeal: and ſo his Proceſs ended, and he was ſent back to the *Tower*, where he lay till Queen *Mary* diſcharged him.

The ſame Cenſures, with the ſame Juſtifications, belong both to this, and *Bonners* Buſineſs: ſo I ſhall repeat nothing that was formerly ſaid. He had taken a Commiſſion, as well as *Bonner*, to hold his Biſhoprick only during the Kings Pleaſure; ſo they both had the leſs reaſon to complain which way ſoever the Royal Pleaſure was ſignified to them. Eight days after, on the 26*th* of *April*, *Poinet* was tranſlated from *Rocheſter* to *Wincheſter*; and had 2000 Marks a Year in Lands aſſigned him out of that wealthy Biſhoprick for his Subſiſtence. Dr. *Story* was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. *Veyſey* Biſhop of *Exeter* did alſo reſign, pretending extream

1551.

tream old Age; but he had reſerved 485 *l.* a year in Penſion for himſelf, during Life, out of the Lands of the Biſhoprick; and almoſt all the reſt he had baſely alienated, taking care only of himſelf, and ruining his Succeſſors. *Miles Coverdale* was made Biſhop of *Exeter*. So that now the Biſhopricks were generally filled with Men well affected to the Reformation. The buſineſs of *Hooper* was now alſo ſetled. He was to be attired in the Veſtments that were preſcribed, when he was conſecrated, and when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any publick Place; but he was diſpens'd with upon other occaſions. On theſe Conditions he was conſecrated in *March*: for the Writ for doing it bears date the 7*th* of that Month. So now the Biſhops being generally addicted to the purity of Religion, moſt of this Year was ſpent in preparing Articles, which ſhould contain the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

Hooper is conſecrated upon his Conformity.

Many thought they ſhould have begun firſt of all with thoſe. But *Cranmer* upon good Reaſons was of another mind, though much preſſed by *Bucer* about it. Till the Order of Biſhops was brought to ſuch a Model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that deſign go on ſlowly, than to ſet out a Profeſſion of their Belief, to which ſo great a part of the chief Pactors might be obſtinathly averſe. The corruptions that were moſt important were thoſe in the Worſhip, by which Men in their immediate Addreſſes to God, were neceſſarily involved in unlawful compliances, and theſe ſeemed to require a more ſpeedy Reformation. But for ſpeculative Points, there was not ſo preſſing a neceſſity to have them all explained, ſince in theſe, Men might, with leſs prejudice, be left to a freedom in their Opinions. It ſeemed alſo adviſable to open and ventilate matters in publick Diſputations and Books, written about them for ſome years, before they ſhould go too haſtily to determine them: leſt if they went too faſt in that Affair, it would not be ſo decent to make alterations afterwards; nor could the Clergy be of a ſudden brought to change their old Opinions. Therefore upon all theſe Conſiderations that Work was delayed till this Year; in which they ſet about it, and finiſhed it, before the Convocation met in the next *February*. In what Method they proceeded for the compiling of theſe Articles; whether they were given out to ſeveral Biſhops and Divines to deliver their Opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, it is not certain. I have found it often ſaid, that they were framed by *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*; which I think more probable; and that they were by them ſent about to others, to correct or add to them as they ſaw cauſe. They are in the *Collection* with the differences between theſe, and thoſe ſet out in Queen *Elizabeths* time, marked on the Margent.

Collection Number 55.

The Articles of Religion are prepared.

They began with the Aſſertion of the Bleſſed Trinity, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, and Chriſts deſcent into Hell; grounding this laſt on theſe Words of St. *Peter*, of his *Preaching to the Spirits that were in Priſon*. The next Article was about Chriſts Reſurrection: The fifth, about the Scriptures containing all things neceſſary to Salvation: ſo that nothing was to be held an Article of Faith that could not be proved from thence. The ſixth, That the Old Teſtament was to be kept ſtill.

The 7*th* for the receiving the three Creeds, the *Apoſtles*, the *Nicen*, 1551.
and *Athanaſius* Creed: in which they went according to the received Opinion, that *Athanaſius* was the Author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compiled till near three Ages after him.

The 8*th* makes Original Sin to be the corruption of the nature of all Men deſcending from *Adam*; by which they had fallen from Original Righteouſneſs, and were by nature given to evil: but they defined nothing about the derivation of guilt from *Adams* ſin.

The 9*th* for the neceſſity of prevailing Grace, without which we have no free Will to do things acceptable to God.

The 10*th* about Divine Grace, which changeth a Man, and yet puts no force on his Will.

The 11*th*, That Men are juſtified by Faith only; as was declared in the Homily.

The 12*th*, That Works done before Grace are not without ſin.

The 13*th*, Againſt all Works of Supererogation.

The 14*th*, That all Men, Chriſt only excepted, are guilty of ſin.

The 15*th*, That Men who have received Grace, may ſin afterwards, and riſe again by Repentance.

The 16*th*, That the blaſpheming againſt the Holy Ghoſt is, when Men out of malice and obſtinately rail againſt Gods Word, though they are convinced of it, yet perſecuting it: which is unpardonable.

The 17*th*, That Predeſtination is Gods free Election of thoſe, whom he afterwards juſtifies: which though it be matter of great comfort to ſuch as conſider it aright, yet it is a dangerous thing for curious and carnal Men to prie into: and it being a Secret, Men are to be governed by Gods revealed Will: they added not a word of Reprobation.

The 18*th*, That only the Name of Chriſt, and not the Law or Light of Nature, can ſave Men.

The 19*th*, That all Men are bound to keep the Moral Law.

The 20*th*, That the Church is a Congregation of Faithful Men, who have the Word of God Preached, and the Sacraments rightly Adminiſtr[illegible]: and that the Church of *Rome*, as well as other particular Churches, have erred in matters of Faith.

The 21*ſt*, That the Church is only the Witneſs and Keeper of the Word of God: but cannot appoint any thing contrary to it, nor declare any Articles of Faith without Warrant from it.

The 22*d*, That General Councils may not be gathered without the conſent of Princes: that they may erre and have erred in matters of Faith: and that their Decrees in matters of Salvation have ſtrength only as they are taken out of the Scriptures.

The 23*d*, That the Doctrines of Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhiping of Images, and Relicks, and Invocation of Saints, are without any Warrant, and contrary to the Scriptures.

The 24*th*, That none may Preach or Miniſter the Sacraments, without he be lawfully called by Men who have lawful Authority.

The 25*th*, That all things ſhould be ſpoken in the Church in a Vulgar Tongue.

The 26*th*, That there are two Sacraments, which are not bare Tokens of our Profeſſion, but effectual Signs of Gods good Will to us;

1551. which ſtrengthen our Faith, yet not by vertue only of the Work wrought, but in thoſe who receive them worthily.

The 27*th*, That the vertue of theſe does not depend on the Minſter of them.

The 28*th*, That by Baptiſm we are the adopted Sons of God; and that Infant Baptiſm is to be commended, and in any ways to be retained.

The 29*th*, That the Lords Supper is not a bare Token of love among Chriſtians; but is the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is contrary to Scripture, and hath given occaſion to much Superſtition: that a Body being only in one place, and Chriſts Body being in Heaven, therefore there cannot be a real and bodily Preſence of his Fleſh and Blood in it: and that this Sacrament is not to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worſhiped.

The 30*th*, That there is no other Propitiatory Sacrifice, but that which Chriſt offered on the Croſs.

The 31*ſt*, That the Clergy are not by Gods command obliged to abſtain from Marriage.

The 32*d*. That Perſons rightly excommunicated are to be looked on as Heathens, till they are by Penance reconciled, and received by a Judge competent.

The 33*d*, It is not neceſſary that Ceremonies ſhould be the ſame at all times: but ſuch as refuſe to obey lawful Ceremonies, ought to be openly reproved as offending againſt Law and Order, giving ſcandal to the weak.

The 34*th*, That the Homilies are godly and wholeſom, and ought to be read.

The 35*th*, That the Book of Common-Prayer is not repugnant, but agreeable to the Goſpel; and ought to be received by all.

The 36*th*, That the King is Supream Head under Chriſt: that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in *England*: that the Civil Magiſtrate is to be obeyed for Conſcience ſake: that Men may be put to death for great offences: and that it is lawful for Chriſtians to make War.

The 37*th*, That there is not to be a community of all Mens Goods: but yet every Man ought to give to the Poor according to his ability.

The 38*th*, That though raſh ſwearing is condemned: yet ſuch as are required by the Magiſtrate may take an Oath.

The 39*th*, That the Reſurrection is not already paſt, but at the laſt day Men ſhall riſe with the ſame Bodies they now have.

The 40*th*, That departed Souls do not die, nor ſleep with their Bodies, and continue without ſenſe, till the laſt day.

The 41*ſt*, That the Fable of the Millenaries, is contrary to Scripture, and a *Jewiſh* dotage.

The laſt condemned thoſe who believe that the damned, after ſome time of ſuffering, ſhall be ſaved.

Thus was the Doctrine of the Church, caſt into a ſhort and plain Form: in which they took care both to eſtabliſh the poſitive Articles of Religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of

Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptiſts and Enthuſiaſts of *Germany*: avoiding the niceties of School-men, or the peremptorineſs of the Writers of Controverſie: leaving in matters that are more juſtly controvertible, a liberty to Divines to follow their private Opinions, without thereby diſturbing the Peace of the Church. 1551.

There was in the Ancient Church a great ſimplicity in their Creeds, and the Expoſition of the Doctrine. But afterwards, upon the breaking out of the *Arrian*, and other Hereſies, concerning the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt; as the Orthodox Fathers were put to find out new Terms to drive the Hereticks out of the equivocal uſe of theſe formerly received; ſo they too ſoon grew to love niceties, and to explain Myſteries, with Similies, and other ſubtilties which they invented: and Councils afterwards were very liberal in their Anathematiſmes againſt any who did not agree in all Points to their Terms, or ways of Explanation. And though the Council of *Epheſus* decreed, That there ſhould be no Additions made to the Creed, they underſtood that not of the whole Belief of Chriſtians, but only of the Creed it ſelf: and did alſo load the Chriſtian Doctrine with many Curioſities. But though they had exceeded much, yet the School-men getting the management of the Doctrine, ſpun their Thread much finer: and did eaſily procure Condemnations, either by Papal Bulls, or the Decrees of ſuch Councils as met in theſe times, of all that differed from them in the leaſt matter. Upon the progreſs of the Reformation, the *German* Writers, particularly *Oſiander*, *Illiricus*, and *Amſtorfius*, grew too peremptory, and not only condemned the *Helvetian* Churches, for differing from them in the manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament, but were ſevere to one another for leſſer Punctilio's, and were at this time exerciſing the patience of the great and learned *Melancton*, becauſe he thought that in things of their own Nature indifferent, they ought to have complied with the Emperor. This made thoſe in *England* reſolve on compoſing theſe Articles with great temper, in many ſuch Points. Only one Notion that has been ſince taken up by ſome, ſeems not to have been then thought of; which is, That theſe were rather Articles of Peace than of Belief: ſo that the ſubſcribing was rather a Compromiſe not to teach any Doctrine contrary to them, than a Declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reaſon for this conceit, no ſuch thing being then declared: ſo that thoſe who ſubſcribed, did either believe them to be true, or elſe they did groſly prevaricate.

Some Corrections made in the Common-Prayer-Book.

The next Buſineſs in which the Reformers were employed this Year, was the correcting the Common-Prayer-Book; and the making ſome Additions, with the changing of ſuch Particulars as had been retained only for a time. The moſt conſiderable Additions were, That in the daily Service they prepared a ſhort, but moſt ſimple and grave, Form of a general Confeſſion of ſins; in the uſe of which they intended that thoſe who made this Confeſſion ſhould not content themſelves with a bare recital of the Words, but ſhould joyn with them in their Hearts, a particular Confeſſion of their private ſins to God. To this was added a General Abſolution, or Pronouncing in the Name of God, the pardon of ſin to all thoſe who did truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the Goſpel. For they judged, that if the People did ſeriouſly practiſe this, it would keep up in their thoughts frequent reflections on their ſins; and

1551.

it was thought that the pronouncing a Pardon upon theſe Conditions might have a better effect on the People, than that abſolute and unqualified Pardon which their Prieſts were wont to give in Confeſſion. By which Abſolution in times of Popery the People were made to believe that their ſins were thereupon certainly forgiven; than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal ſecurity; when they thought a full Pardon could be ſo readily purchaſed. But now they heard the terms, on which they could only expect it, every day promulgated to them. The other Addition was alſo made upon good conſideration, in the Office of the Communion; to which the People were obſerved to come without due ſeriouſneſs or preparation: therefore for awakening their Conſciences more feelingly, it was ordered, that the Office of the Communion ſhould begin with a ſolemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments: all the Congregation being on their Knees; as if they were hearing that Law a-new: and a ſtop to be made at every Commandment, for the Peoples devotion, of imploring mercy for their paſt offences, and Grace to obſerve it for the time to come. This ſeemed as effectual a Mean as they could deviſe, till Church-penitence were again ſet up, to beget in Men deep reflections on their ſins, and to prepare them thereby to receive that Holy Sacrament worthily. The other Changes were, the removing of ſome Rites which had been retained in the former Book; ſuch as the uſe of Oyl in Confirmation, and Extream Unction, the Prayers for Souls departed, both in the Communion-Service, and in the Office of Burial, the leaving out ſome Paſſages in the Conſecration of the Euchariſt that ſeemed to favour the Belief of the Corporal Preſence, with the uſe of the Croſs, in it, and in Confirmation, with ſome ſmaller variations. And indeed they brought the whole Liturgy to the ſame Form in which it is now, except ſome inconſiderable variations that have been ſince made for the clearing of ſome Ambiguities.

An Account of kneeling in the Communion.

In the Office of the Communion, they added a Rubrick concerning the poſture of kneeling, which was appointed to be ſtill the geſture of Communicants. It was hereby declared, that that geſture was kept up as a moſt reverent and humble way of expreſſing our great ſenſe of the Mercies of God in the death of Chriſt there communicated to us: but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the Bread and Wine, which were groſs Idolatry: nor did they think the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt were there preſent; ſince his Body, according to the nature of all other Bodies, could be only in one place at once; and ſo he being now in Heaven, could not be corporally preſent in the Sacrament. This was by Queen *Elizabeth* ordered to be left out of the Common-Prayer-Book; ſince it might have given offence to ſome, otherwiſe inclinable to the Communion of the Church, who yet retained the belief the Corporal Preſence. But ſince his preſent Majeſties Reſtoration, many having excepted to the Poſture, as apprehending ſome thing like Idolatry or Superſtition might lie under it, if it were not rightly explained; that Explication which was given in King *Edwards* time, was again inſerted in the Common-Prayer-Book.

For the Poſture, it is moſt likely that the firſt Inſtitution was in the Table-geſture, which was, lying along on one ſide. But it was apparent in our Saviours Practice, that the *Jewiſh* Church had changed the Poſture

of

1551.

of that Inſtitution of the Paſſover, in whoſe room the Euchariſt came. For though *Moſes* had appointed the *Jews* to eat their Paſchal Lamb, ſtanding, with their Loins girt, with Staves in their Hands, and Shooes on their Feet; yet the *Jews* did afterwards change this into the Common-Table-Poſture: of which change, though there is no mention in the Old Teſtament, yet we ſee it was ſo in our Saviours time; and ſince he complied with the common Cuſtom, we are ſure that Change was not criminal. It ſeemed reaſonable to allow the Chriſtian Church the like Power in ſuch things with the *Jewiſh*: and as the *Jews* thought their coming into the Promiſed Land, might be a Warrant to lay aſide the Poſture appointed by *Moſes*, which became Travellers beſt; ſo Chriſt being now exalted, it ſeemed fit to receive this Sacrament with higher Marks of outward reſpect, than had been proper in the firſt Inſtitution, when he was in the ſtate of Humiliation, and his Divine Glory not yet ſo fully revealed. Therefore in the Primitive Church they received ſtanding, and bending their Body, in a poſture of Adoration. But how ſoon that Geſture of kneeling came in, is not ſo exactly obſerved, nor is it needful to know. But ſurely there is a great want of ingenuity in them that are pleaſed to apply theſe Orders of ſome later Popes for kneeling at the Elevation, to our kneeling; when ours is not at one ſuch part, which might be more liable to exception, but during the whole Office: by which it is one continued Act of Worſhip, and the Communicants kneel all the while. But of this no more needs to be ſaid, than is expreſt in the Rubrick, which occaſioned this Digreſſion.

Some Orders given to the Kings Chaplains.

Thus were the Reformations both of Doctrine and Worſhip prepared: To which all I can add of this Year, is, that there were ſix eminent Preachers choſen out to be the Kings Chaplains in Ordinary: two of thoſe were always to attend at Court; and four to be ſent over *England* to preach and inſtruct the People. In the firſt year, two of theſe were to go into *Wales*, and the other two into *Lancaſhire*; the next year two into the Marches of *Scotland*, and two into *York-ſhire*; the third year, two into *Devon-ſhire*, and two into *Hamp-ſhire*; and the fourth year, two into *Norfolk*, and two into *Kent* and *Suſſex*. Theſe were *Bill*, *Harle*, *Pern*, *Grindal*, *Bradford*, the Name of the ſixth is ſo daſhed in the Kings Journal, that it cannot be read. Theſe, it ſeems, were accounted the moſt zealous and readieſt Preachers of that time; who were thus ſent about, as Itinerants to ſupply the defects of the greateſt part of the Clergy, who were generally very faulty.

The Lady Mary continued to have Maſs ſaid in her Chappel.

The Buſineſs of the Lady *Mary* was now taken up with more heat than formerly. The Emperors earneſt ſute, that ſhe might have Maſs in her Houſe, was long rejected: for it was ſaid, that as the King did not interpoſe in the matters of the Emperors Government, ſo there was no reaſon for the Emperor to meddle in his Affairs. Yet the ſtate of *England* making his friendſhip at that time neceſſary to the King, and he refuſing to continue in his League, unleſs his Kinſwoman obtained that favour, it was promiſed, that for ſome time, in hope ſhe would reform, there ſhould be a forbearance granted. The Emperors Ambaſſadors preſſed to have a Licenſe for it under the Great Seal. It was anſwered, That being againſt Law, it could not be done: Then they deſired to have it certified under the Kings Hand, in a Letter to the Emperor; but even that was refuſed. So that they only gave a Promiſe for ſome time by

1551. word of mouth, and *Paget*, and *Hobby*, who had been the Ambaſſadors with the Emperor, declared they had ſpoke of it to him with the ſame limitations. But the Emperor, who was accuſtomed to take for abſolute what was promiſed only under conditions, writ to the Lady *Mary*, that he had an abſolute Promiſe for the free exerciſe of her Religion: and ſo ſhe pretended this, when ſhe was at any time queſtioned about it. The two Grounds ſhe went on, were, that ſhe would follow the ancient and univerſal way of Worſhip, and not a new invention that lay within the four Seas: and that ſhe would continue in that Religion, in which her Father had inſtructed her. To this, the King ſent an Anſwer, telling her, That ſhe was a part of this Church and Nation, and ſo muſt conform her ſelf to the Laws of it; that the way of Worſhip now ſet up, was no other than what was clearly conſonant to the pure Word of God; and the King's being young, was not to be pretended by her, leſt ſhe might ſeem to agree with the late Rebels. After this, ſhe was ſent for to Court, and pains was taken to inſtruct her better. But ſhe refuſed to hear any thing, or to enter into any reaſonings, but ſaid, ſhe would ſtill do as ſhe had done. And ſhe claimed the Promiſe that was ſaid to be made to the Emperor. But it was told her, that it was but temporary and conditional. Whereupon the laſt Summer ſhe was deſigning to fly out of *England*; and the King of *France* gave Sir *John Maſon*, the *Engliſh* Reſident, notice, that the Regent of *Flanders* had hired one *Scipperus* who ſhould Land on the Coaſt of *Eſſex*, as if it had been to victual his Ship, and was to have conveyed her away. Upon this Information, order was given to ſee well to the Coaſt; ſo the deſign being diſcovered, nothing could be effected. It was certainly a ſtrange advice to carry her away, and no leſs ſtrange in the Kings Miniſters to hinder it, if there was at that time any deſign formed to put her by her Succeſſion. For if ſhe had been beyond Sea at the Kings death, it is not probable that ſhe could have eaſily come to the Crown. The Emperors Ambaſſador ſolicited for her violently, and ſaid he would preſently take leave, and proteſt, that they had broken their Faith to his Maſter, who would reſent the uſage of the Lady *Mary* as highly as if it were done immediately to himſelf. The Counſellors, having no mind to draw a new War on their Heads, eſpecially from ſo victorious a Prince, were all inclined to let the matter fall. There was alſo a years Cloath lately ſent over to *Antwerp*; and 1500 Cinqtails of Powder, with a great deal of Armour, bought there for the Kings uſe, was not come over. So it was thought by no means adviſable to provoke the Emperor, while they had ſuch effects in his Ports; nor were they very willing to give higher provocations to the next Heir of the Crown. Therefore they all adviſed the King not to do more in that matter at preſent, but to leave the Lady *Mary* to her diſcretion, who would certainly be made more cautious by what ſhe had met with, and would give as little ſcandal as was poſſible by her Maſs. But the King could not be induced to give way to it, for he thought the Maſs was impious and idolatrous; ſo he would not conſent to the continuance of ſuch a ſin. Upon this the Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet*, to diſcourſe about it with him. They told him, that it was always a ſin in a Prince to permit any ſin; but to give a connivance, that is, not to puniſh, was not always a ſin: ſince ſometimes a leſſer evil connived at, might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not ſo eaſily, but

The King is very earneſt againſt it.

1551.

but that he burſt forth in Tears, lamenting his Siſters obſtinacy, and that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſo abominable a way of Worſhip as he eſteemed the Maſs. So he anſwered the Emperors Agents, that he ſhould ſend over an Ambaſſador to clear that matter. And Dr. *Wotton* was diſpatched about it, who carried over Atteſtations from all the Council, concerning the qualifications of the Promiſe that had been made: and was inſtructed to preſs the Emperor, not to trouble the King in his Affairs at home in his own Kingdom. If the Lady *Mary* was his Kinſwoman, ſhe was the Kings Siſter, and Subject: He was alſo to offer, that the King would grant as much liberty for the Maſs in his Dominions, as the Emperor would grant for the *Engliſh* Service in his Dominions. But the Emperor pretended, that when her Mother died, ſhe left her to his protection, which he had granted her, and ſo muſt take care of her. And the Emperor was ſo exalted with his Succeſſes, that he did not eaſily bear any contradiction. But the Council being further offended with her for the project of going beyond Sea, and being now leſs in fear of the Emperor, ſince they had made Peace with *France*, reſolved to look more nearly to her. And finding that Dr. *Mallet*, and *Berkley*, her Chaplains, had ſaid Maſs in one of her Houſes, when ſhe was not in it, they ordered them to be proceeded againſt. Upon which, in *December* the laſt year, ſhe writ earneſtly to the Council to let it fall. By her Letter it appears, that *Mallet* uſed to be ſometimes at his Benefice, where it is certain he could officiate no other way but in that preſcribed by Law: ſo it ſeems his Conſcience was not very ſcrupulous. The Council writ her a long Anſwer, which being in the Stile of a Churchman, ſeems to have been penned either by *Cranmer*, or *Ridley*. In which Letter they fully clear'd the matter of the Promiſe: then they ſhewed how expreſs the Law was, with which they could not diſpenſe: and how ill grounded her Faith, as ſhe called it, was. They asked her what Warrant there was in Scripture, that the Prayers ſhould be in an unknown Tongue, that Images ſhould be in the Church, or that the Sacrament ſhould be offered up for the Dead. They told her, that in all Queſtions about Religion, St. *Auſtin* and the other ancient Doctors appealed to the Scripture; and if ſhe would look into theſe, ſhe would ſoon ſee the errors of the old Superſtition, which were ſupported by falſe Miracles and lying Stories, and not by Scripture or good Authority. They expreſt themſelves in terms full of ſubmiſſion to her, but ſaid they were truſted with the execution of the Kings Laws, in which they muſt proceed equally. So they required her, if the Chaplains were in her Houſe, to ſend them to the Sheriff of *Eſſex*. But it ſeems they kept out of the way, and ſo the matter ſlept till the beginning of *May* this year, that *Mallet* was found, and put in the *Tower*, and convicted of his offence. Upon this there paſſed many Letters between the Council and her: ſhe earneſtly deſiring to have him ſet at liberty, and they as poſitively refuſing to do it.

The Council writ to her of it.

In *July* the Council ſent for *Rocheſter*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, three of her chief Officers; and gave them Inſtructions to ſignifie the Kings expreſs pleaſure to her, to have the new Service in her Family; and to give the like charge to her Chaplains, and all her Servants; and to return with an anſwer. In *Auguſt* they came back, and ſaid, ſhe was much indiſpoſed, and received the Meſſage very grievouſly. She ſaid, ſhe

would

1551.

And ſent ſome to her.

But ſhe was Intractable.

would obey the King in all things, except where her Conſcience was touched: but ſhe charged them to deliver none of their Meſſage to the reſt of her Family; in which they being her Servants could not diſobey her, eſpecially when they thought it might prejudice her health. Upon this, they were ſent to the *Tower*. The Lord Chancellor, Sir *Ant. Wingfield*, and Sir *William Petre*, were next ſent to her, with a Letter from the King, and Inſtructions from the Council, for the charge they were to give to her and her Servants. They came to her Houſe of *Copthall* in *Eſſex*. The Lord Chancellor gave her the Kings Letter, which ſhe received on her Knees: and ſaid, ſhe payed that reſpect to the Kings Hand, and not to the matter of the Letter, which ſhe knew proceeded from the Council: and when ſhe read it, ſhe ſaid, *Ah! Mr.* Cecil *took much pains here:* (he was then Secretary of State in Dr. *Wottons* room.) So ſhe turned to the Counſellors, and bid them deliver their Meſſage to her. She wiſhed them to be ſhort, for ſhe was not well at eaſe, and would give them a ſhort anſwer, having writ her mind plainly to the King with her own Hand. The Lord Chancellor told her, that all the Council were of one mind, that ſhe muſt be no longer ſuffered to have private Maſs, or a Form of Religion different from what was eſtabliſhed by Law. He went to read the Names of thoſe who were of that mind; but ſhe deſired him to ſpare his pains, ſhe knew they were all of a ſort. They next told her, they had order to require her Chaplains to uſe no other Service, and her Servants to be preſent at no other, than what was according to Law. She anſwered, She was the Kings moſt obedient Subject, and Siſter; and would obey him in every thing, but where her Conſcience held her, and would willingly ſuffer death to do him ſervice: but ſhe would lay her Head on a Block, rather than uſe any other Form of Service, than what had been at her Fathers death: only ſhe thought ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer death on ſo good an account. When the King came to be of Age, ſo that he could order theſe things himſelf, ſhe would obey his Commands in Religion: for although he, *Good ſweet King*, (theſe were her words) had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit Judge in theſe matters; for if Ships were to be ſet to Sea, or any matter of Policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much leſs could he be able to reſolve Points of Divinity. As for her Chaplains, if they would ſay no Maſs, ſhe could hear none; and for her Servants, ſhe knew they all deſired to hear Maſs: her Chaplains might do what they would, it was but a whiles Impriſonment: but for the new Service, it ſhould never be ſaid in her Houſe: and if any were forced to ſay it, ſhe would ſtay no longer in the Houſe. When the Counſellors ſpake of *Rocheſter*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, who had not fully executed their charge; ſhe ſaid, it was not the wiſeſt Counſel, to order her Servants to controul her in her own Houſe: and they were the honeſter Men not to do ſuch a thing againſt their Conſciences. She inſiſted on the Promiſe made to the Emperor, which ſhe had under his Hand, whom ſhe believed better than them all: they ought to uſe her better for her Fathers ſake, who had raiſed them all almoſt out of nothing. But though the Emperor were dead, or would bid her obey them; ſhe would not change her mind, and ſhe would let his Ambaſſador know how they uſed her. To this they anſwered, clearing the miſtake about the Promiſe, to which ſhe gave little heed.

1551.

heed. They told her, they had brought one down to ſerve as her Comptroller in *Rocheſters* room: She ſaid, ſhe would chooſe her own Servants; and if they went to impoſe any on her, ſhe would leave the Houſe. She was ſick, but would do all ſhe could to live: but if ſhe died, ſhe would proteſt they were the cauſes of it: they gave her good words, but their deeds were evil. Then ſhe took a Ring from her Finger, and on her Knees gave it to the Lord Chancellor, to give to the King as a Token from her, with her humble Commendations; and proteſted much of her duty to him; but ſhe ſaid, this will never be told him. The Counſellors went from her to her Chaplains, and delivered their Meſſage to them, who promiſed they would obey. Then they charged the reſt of the Servants in like manner, and alſo commanded them to give notice if thoſe Orders were broken. And ſo they went to go away. But as they were in the Court, the Lady *Mary* called to them from her Window, to ſend her Comptroller to her; for ſhe ſaid, that now ſhe her ſelf received the accounts of her Houſe, and knew how many Loaves were made of a Buſhel of Meal, to which ſhe had never been bred, and ſo was weary of that Office; but if they would needs ſend him to Priſon, ſhe ſaid, I beſhrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good Will; and concluded, I pray God to ſend you to do well in your Souls and Bodies, for ſome of you have but weak Bodies. This is the ſubſtance of the Report theſe Counſellors gave when they returned back to the Court on the 29*th* of *Auguſt*. By which they were now out of all hopes of prevailing with her by perſwaſions or Authority: So it was next conſidered, whether it was fit to go to further extremities with her. How the matter was determined, I do not clearly find; it is certain the Lady *Mary* would never admit of the new Service, and ſo I believe ſhe continued to keep her Prieſts, and have Maſs; but ſo ſecretly, that there was no ground for any publick complaint. For I find no further mention of that matter, than what is made by *Ridley*, of a Paſſage that befel him in *September* next year.

Nor would ſhe hear Biſhop *Ridley* preach.

He went to wait on her, ſhe living then at *Hunſden*; where ſhe received him at firſt civilly, and told him, ſhe remembred of him in her Fathers time, and at Dinner ſent him to dine with her Officers: after Dinner, he told her, he came not only to do his Duty to her, but to offer to Preach before her next *Sunday*: She bluſhed, and once or twice deſired him to make the Anſwer to that himſelf. But when he preſſed her further, ſhe ſaid, the Pariſh-Church would be open to him if he had a mind to preach in it: but neither ſhe, nor any of her Family ſhould hear him. He ſaid, he hoped ſhe would not refuſe to hear Gods Word; She ſaid, She did not know what they called Gods Word; but ſhe was ſure that was not now Gods Word that was called ſo in her Fathers days. He ſaid, Gods Word was the ſame at all times. She anſwered, She was ſure he durſt not for his Ears have avowed theſe things in her Fathers time, which he did now: and for their Books, as, ſhe thanked God, ſhe never had, ſo ſhe never would read them. She alſo uſed many reproachful words to him, and asked him, If he was of the Council; He ſaid not: She replied, He might well enough be, as the Council goes now a-days; and ſo diſmiſſed him, thanking him for coming to ſee her, but not at all for offering to preach before her. Sir *Tho. Wharton*, one of her Officers, carried him to a place where he deſired him to drink; which *Rid-*

1551.

ley did: but reflecting on it, ſaid, He had done amiſs, to drink in a place where Gods Word was rejected: for if he had remembred his Duty, he ſhould upon that refuſal have ſhaken the duſt off his Feet, for a Teſtimony againſt the Houſe, and have departed immediately. Theſe words he was obſerved to pronounce with an extraordinary concern, and went away much troubled in his mind. And this is all I find of the Lady *Mary* during this Reign. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſhe had been always bred up to like the Reformation; and Dr. *Parker*, who had been her Mothers Chaplain, received a ſtrict charge from her Mother a little before her death, to look well to the inſtructing her Daughter in the Principles of true Religion; ſo that there is no doubt to be made of her chearful receiving all the changes that had been eſtabliſhed by Law.

The Deſigns of the Earl of *Warwick*.

And this is all that concerns Religion, that falls within this Year. But now a deſign came to be laid, which though it broke not out for ſome time, yet it was believed to have had a great influence on the Fall of the Duke of *Somerſet*. The Earl of *Warwick* began to form great Projects for himſelf, and thought to bring the Crown into his Family. The King was now much alienated from the Lady *Mary*; the Privy-Council had alſo embroiled themſelves ſo with her, that he imagined it would be no hard matter to exclude her from the Succeſſion. There was but one reaſon that could be pretended for it; which was, that ſhe ſtood illegitimated by Law; and that therefore the next Heirs in Blood could not be barred their right by her; ſince it would be a great blot on the Honour of the *Engliſh* Crown to let it devolve on a Baſtard. This was as ſtrong againſt the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſince ſhe was alſo illegitimated by a Sentence in the Spiritual Court, and that confirmed in Parliament: ſo if their jealouſie of the elder Siſters Religion, and the fear of her revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the Succeſſion, the ſame reaſon that was to be uſed in Law againſt her, was alſo to take place againſt her Siſter. So he reckoned that theſe two were to be paſſed over, as being put both in the Act of Succeſſion, and in the late Kings Will, by one error. The next in the Will, were the Heirs of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon*, who were the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and her Siſter. Though I have ſeen it often ſaid in many Letters, and Writings of that time, that all that Iſſue by *Charles Brandon* was illegitimated: ſince he was certainly married to one *Mortimer*, before he married the Queen of *France*; which *Mortimer* lived long after his Marriage to that Queen: ſo that all her Children were Baſtards: ſome ſay he was divorced from his Marriage to *Mortimer*, but that is not clear to me.

The Sweating Sickneſs.

This Year the Sweating Sickneſs, that had been formerly both in *Henry* the *7th*, and the late King's Reign, broke out with that violence in *England*, that many were ſwept away by it. Such as were taken with it, died certainly if they ſlept, to which they had a violent deſire: but if it took them not off in twenty four hours, they did ſweat out the venom of the diſtemper: which raged ſo in *London*, that in one week 800 died of it. It did alſo ſpread into the Country, and the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* by his laſt Wife, both Dukes of *Suffolk*, died within a day one of another. So that Title was fallen. Their Siſter by the half Blood was married to *Gray* Lord Marqueſs of *Dorſet*. So ſhe being the eldeſt Daughter to the *French* Queen, the Earl of *Warwick* reſolved to link himſelf to that Family; and to procure the Honour of the Dukedome of *Suffolk* to be given the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who was a weak Man, and eaſily governed. He had three Daughters; the eldeſt was *Jane*, a Lady of as excellent qualities as any of that Age; of great Parts, bred to Learning, and much converſant in Scripture; and of ſo rare a temper of mind, that ſhe charmed all who knew her: in particular the young King, about whom ſhe was bred, and who had always lived with her in the familiarities of a Brother. The Earl of *Warwick* deſigned to marry her to *Guilford* his fourth Son, then living, his three elder being already married; and ſo to get the Crown to deſcend on them if the King ſhould die, of which it is thought he reſolved to take care. But apprehending ſome danger from the Lady *Elizabeths* Title, he intended to ſend her away. So an Ambaſſador was diſpatched to *Denmark*, to treat a Marriage for her with that Kings eldeſt Son. 1551.

The King treats with the *French* King for a Marriage with his Daughter.

To amuſe the King himſelf, a moſt ſplendid Embaſſy was ſent to *France*, to propoſe a Marriage for the King to that Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to *Philip* of *Spain*. The Marqueſs of *Northampton* was ſent with this Propoſition, and with the Order of the Garter. With him went the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Liſle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergaveny*, and *Evers*; and the Biſhop of *Ely*, who was to be their Mouth: With them went many Gentlemen of Quality, who with their Train made up near 500. King *Henry* received the Garter with great expreſſions of Eſteem for the King. The Biſhop of *Ely* told him, They were come to deſire a more cloſe tie between theſe Crowns by Marriage, and to have the League made firmer between them in other Particulars. To which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* made anſwer, in his way of ſpeaking, which was always vain, and full of oſtentation. A Commiſſion was given to that Cardinal, the Conſtable, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and others, to treat about it.

The *Engliſh* began firſt, for Forms ſake, to deſire the Queen of *Scots*. But that being rejected, they moved for the Daughter of *France*, which was entertained; but ſo that neither Party ſhould be bound in Honour and Conſcience, till the Lady were twelve years of Age. Yet this never taking effect, it is needleſs to enlarge further about it; of which the Reader will find all the Particulars in King *Edwards* Journal. The King of *France* ſent another very noble Embaſſy into *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael* to the King, and a very kind Meſſage, that he had no leſs love to him than a Father could bear to his own Son. He deſired the King would not liſten to the vain Rumors, which ſome malicious Perſons might raiſe, to break their friendſhip; and wiſhed, there might be ſuch a regulation on their Frontiers, that all differences might be amicably removed. To this the young King made anſwer himſelf, "That he thanked his good Brother for his Order, and for the Aſſurances "of his Love, which he would always requite. For Rumors, they were "not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; it being no leſs "vain to fear all things, than it was dangerous to doubt of nothing: and "for any differences that might ariſe, he ſhould be always ready to determine them, by reaſon, rather than force; ſo far as his Honour ſhould "not be thereby diminiſhed. Whether this Anſwer was prepared beforehand, or not, I cannot tell; I rather think it was; otherways it was extraordinary for one of fourteen to talk thus on the ſudden.

1551.

A Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Somerſet.*

But while all this was carrying on, there was a deſign laid to deſtroy the Duke of *Somerſet*. He had ſuch acceſs to the King, and ſuch freedoms with him, that the Earl of *Warwick* had a mind to be rid of him, leſt he ſhould ſpoil all his Projects. The Duke of *Somerſet* ſeemed alſo to have deſigned in *April* this Year to have got the King again in his power: and dealt with the Lord *Strange*, that was much in his favour, to perſwade him to marry his Daughter *Jane*, and that he would advertiſe him of all that paſſed about the King. But the Earl of *Warwick*, to raiſe himſelf and all his Friends higher, procured a great Creation of new Honours. *Gray* was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and himſelf Duke of *Northumberland*; for *Henry Piercy*, the laſt Earl of *Northumberland*, dying without Iſſue, his next Heirs were the Sons of *Thomas Piercy*, that had been attainted in the laſt Reign for the *York-ſhire* Rebellion. *Pawlet* then Lord Treaſurer, and Earl of *Wilt-ſhire*, was made Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; and Sir *William Herbert*, that had married the Marqueſs of *Northampton's* Siſter, was made Earl of *Pembroke*. The Lord *Ruſſel* had been made Earl of *Bedford* laſt year, upon his return from making the Peace with the *French*: Sir *Tho. Darcy* had alſo been made Lord *Darcy*. The new Duke of *Northumberland* could no longer bear ſuch a Rival in his greatneſs, as the Duke of *Somerſet* was, who was the only Perſon that he thought could take the King out of his Hands. So on the 17*th* of *October* the Duke was apprehended, and ſent to the *Tower*; and with him the Lord *Gray*; Sir *Ralph Vane*, who had eſcaped over the River, but was taken in a Stable in *Lambeth*, hid under the Straw: Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and Sir *Tho. Arundel*, were alſo taken, yet not ſent at firſt to the *Tower*, but kept under Guards in their Chambers. Some of his followers, *Hamond*, *Nudigate*, and two of the *Seimours*, were ſent to Priſon. The day after, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* was alſo ſent to the *Tower*, with one *Crane*, and his Wife, that had been much about her, and two of her Chamber-women. After theſe, Sir *Tho. Holdcroft*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Wingfield*, *Banniſter*, and *Vaughan*, were all made Priſoners. The Evidence againſt the Duke, was, That he had made a Party for getting himſelf declared Protector in the next Parliament; which the Earl of *Rutland* did poſitively affirm; and the Duke did ſo anſwer it, that it is probable it was true. But though this might well inflame his Enemies, yet it was no crime. But Sir *Tho. Palmer*, though impriſoned with him as a Complice, was the Perſon that ruined him. He had been before that brought ſecretly to the King, and had told him, that on the laſt St. *Georges* day, the Duke apprehending there was miſchief deſigned againſt him, thought to have raiſed the People, had not Sir *William Herbert* aſſured him he ſhould receive no harm: that lately he intended to have the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, invited to Dinner at the Lord *Pagets*; and either to have ſet on them by the way, or to have killed them at Dinner: that Sir *Ralph Vane* had 2000 Men ready, that Sir *Tho. Arundel* had aſſured the Tower, and that all the Gandarmoury were to be killed: The Duke of *Somerſet*, hearing *Palmer* had been with the King, challenged him of it, but he denied all. He ſent alſo for Secretary *Cecil*, and told him he ſuſpected there was an ill deſign againſt him: To which the Secretary anſwered, If he were not in fault, he might truſt to his innocency; but if he were, he had nothing to ſay but to lament him.

1551.

All this was told the King with ſuch Circumſtances, that he was induced to believe it; and the probity of his diſpoſition wrought in him a great averſion to his Unkle; when he looked on him as a Conſpirater againſt the Lives of the other Counſellors: and ſo he reſolved to leave him to the Law. *Palmer* being a ſecond time examined, ſaid, That Sir *Ralph Vane* was to have brought 2000 Men, who, with the Duke of *Somerſets* 100 Horſe, were on a Muſter-day to have ſet on the Gendarmery; that being done, the Duke reſolved to have gone thorough the City, and proclaimed Liberty, Liberty: and if his attempt did not ſucceed, to have fled to the Iſle of *Wight*, or to *Pool*. *Crane* confirmed all that *Palmer* had ſaid; to which he added, That the Earl of *Arundel* was privy to the Conſpiracy: and that the thing had been executed, but that the greatneſs of the Enterpriſe had cauſed delays, and ſometimes diverſity of advice: and that the Duke, being once given out to be ſick, had gone privately to *London*, to ſee what Friends he could make. *Hamond* being examined, confeſſed nothing, but that the Dukes Chamber at *Greenwich* had been guarded in the night, by many Armed Men. Upon this Evidence, both the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were ſent to the *Tower*. The Earl had been one of the chief of thoſe who had joyned with the Earl of *Warwick* to pull down the Protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his Enemy. So this part of the Information ſeemed very credible. The thing lay in ſuſpence till the firſt of *December*, that the Duke of *Somerſet* was brought to his Trial; where the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was Lord Steward. The Peers that judged him, were twenty ſeven in number. The Dukes of *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Suſſex*, *Worceſter*, *Pembroke*, and the Viſcount of *Hereford*, the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Souch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Windſor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Crimes laid againſt him, were caſt into five ſeveral Indictments, as the King has it in his Journal; but the Record mentions only three, whether Indictments or Articles is not ſo clear. That he had deſigned to have ſeized on the Kings Perſon, and ſo have governed all Affairs, and that he with one hundred others intended to have impriſoned the Earl of *Warwick*, afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*, and that he had deſigned to have raiſed an Inſurrection in the City of *London*. Now by the Act that paſſed in the laſt Parliament, if twelve Perſons ſhould have aſſembled together to have killed any Privy-Counſellor, and upon Proclamation they had not diſperſed themſelves, it was Treaſon: or if ſuch Twelve had been by any malicious Artifice brought together, for any Riot, and being warned, did not diſperſe themſelves, it was Felony, without benefit of Clergy or Sanctuary. It ſeemed very ſtrange that the three Peers, *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, who were his profeſſed Enemies, and againſt the firſt of whom it was pretended in the Indictment that he had conſpired, ſhould ſit his Judges: for though by the Law no Peer can be challenged in a Trial, yet the Law of Nations, that is Superior to all other Laws, makes, that a Man cannot be Judge in his own Cauſe: and which was very unuſual, the Lord Chancellor, though then a Peer, was left out of the number; but it is like the Reconciliation between the Duke of *Somerſet* and him was then ſuſpected, which made him not be called to be one of his Judges.

He is brought to his Trial.

1551.

The Duke of *Somerſet* being, it ſeems, little acquainted with Law, did not deſire Council to plead, or aſſiſt him in Point of Law; but only anſwered to matters of Fact. He prefaced, that he deſired no advantage might be taken againſt him, for any idle or angry word that might have at any time fallen from him. He proteſted he never intended to have raiſed the Northern Parts, but had only upon ſome reports ſent to Sir *William Herbert* to be his Friend: that he had never determined to have killed the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Perſon, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that for the deſign of deſtroying the Gendarmoury, it was ridiculous to think that he with a ſmall Troop could deſtroy ſo ſtrong a Body of Men, conſiſting of 900; in which, though he had ſucceeded, it could have ſignified nothing: that he never deſigned to raiſe any ſtirs in *London*, but had always looked on it as a Place where he was moſt ſafe: that his having Men about him in *Greenwich* was with no ill deſign, ſince when he could have done miſchief with them, he had not done it; but upon his Attachment rendred himſelf a Priſoner, without any reſiſtance. He objected alſo many things againſt the Witneſſes, and deſired they might be brought face to face. He particularly ſpake much againſt Sir *Tho. Palmer*, the chief Witneſs. But the Witneſſes were not brought, only their Examinations were read: Upon this, the Kings Council pleaded againſt him, that to levy War was certainly Treaſon; that to gather Men with intention to kill Privy-Counſellors was alſo Treaſon; that to have Men about him to reſiſt the Attachment was Felony; and to aſſault the Lords, or contrive their deaths, was Felony. Whether he made any defence in Law, or not, does not appear: For the material defence, is not mentioned in all the accounts I have ſeen of it; which was, that theſe Conſpiracies, and gatherings of the Kings Subjects were only treaſonable and fellonious, after they had been required to diſperſe themſelves, and had refuſed to give obedience. And in all this matter, that is never ſo much as alledged, no not in the Indictment it ſelf, to have been done. It is plain it was not done: For if any ſuch Proclamation, or Charge, had been ſent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into *London*, or to the Country, and tryed what he could have done by force: but to have refuſed ſuch a command, and ſo to have come within the guilt of Treaſon, and yet not to ſtir from his Houſe, are not things conſiſtent.

When the Peers withdrew, it ſeems the Proofs about his deſign of raiſing the North, or the City, or of the killing the Gandarmes, did not ſatisfie them. For all theſe had been without queſtion treaſonable. So they only held to that Point of conſpiring to impriſon the Duke of *Northumberland*. If he, with Twelve Men about him, had conſpired to do that, and had continued together after Proclamation, it was certainly Felony. But that not being pretended, it ſeems there was no Proclamation made. The Duke of *Suffolk* was of opinion, that no contention among private Subjects ſhould be on any account ſcrued up to be Treaſon. The Duke of *Northumberland* ſaid, he would never conſent that any practiſe againſt him, ſhould be reputed Treaſon. After a great difference of Opinion, they all acquitted him of Treaſon. But the greater number found him guilty of Felony. When they returned him not guilty of Treaſon, all the People who were much concerned for his preſer-

And is acquitted of Treaſon, but found guilty of Felony.

preſervation, ſhouted for joy, ſo loud, and ſo long, that they were heard at *Charing-Croſs*. But the joy laſted not long, when they heard that he was condemned of Felony, and Sentence was thereupon given that he ſhould die as a Felon.

The Duke had carried himſelf all the while of the Trial with great temper and patience; and though the Kings Council had, in their uſual way of Pleading, been very bitter againſt him; perhaps the rather, that thereby they might recommend themſelves to the Duke of *Northumberland*; yet he never took notice of theſe reflections, nor ſeemed much affected with them. When Sentence was given, he thanked the Lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, for his ill intentions againſt them; and made ſute for his Life, and for his Wife, and Children. From thence he was carried back to the *Tower*. Whether this asking the Lords pardon, had in it a full Confeſſion of the Crime charged on him, or was only a complement to them, that they might not obſtruct his Pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confeſſed he had ſpoken of killing them, and this made it reaſonable enough for him to ask their pardon; ſo that it does not imply a Confeſſion of the Crime. All People thought, that being acquitted of Treaſon, and there being no fellonious Action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of Impriſoning a Peer, proved; that one ſo nearly joyned to the King in Blood, would never be put to death on ſuch an occaſion. But to poſſeſs the King much againſt him, a Story was brought him, and put by him in his Journal; That at the Dukes coming to the Tower, he had confeſſed, that he had hired one *Bartuile* to kill the Lords; and that *Bartuile* himſelf acknowledged it; and that *Hammond* knew of it. But whether this was deviſed to alienate the King wholly from him, or whether it was true, I can give no aſſurance. But though it was true, it was Felony in *Bartuile*, if he were the Kings Servant; but not in the Duke, who was a Peer. Yet no doubt this gave the King a very ill opinion of his Unkle, and ſo made him more eaſily conſent to his execution: ſince all ſuch Conſpiracies are things of that inhumane and barbarous cruelty, that it is ſcarce poſſible to puniſh them too ſeverely: But it is certain, that there was no Evidence at all of any deſign to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, otherwiſe the Indictment had not been laid againſt him, only for deſigning to ſeize on, and impriſon him, as it was; the conſpiring to kill him not being ſo much as mentioned in the Indictment, but it was maliciouſly given out to poſſeſs the World, and chiefly the King, againſt him.

See the Indictment, *Cokes Entries*, *fol.* 482.

The King alſo, in his Letter to *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, who was like to be his favourite, and was then ſent over for his breeding into *France*, writ, that the Duke ſeemed to have acknowledged the Felony, and that after Sentence he had confeſſed it, though he had formerly vehemently ſworn the contrary. From whence it is plain, that the King was perſwaded of his being guilty. Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, were next brought to their Trials. The firſt, and the laſt of theſe, were little pitied. For, as all great Men have People about them, who make uſe of their greatneſs only for their own ends, without regarding their Maſters Honour, or true Intereſt; ſo they were the Perſons upon whom the ill things which had been done by the Duke of *Somerſet* were chiefly caſt. But Sir *Tho. Arundel* was much pitied,

Some of his Friends alſo condemned.

1551. pitied, and had hard meaſure in his Trial, which began at ſeven a Clock in the Morning, and continued till Noon. Then the Jury went aſide, and they did not agree on their Verdict, till next morning, when thoſe who thought him not guilty, yet, for preſerving their own Lives, were willing to yield to the fierceneſs of thoſe who were reſolved to have him found guilty. Sir *Ralph Vane* was the moſt lamented of them all. He had done great Services in the Wars, and was eſteemed one of the braveſt Gentlemen of the Nation. He pleaded for himſelf, that he had done his Country conſiderable Service during the Wars; though now in time of Peace, the Coward and the Couragious were equally eſteemed. He ſcorned to make any ſubmiſſions for Life. But this height of mind in him did certainly ſet forward his condemnation, and to add more infamy to him in the manner of his Death, he and *Partridge* were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

The Seals are taken from the Lord *Rich*,

The Duke of *Somerſet* was uſing means to have the King better informed, and diſpoſed towards him; and engaged the Lord Chancellor to be his Friend: who thereupon ſent him an Advertiſement of ſomewhat deſigned againſt him by the Council, and being in haſt, writ only on the back of his Letter, *To the Duke*; and bid one of his Servants carry it to the *Tower*, without giving him particular directions to the Duke of *Somerſet*. But his Servant having known of the familiarities between his Maſter and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was ſtill in the *Tower*; and knowing none between him and the other Duke; carried the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*. When the Lord Chancellor found the miſtake at night; he knew the Duke of *Norfolk*, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, would certainly diſcover him; ſo he went in all haſt to the King, and deſired to be diſcharged of his Office, and thereby prevented the malice of his Enemies: and upon this he fell ſick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raiſe the more pity for him, or perhaps the fright in which he was did really caſt him into ſickneſs. So the Seal was ſent for, by the Marqueſs of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Darcy*, on the 21*ſt* of *December*, and put into the Hands of the Biſhop of *Ely*, who was made Keeper during pleaſure: And when the Seſſion of Parliament came on, he was made Lord Chancellor.

And given to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

But this was much cenſured: When the Reformation was firſt preached in *England*, *Tindal*, *Barns*, and *Latimer*, took an occaſion, from the great Pomp and Luxury of Cardinal *Wolſey*, and the Secular Imployments of the other Biſhops and Clergy-men, to repreſent them as a ſort of Men that had wholly neglected the care of Souls, and thoſe Spiritual Studies and Exerciſes that diſpoſed Men to ſuch Functions; and only carried the Names of Biſhops and Church-men, to be a Colour to ſerve their Ambition and Covetouſneſs. And this had raiſed great prejudices in the Minds of the People againſt thoſe who were called their Paſtors, when they ſaw them fill their Heads with cares, that were at leaſt impertinent to their Callings, if not inconſiſtent with the Duties that belonged to them. So now upon *Goodrick*'s being made Lord Chancellor, that was a Reformed Biſhop, it was ſaid by their Adverſaries, theſe Men only condemned Secular Imployments in the Hands of Church-men, becauſe their Enemies had them, but changed their mind as ſoon as any of their own Party came to be advanced to them. But as *Goodrick* was raiſed by the Popiſh Intereſt in oppoſition to the Duke of *Somerſet*; and to *Cranmer*, that was his firm Friend; ſo it appeared in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, that he was ready to turn with every Tide: and that whether he joyned in the Reformation only in Compliance to the time, or was perſwaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that ſenſe of it that became a Biſhop, and was one of theſe who reſolved to make as much advantage by it as he could, but would ſuffer nothing for it. So his practiſe in this matter is neither a Precedent to juſtifie the like in others, nor can it caſt a ſcandal on thoſe to whom he joyned himſelf. Chriſt being ſpoke to to divide an Inheritance between two Brethren, ſaid, *Who made me a Judge, or a Divider?* St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of Church-men, ſays, *No Man that warreth intangleth himſelf with the Affairs of this Life:* which was underſtood by St. *Cyprian* as a perpetual Rule againſt the Secular Imployments of the Clergy. There are three of the Apoſtolical Canons againſt it: and *Cyprian* reckoning up the ſins of his time, that had provoked God to ſend a Perſecution on the Church, names this, that many Biſhops forſaking their Sees, undertook Secular Cares. In which he was ſo ſtrict, that he thought the being Tutor to Orphans was a diſtraction unſutable to their Character: ſo that one Prieſt leaving another Tutor to his Children, becauſe by the *Roman* Law he to whom this was left was obliged to undergo it, the Prieſts Name who made that Teſtament was appointed to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of thoſe Church-men who had died in the Faith, and were remembred in the daily Offices. *Samoſatenus* is repreſented as one of the firſt eminent Church-men that involved himſelf much in Secular Cares. Upon the Emperors turning Chriſtian, it was a natural effect of their Converſion for them to cheriſh the Biſhops much, and many of the Biſhops became ſo much in love with the Court and publick Imployments, that Canons were made againſt their going to Court, unleſs they were called, and the *Canalis* or Road to the Court was kept by the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſo that none might go without his Warrant. Their medling in Secular Matters was alſo condemned in many Provincial Councils, but moſt copiouſly and amply by the General Council at *Chalcedon*. It is true, the Biſhops had their Courts for the Arbitration of Civil Differences: which were firſt begun upon St. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, againſt their going to Law before Unbelievers, and for ſubmitting their Sutes to ſome among themſelves. The Reaſons of this ceaſed when the Judges in the Civil Courts were become Chriſtians; yet theſe Epiſcopal Audiences were ſtill continued after *Conſtantines* time, and their Juriſdiction was ſometimes enlarged, and ſometimes abridged, as there was occaſion given. St. *Auſtin*, and many other Holy Biſhops, grew weary even of that, and found, that the hearing Cauſes, as it took up much of their time, ſo filled their Heads with thoughts of another nature than what properly belonged to them. 1551.

The Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* taking advantage from the greatneſs and Wealth of their Sees, began firſt to eſtabliſh a Secular Principality of the Church; and the Confuſions that fell out in *Italy* after the *5th Century*, gave the Biſhops of *Rome* great opportunities for it, which they improved to the utmoſt advantage. The Revolutions in *Spain* gave a Riſe to the *Spaniſh* Biſhops medling much in all Civil Matters. And when *Charles* the Great and his Son had given great Territories and large Juriſdictions to many Sees and Monaſteries, Biſhops and Abbots

1551. bots came after that not only to have a ſhare in all the publick Councils of moſt of the States of *Europe*, to which their Lands gave them a Right, but to be chiefly imployed in all Affairs and Offices of State. The Ignorance of theſe Ages made this in a manner neceſſary: and Church-Preferments were given as Rewards to Men who had ſerved in the State in Embaſſies, or in their Princes Courts of Juſtice. So that it was no wonder if Men advanced upon that merit continued in their former Method and courſe of Life. Thus the Biſhops became for the greateſt part only a ſort of Men who went in peculiar Habits, and upon ſome high Feſtivities performed a few Offices; but for the Paſtoral care, and all the Duties incumbent on them, they were univerſally neglected: and that ſeriouſneſs, that abſtraction from the World, that application to Study and Religious Exerciſes, and chiefly the care of Souls, which became their Function, ſeemed inconſiſtent with that courſe of Life which Secular Cares brought on Men who purſued them. Nor was it eaſie to perſwade the World, that their Paſtors did very much aſpire to Heaven, when they were thruſting themſelves ſo indecently into the Courts of Princes, or ambitiouſly pretending to the Adminiſtration of Matters of State; and it was always obſerved, that Church-men who aſſumed to themſelves Imployments, and an Authority that was excentrick to their Callings, ſuffered ſo much in that Eſteem, and loſt ſo much of that Authority, which of right belonged to their Character and Office.

But to go on with the Series of Affairs. There was all poſſible care taken to divert and entertain the Kings Mind with pleaſing Sights, as will appear by his Journal, which it ſeems had the effect that was deſired, for he was not much concerned in his Unkles Preſervation.

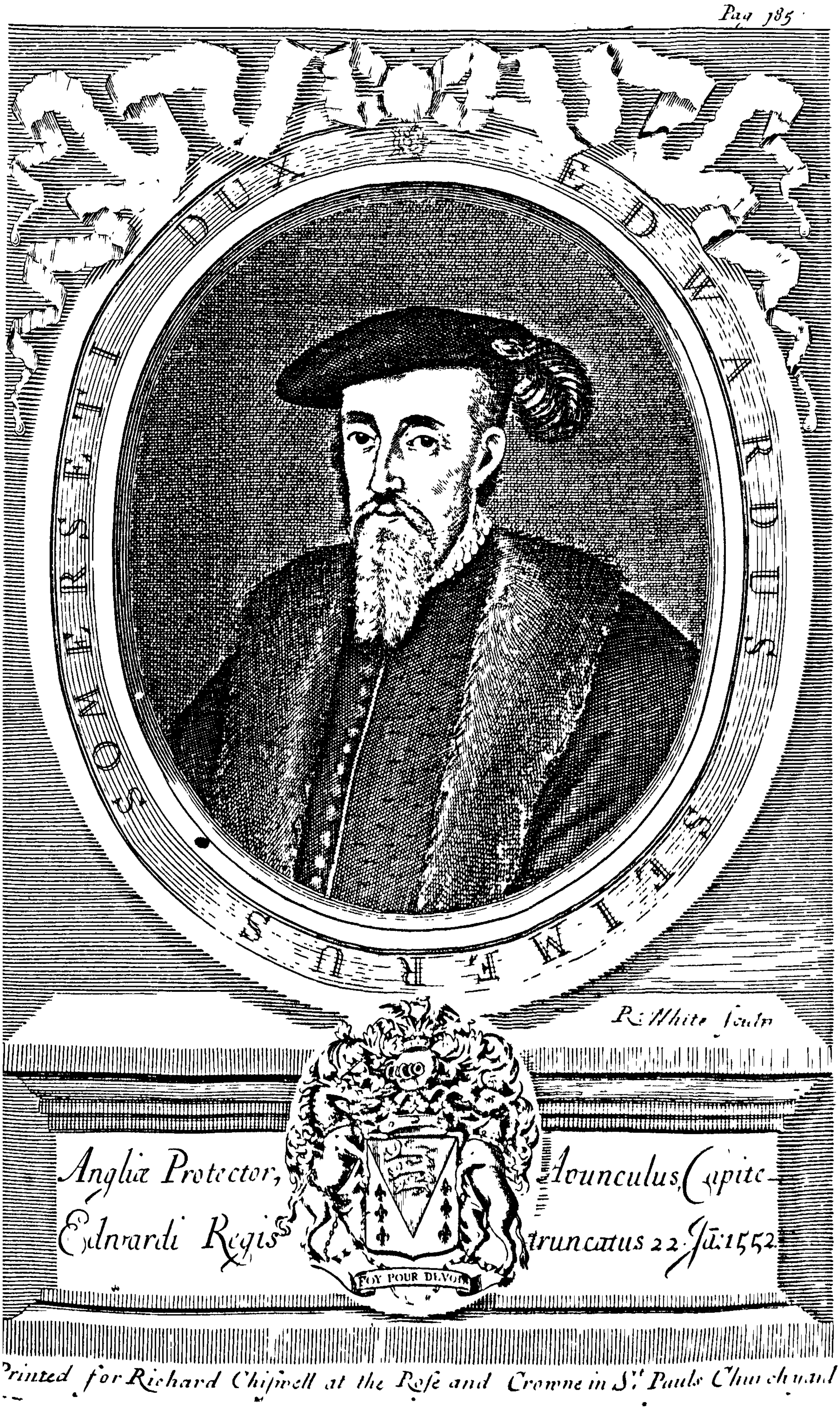
1552. An Order was ſent for beheading the Duke of *Somerſet* on the 22*d* of *January*, on which day he was brought to the Place of Execution, on *Tower-hill*. His whole deportment was very compoſed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been: he firſt kneeled down, and prayed; and then he ſpake to the People in theſe words.

The Duke of *Somerſet's* Speech at his Execution.

“Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought here to ſuffer death, albeit that I never offended againſt the King neither by word nor deed; and have been always as faithful and true to this Realm, as any Man hath been. But, for ſo much as I am by Law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my ſelf, as well as others, to be ſubject thereto. Wherefore, to teſtifie my obedience which I owe unto the Laws, I am come hither to ſuffer death: whereunto I willingly offer my ſelf, with moſt hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of Repentance; who might through ſudden death have taken away my Life, that neither I ſhould have acknowledged him, nor my ſelf. Moreover, there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in mind of, as touching Chriſtian Religion; which, ſo long as I was in Authority, I always diligently ſet forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I me of my doings, but rejoice therein, ſith that now the State of Chriſtian Religion cometh moſt near unto the Form and Order of the Primitive Church: which thing I eſteem as a great benefit given of God both to you and me; moſt heartily exhorting you all, that this which is moſt purely ſet forth to you, you will with like thankfulneſs accept and embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your living; which thing if you do not, without doubt greater miſchief and calamity will follow.

When

Pag 185


EDWARDUS SEIMERUS DUX SOMERSETI
R. White sculp
FOY POUR DEVOIR

Angliæ Protector, Auunculus, Capite
Edwardi Regis truncatus 22 Jā: 1552

Printed for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in St. Pauls Churchyard

When he had gone ſo far, there was an extraordinary noiſe heard, as if ſome Houſe had been blown up with Gun-powder; which frighted all the People, ſo that many run away; they knew not for what: and the Relator, who tarried ſtill, ſays, it brought into his remembrance the aſtoniſhment that the Band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground. At the ſame time Sir *Ant. Brown* came riding towards the Scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a Pardon; upon which there was a general ſhouting, *Pardon, Pardon, God ſave the King*; many throwing up their Caps; by which the Duke might well perceive how dear he was to the People. But as ſoon as theſe diſorders were over, he made a Sign to them with his Hand to compoſe themſelves, and then went on in his Speech thus.

“Dearly beloved Friends, there is no ſuch matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It ſeemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whoſe Ordinance it is meet and neceſſary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my Death; which I am moſt willing to ſuffer. And let us now joyn in Prayer to the Lord for the preſervation of the Kings Majeſty, unto whom hitherto I have always ſhewed my ſelf a moſt faithful and firm Subject. I have always been moſt diligent about his Majeſty, in his Affairs both at home and abroad; and no leſs diligent in ſeeking the common Commodity of the whole Realm; (upon this the People cried out *it was moſt true*) unto whoſe Majeſty I wiſh continual health, with all felicity, and all proſperous ſucceſs. Moreover, I do wiſh unto all his Counſellors, the Grace and Favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with juſtice: unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to ſhew your ſelves obedient, as it is your bounden Duty, under the pain of condemnation; and alſo moſt profitable for the preſervation and ſafeguard of the Kings Majeſty. Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had Affairs with divers Men, and hard it is to pleaſe every Man, therefore if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I moſt humbly require and ask him forgiveneſs; but eſpecially Almighty God, whom throughout all my Life I have moſt grievouſly offended: and all other whatſoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole Heart forgive them. Then he deſired them to be quiet, leſt their Tumults might trouble him; and ſaid, Albeit the Spirit be willing and ready, the Fleſh is frail and wavering; and through your quietneſs I ſhall be much more quieter. Moreover, I deſire you all to bear me witneſs, that I die here in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, deſiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may perſevere conſtant in the ſame to my lives end.

His Death.

Then Dr. *Cox*, who was with him on the Scaffold, put a Paper in his Hand, which was a Prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his Knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undreſſed himſelf to be fitted for the Axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his Face was a little rudier than ordinary: he continued calling, *Lord Jeſus ſave me*, till the Executioner ſevered his Head from his Body.

And Character.

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet*: a Perſon of great Vertues, eminent for Piety, humble, and affable in his greatneſs, ſincere and candid in all his Tranſactions. He was a better Captain, than a Counſellor: had been oft ſucceſsful in his undertakings, was always careful of the Poor and

1551. the Oppreſſed, and in a word, had as many Vertues, and as few faults, as moſt great Men, eſpecially when they were ſo unexpectedly advanced, have ever had. It was generally believed, that all this pretended Conſpiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery. For both *Palmer*, and *Crane*, the chief Witneſſes, were ſoon after diſcharged, as were alſo *Bartuile*, and *Hamond*, with all the reſt that had been made Priſoners on the pretence of this Plot. And the Duke of *Northumberland* continued after that in ſo cloſe a friendſhip with *Palmer*, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. And indeed, the not bringing the Witneſſes into the Court,but only the Depoſitions,and the Parties ſitting Judges,gave great occaſion to condemn the Proceedings againſt him. For it was generally thought, that all was an Artifice of *Palmers*, who had put the Duke of *Somerſet* in fears of his Life, and ſo got him to gather Men about him for his own preſervation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, ſeemed through fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the death of the other four formerly mentioned, who were executed on the 26*th* of *February*, and did all proteſt they had never been guilty of any deſign, either againſt the King, or to kill the Lords. *Vane* added, That his Blood would make *Northumberland*'s Pillow uneaſie to him. The People were generally much affected with this Execution; and many threw Handkerchiefs into the Duke of *Somerſets* Blood, to preſerve it in remembrance of him. One Lady, that met the Duke of *Northumberland* when he was led through the City in Queen *Maries* Reign, ſhaking one of theſe Bloody Handkerchiefs, ſaid, Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Unkle of that excellent King, which was ſhed by thy malicious practiſe, doth now begin apparently to revenge it ſelf on thee. Sure it is, that *Northumberland*, as having maliciouſly contrived this, was ever after hated by the People.

But on the other hand, great notice was taken that the Duke of *Norfolk*, (who, with his Son the Earl of *Surrey*; were believed to have fallen in all their miſery, by the Duke of *Somerſets* means,) did now out live him, and ſaw him fall by a Conſpiracy of his own Servants, as himſelf and his Son had done. The Proceeding againſt his Brother was alſo remembred, for which many thought the Judgments of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert things Sacred to his own uſe, and becauſe a great part of his Eſtate was raiſed out of the Spoils of many Churches: and ſome late Writers have made an Inference from this, upon his not claiming the Benefit of Clergy, that he was thus left of God not to plead that Benefit, ſince he had ſo much invaded the Rights and Revenues of the Church. But in this they ſhewed their ignorance. For by the Statute, that Felony of which he was found guilty, was not to be purged by Clergy. Thoſe who pleaſed themſelves in comparing the events in their own times, with the Tranſactions of the former Ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Humphrey* the good Duke of *Glouceſter* in *Henry* the 6*th*'s time; but I ſhall leave the Reader in that to his own obſervation.

Now was the Duke of *Northumberland* abſolute at Court, all Offices being filled with thoſe that were his Aſſociates. But here I ſtop to give a general view of Affairs beyond Sea this year, though I have a little tranſ-

The Affairs of *Germany*.

greſſed the bounds of it, to give an account of the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall all together. The Siege of *Magdeburg* went on in *Germany*. But it was coldly followed by *Maurice*, who had now other deſigns. He had agreed with the *French* King, who was both to give him aſſiſtance; and to make War on the Emperor, at the ſame time when he ſhould begin. *Ferdinand* was alſo not unwilling to ſee his Brothers greatneſs leſſened; for he was preſſing him, not without threatnings, to lay down his Dignity; as King of the *Romans*, and thought to have eſtabliſhed it on his Son. All the other Princes of *Germany* were alſo oppreſſed by him, ſo that they were diſpoſed to enter into any alliance for the ſhaking off of that Yoke. *Maurice* did alſo ſend over to try the inclinations of *England*; if they would joyn with him, and contribute 400000 Dollars towards the expence of a War, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and recovering the liberty of *Germany*. The Ambaſſadors were only ſent to try the Kings mind, but were not empow'red to conclude any thing. They were ſent back with a good Anſwer, That the King would moſt willingly joyn in alliance with them that were of the ſame Religion with himſelf; but he deſired, that the matter of Religion might be plainly ſet down, leſt under the pretence of that, War ſhould be made for other Quarrels. He deſired them alſo to communicate their deſigns with the other Princes, and then to ſend over others more fully empow'red. *Maurice*, ſeeing ſuch Aſſiſtances ready for him, reſolved, both to break the Emperors deſigns, and by leading on a new League againſt him, to make himſelf more acceptable to the Empire, and thereby to ſecure the Electoral Dignity in his Family. So after *Magdeburg* had endured a long Siege, he, giving a ſecret intimation to ſome Men in whom they confided, perſwaded them about the end of *November* to ſurrender to him; and then broke up his Army: but they fell into the Dominions of ſeveral of the Popiſh Princes, and put them under very heavy Contributions. This alarumed all the Empire, only the Emperor himſelf, by a fatal ſecurity, did not apprehend it, till it came ſo near him, that he was almoſt ruined before he dreamed of any danger. 1551.

Proceedings at *Trent*.

This Year the Tranſactions of *Trent* were remarkable. The Pope had called the Council to meet there, and the firſt of *May* this year there was a Seſſion held. There was a War now broken out, between the Pope, and the King of *France*, on this occaſion. The Pope had a mind to have *Parma* in his own Hands, but that Prince, fearing that he would keep it, as the Emperor did *Placentia*, and ſo he ſhould be ruined between them, implored the Protection of *France*, and received a *French* Garriſon for his ſafety. Upon this, the Pope cited him to *Rome*, declaring him a Traitor if he appeared not: and this engaged the Pope in a War with *France*. At firſt he ſent a threatning Meſſage to that King, that if he would not reſtore *Parma* to him, he would take *France* from him. Upon this the King of *France* proteſted againſt the Council of *Trent*, and threatned that he would call a National Council in *France*. The Council was adjourned to the 10*th* of *September*. In the mean while the Emperor preſſed the *Germans* to go to it. So *Maurice*, and the other Princes of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, ordered their Divines to conſider of the matters which they would propoſe to the Council. The Electors of *Mentz* and *Trier* went to *Trent*. But the King of *France*

ſent

1551. ſent the Abbot of *Belloſana* thither, to make a proteſtation, that by reaſon of the War that the Pope had raiſed, he could not ſend his Biſhops to the Council: and that therefore he would not obſerve their Decrees: (for they had declared in *France*, that abſent Churches were not bound to obey the Decrees of a Council: for which many Authorities were cited from the Primitive time.) But at *Trent* they proceeded for all this, and appointed the Articles about the Euchariſt to be firſt examined: and the Preſidents recommended to the Divines, to handle them according to Scripture, Tradition, and Ancient Authors, and to avoid unprofitable curioſities. The *Italian* Divines did not like this. For they ſaid, to argue ſo, was but an Act of the memory, and was an old and inſufficient way, and would give great advantage to the *Lutherans*, who were skilled in the Tongues; but the School-Learning was a myſtical and ſublime way, in which it was eaſier to ſet off or conceal matters as was expedient. But this was done to pleaſe the *Germans*: And, at the ſute of the Emperor, the matter of Communicating in both kinds was poſtponed, till the *German* Divines could be heard. A ſafe Conduct was deſired, by the *Germans*, not only from the Emperor, but from the Council. For at *Conſtance*, *John Huſs*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, were burnt, upon this pretence, that they had not the Councils ſafe conduct; and therefore when the Council of *Baſil* called for the *Bohemians*, they ſent them a ſafe Conduct, beſides that which the Emperor gave them. So the Princes deſired one in the ſame Form that was granted by thoſe of *Baſil*. One was granted by the Council, which in many things differed from that of *Baſil*; particularly in one Clauſe, that all things ſhould be determined according to the Scriptures, which was in that ſafe Conduct of *Baſil*, but was now left out. In *October* an Ambaſſador from the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to *Trent*, who was endeavouring to get his Son ſetled in the Arch-biſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, which made him more compliant. In his firſt Addreſs to the Council, he ſpake of the reſpect his Maſter had to the Fathers in it, without a word of ſubmitting to their Decrees. But in the Anſwer that was made in the Name of the Council, it was ſaid, they were glad he did ſubmit to them, and would obey their Decrees. This being afterwards complained of, it was ſaid, that they anſwered him according to what he ſhould have ſaid, and not according to what he had ſaid. But in the mean while, the Council publiſhed their Decrees about the Euchariſt; in the firſt part of which, they defined, that the way of the Preſence could hardly be expreſſed, and yet they called Tranſubſtantiation a fit term for it. But this might be well enough defended, ſince that was a thing as hard to be either expreſſed or underſtood, as any thing they could have thought on. They went on next to examine Confeſſion, and Penitence. And now, as the Divines handled the matter, they found the gathering Proofs out of Scripture grew endleſs and trifling; for there was not a place in Scripture where *I confeſs* was to be found, but they drew it in to prove Auricular Confeſſion. From that they went on to Extream Unction. But then came the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Wittenberg*, another Prince of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, and ſhewed their Mandate to the Emperors Ambaſſadors; who deſired them to carry it to the Preſidents; but they refuſed to do that; ſince it was contrary to the Proteſtation, which the Princes of their Confeſſion had made againſt a Council in which the Pope ſhould

1551.

preſide. On the 25*th* of *November* they publiſhed the Decree of the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, that ſo the Prieſt might thereby know how to proportion the Penance to the ſin. It was much cenſured, to ſee it defined that Chriſt had inſtituted Confeſſion to a Prieſt, and not ſhew'd where or how it was inſtituted. And the reaſon for it, about the proportioning the Penance, was laughed at, ſince it was known what ſlight Penances were univerſally injoyned to expiate the greateſt ſins. But the Ambaſſadors of *Wirtenberg* moving that they might have a ſafe Conduct for their Divines to come and propoſe their Doctrine; The Legate anſwered, that they would not upon any terms enter into any Diſputation with them; but if their Divines had any ſcruple, in which they deſired ſatisfaction, with a humble and obedient mind, they ſhould be heard. And for a ſafe Conduct, he thought it was a diſtruſting the Council, to ask any other than what was already granted. Soon after this, there arrived Ambaſſadors from *Strasburg*, and from other five Cities, and thoſe ſent from the Duke of *Saxe* were on their Journey: ſo the Emperor ordered his Ambaſſadors to ſtudy to gain time till they came; and then an effectual courſe muſt be taken for compaſſing that about which he had laboured ſo long in vain to bring it to a happy concluſion. And thus this Year ended.

1552.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

An Act authorizing the new Common-Prayer-Book.

The Parliament was opened on the 23*d* of *January*, and ſate till the 15*th* of *April*. So I ſhall begin this Year with the account of the Proceedings in it. The firſt Act that was put into the Houſe of Lords, was for an Order to bring Men to Divine Service; which was agreed to on the 26*th*, and ſent down to the Commons, who kept it long before they ſent it back. On the 6*th* of *April*, when it was agreed to, the Earl of *Darby*, the Biſhops of *Carliſle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lords *Sturton*, and *Windſor*, diſſented. The Lords afterwards brought in another Bill, for authorizing a new Common-Prayer-Book, according to the Alterations which had been agreed on the former Year. This the Commons joyned to the former, and ſo put both in one Act. By it was firſt ſet forth, " That an Order of Divine Service being publiſhed, many did
" wilfully abſtain from it, and refuſed to come to their Pariſh-Churches;
" therefore all are required, after the Feaſt of *All-hallows* next, to come
" every *Sunday* and Holy-day, to Common-Prayers, under pain of the
" Cenſures of the Church. And the King, the Lords Temporal, and
" the Commons, did in Gods Name require, all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops,
" and other Ordinaries, to endeavour the due execution of that Act, as
" they would anſwer before God for ſuch Evils and Plagues, with which
" he might juſtly puniſh them, for neglecting that good and wholeſome
" Law: and they were fully authorized to execute the Cenſures of the
" Church on all that ſhould offend againſt this Law. To which is added,
" That there had been divers doubts raiſed about the manner of the Mini-
" ſtration of the Service, rather by the curioſity of the Miniſters and Miſta-
" kers, than of any other worthy Cauſe; and that for the better explanation
" of that, and for the greater perfection of the Service, in ſome places,
" where it was fit to make the Prayer and faſhion of Service more earneſt
" and fit, to ſtir Chriſtian People to the true honouring of Almighty God;
" therefore it had been by the Command of the King and Parliament per-
" uſed, explained, and made more perfect. They alſo annexed to it the
" Form

1552.

“ Form of making Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons; and ſo appointed this
“ new Book of Service, to be every where received after the Feaſt of
“ *All-Saints* next, under the ſame Penalties that had been enacted three
“ years before, when the former Book was ſet out.

Which was much cenſured.

It was upon this Act ſaid by the Papiſts, That the Reformation was like to change as oft as the Faſhion did; ſince they ſeemed never to be at a Point in any thing, but new Models were thus continually framing. To which it was anſwered, That it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thouſand years, were not all diſcovered or thrown out at once; but now the buſineſs was brought to a fuller perfection, and they were not like to ſee any more material Changes. Beſides, any that would take the pains to compare the Offices that had been among the Papiſts, would clearly perceive, that in every Age there was ſuch an encreaſe of additional Rites and Ceremonies, that though the old ones were ſtill retained, yet it ſeemed there would be no end of new improvements and additions. Others wondred why the execution of this Law was put off ſo long as till the end of the Year. All the account I can give of this is, that it was expected that by that time the new Body of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which was now preparing, ſhould be finiſhed; and therefore, ſince this Act was to be executed by the Clergy; the day, in which it was to be in force, was ſo long delayed, till that Reformation of their Laws were concluded.

An Act concerning Treaſons.

On the 8*th* of *February* a Bill of Treaſons was put in, and agreed to by all the Lords, except the Lord *Wentworth*. It was ſent down to the Commons, where it was long diſputed; and many ſharp things were ſaid of thoſe who now bore the ſway; that whereas they who governed in the beginning of this Reign had put in a Bill for leſſening the number of ſuch offences, now they ſaw the change of Councils, when ſeverer Laws were propoſed. The Commons at laſt rejected the Bill, and then drew a new one, which was paſſed. By it they Enacted, “ That if
‘ any ſhould call the King, or any of his Heirs named in the Statute of
“ the 35*th* of his Fathers Reign, Heretick, Schiſmatick, Tyrant, Infidel,
“ or Uſurper of the Crown; for the firſt offence they ſhould forfeit
“ their Goods and Chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the
“ ſecond, ſhould be in a *Præmunire*; for the third, ſhould be attainted
“ of Treaſon: but any who ſhould adviſedly ſet that out in printing or
“ writing, was for the firſt offence to be held a Traitor. And that thoſe who
“ ſhould keep any of the Kings Caſtles, Artillery, or Ships, ſix days after they
“ were lawfully required to deliver them up, ſhould be guilty of Treaſon:
“ that Men might be proceeded againſt for Treaſons committed out of
“ the Kingdom, as well as in it. They added a Proviſo, That none
“ ſhould be Attainted of Treaſon on this Act, unleſs two Witneſſes
“ ſhould come, and to their face averr the Fact for which they were to be
“ tried; except ſuch as without any violence ſhould confeſs it: and that
“ none ſhould be queſtioned for any thing ſaid or written, but within
“ three Months after it was done.

This Proviſo ſeems clearly to have been made with relation to the Proceeding againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, in which the Witneſſes were not brought to averr the Evidence to his Face, and by that means he was deprived of all the benefit and advantage which he might have had by croſs examining them. It is certain, that though ſome falſe Witneſſes

have

1552.

have practiſed the Trade ſo much, that they ſeem to have laid off all ſhame, and have a brow that cannot be daunted; yet for the greateſt part a bright ſerenity and cheerfulneſs attends Innocence, and a lowring dejection betrays the Guilty, when the Innocent and they are confronted together.

An Act about Faſts and Holy-days.

On the 3*d* of *March* a Bill was brought in to the Lords for Holy-days and Faſting days; and ſent down to the Commons on the 15*th* of *March*, by whom it was paſſed, and had the Royal Aſſent. In the Preamble it is ſet forth, “That Men are not at all times ſo ſet on the performance of “Religious Duties as they ought to be; which made it neceſſary that there “ſhould be ſet times, in which labour was to ceaſe, that Men might on “theſe days wholly ſerve God: which days were not to be accounted “holy of their own nature, but were ſo called, becauſe of the Holy “Duties then to be ſet about; ſo that the Sanctification of them (was “not any Magical Vertue in that time, but) conſiſted in the dedicating “them to Gods Service: that no day was dedicated to any Saint; but “only to God, in remembrance of ſuch Saints: that the Scripture had “not determined the number of Holy-days, but that theſe were left to “the liberty of the Church. Therefore they Enact, That all *Sundays*, “with the days marked in the Calendar and Liturgy, ſhould be kept as “Holy-days: and the Biſhops were to proceed by the Cenſures of the “Church againſt the diſobedient. A Proviſo was added for the obſervation of St. *George*’s Feaſt by the Knights of the Garter; and another, That Labourers or Fiſher-men might, if need ſo required, work on thoſe days either in or out of Harveſt. The Eves before Holy-days were to be kept as Faſts; and in *Lent*, and on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, abſtinence from Fleſh was Enacted: but if a Holy-day fell to be on a *Munday*, the Eve for it was to be kept on *Saturday*, ſince *Sunday* was never to be a Faſting-day. But it was generally obſerved, that in this and all ſuch Acts, the People were ready enough to lay hold on any relaxation made by it, but did very ſlightly obſerve the ſtricter parts of it: ſo that the liberty left to Tradeſ-men to work in caſes of neceſſity, was carried further than it was intended, to a too publick profanation of the time ſo ſanctified; and the other parts of it, directing the People to a conſcientious obſerving of ſuch times, was little minded.

On the 5*th* of *March*, a Bill concerning the relief of the Poor was put into the Houſe of Lords: the Form of paſſing it has given occaſion to ſome to take notice, that though it is a Bill for taxing the Subjects; yet it had its firſt birth in the Lords Houſe, and was agreed to by the Commons. By it the Church-wardens were empow’red to gather charitable Collections for the Poor; and if any did refuſe to contribute, or did diſſwade others from it, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs was to proceed againſt them. On the 9*th* of *March* the Biſhops put in a Bill for the ſecurity of the Clergy from ſome ambiguous words that were in the ſubmiſſion which the Convocation had made to King *Henry* in the 21*ſt* year of his Reign: by which they were under a *Præmunire*, if they did any things in their Courts contrary to the Kings Prerogative; which was thought hard, ſince ſome through ignorance might tranſgreſs. Therefore it was deſired, that no Prelate ſhould be brought under a *Præmunire*, unleſs they had proceeded in any thing after they were prohibited by the Kings Writ. To this the Lords conſented, but it was let fall by the Commons.

There

1552.

An Act for the Marriage of the Clergy.

There was another Act brought in for the Marriage of the Clergy, which was agreed to by the Lords; the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Rutland*, and *Bath*, and the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Stourton*, *Mounteagle*, *Sands*, *Windſor*, and *Wharton*, proteſting againſt it. The Commons alſo paſſed it, and it was aſſented to by the King. By it was ſet forth, "That many took "occaſion from words in the Act formerly made about this matter, to "ſay, that it was only permitted, as Uſury and other unlawful things "were, for the avoiding greater evils; who thereupon ſpake ſlanderouſly of ſuch Marriages, and accounted the Children begotten in "them to be Baſtards; to the high diſhonour of the King, and Parlia"ment, and the Learned Clergy of the Realm, who had determined, "that the Laws againſt Prieſts Marriages were moſt unlawful by the "Law of God; to which they had not only given their Aſſent in the "Convocation, but Signed it with all their Hands. Theſe ſlanders did "alſo occaſion, that the Word of God was not heard with due reve"rence: whereupon it was Enacted, That ſuch Marriages, made accor"ding to the Rules preſcribed in the Book of Service, ſhould be eſteem"ed good and valid, and that the Children begot in them ſhould be in"heritable according to Law.

The Marqueſs of *Northampton* did alſo put in a Bill for confirming his Marriage, which was paſſed: only the Earl of *Darby*, the Biſhops of *Carliſle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lord *Stourton*, diſſented. By it, the Mar"riage is declared lawful, as by the Law of God indeed it was; any De"cretal, Canon, Eccleſiaſtical Law, or uſage to the contrary notwith"ſtanding. This occaſioned another Act, That no Man might put away his Wife, and marry another, unleſs he were formerly divorced; to which the Biſhop of *Norwich* diſſented; becauſe he was of opinion, that a Divorce did not break the Marriage-Bond. But this Bill fell in the Houſe of Commons, being thought not neceſſary, for the Laws were already ſevere enough againſt ſuch double Marriages.

An Act againſt Uſury.

By another Act, the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* was quite ſuppreſſed, and re-united to the See of *London*: but the Collegiate Church, with its exempted Juriſdiction, was ſtill continued. Another Bill was put in againſt Uſury; which was ſent from the Lords to the Commons, and paſſed by both, and aſſented to. By it, an Act paſſed in Parliament in the 3[illegible]*h* year of the late Kings Reign, "That none might take above 20 "*per Cent.* for Money lent, was repealed; which, they ſay, was not inten"ded for the allowing of Uſury, but for preventing further inconvenien"ces: and ſince Uſury was by the Word of God forbidden, and ſet out in "divers places of Scripture as a moſt odious and deteſtable vice; which "yet many continued to practiſe, for the filthy gain they made by it; "therefore from the firſt of *May* all Uſury or gain for Money lent, was to "ceaſe: and whoſoever continued to practiſe to the contrary, were to ſuf"fer impriſonment, and to be fined at the Kings pleaſure.

This Act has been ſince repealed, and the gain for Money lent has been at ſeveral times brought to ſeveral regulations. It was much queſtioned, whether theſe Prohibitions of Uſury by *Moſes* were not judicial Laws, which did only bind the Nation of the *Jews*; whoſe Land being equally divided among the Families by Lot, the making gain by lending Money was forbid to them of that Nation: yet it did not ſeem to be a thing of its nature ſinful, ſince they might take encreaſe of a Stranger. The not lending

1552.

lending Money on uſe was more convenient for that Nation; which abounding in People, and being ſhut up in a narrow Country, they were neceſſarily to apply themſelves to all the ways of Induſtry for their ſubſiſtence; ſo that every one was, by that Law of not lending upon uſe, forced to emply his Money in the way of Trade or Manufacture, for which they were ſure to have vent, ſince they lay near *Tyre* and *Sidon*, that were then the chief Places of Traffick and Navigation of the World: and without ſuch Induſtry the Soil of *Judea* could not poſſibly have fed ſuch vaſt numbers as lived on it: So that it ſeemed clear that this Law in the Old Teſtament properly belonged to that policy. Yet it came to be looked on by many Chriſtians as a Law of perpetual obligation. It came alſo to be made a part of the Canon Law; and Abſolution could not be given to the breakers of it, without a ſpecial faculty from *Rome*. But for avoiding the ſeverity of the Law, the invention of Mortgages was fallen on; which at firſt, were only Purchaſes made, and let back to the owner, for ſuch Rent as the uſe of the Money came to: ſo that the uſe was taken as the Rent of the Land thus bought. And thoſe who had no Land to ſell thus, fell upon another way: The Borrower bought their Goods, to be payed within a Year, (for inſtance an hundred and ten Pound) and ſold them back, for a Sum to be preſently laid down as they ſhould agree, (it may be a hundred Pound;) by this means the one had a hundred Pound in hand, and the other was to have ten Pound or more at a years end. But this being in the way of Sale, was not called Uſury. This Law was look'd on as impoſſible to be obſerved in a Country, like *England*: and it could not eaſily appear where the immorality lay, of lending Money upon moderate gain, ſuch as held proportion to the value of Land; provided that the perpetual Rule of Chriſtian Equity and Charity were obſerved, which is, not to exact above the proportion duly limited by the Law, and to be merciful in not exacting ſeverely of Perſons who by inevitable accidents have been diſabled from making payment. This digreſſion I thought the more neceſſary, becauſe of the ſcruples that many good and ſtrict Perſons have ſtill in that matter.

A Bill againſt Simony.

Another Act paſſed both Houſes, againſt all Simoniacal Pactions, the reſervation of Penſions out of Benefices, and the granting Advowſons while the Incumbent was yet alive. It was agreed to by the Lords, the Earls of *Derby*, *Rutland*, and *Suſſex*, the Viſcount *Hereford*, and the Lords *Mounteagle*, *Sands*, *Wharton*, and *Evers*, diſſenting. But upon what reaſon I do not know, the Bill was not aſſented to by the King, who being then ſick, there was a Collection made of the Titles of the Bills which were to have the Royal Aſſent, and thoſe the King Signed, and gave Commiſſion to ſome Lords to paſs them in his Name. Theſe abuſes have been oft complained of, but there have been ſtill new contrivances found out, to elude all Laws againſt Simony: either bargains being made by the Friends of the Parties concerned without their expreſs knowledge; or Bonds of Reſignation given, by which Incumbents lie at the mercy of their Patrons, and in theſe, the faultineſs of ſome Clergy-men, is made the colour of impoſing ſuch hard terms upon others, and of robbing the Church oftentimes by that means.

1552.

A Repeal of the Entail of the Duke of *Somerſets* Eſtate.

There was a private Bill put in, about the Duke of *Somerſets* Eſtate, which had been by Act of Parliament entailed on his Son in the 23*d* Year of the laſt Kings Reign. On the third of *March* it was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, Signed by the King, it was for the Repeal of that Act. Whether the King was ſo alienated from his Unkle, that this extraordinary thing was done by him for the utter ruine of his Family, or not, I cannot determine: but I rather incline to think it was done in hatred to the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* and her Iſſue. For the Eſtate was entailed on them by that Act of Parliament, in prejudice of the Iſſue of the former Marriage, of whom are deſcended the *Seimours* of *Devon-ſhire*; who were diſinherited and excluded from the Duke of *Somerſets* Honours by his Patents, and from his Eſtate by Act of Parliament; partly upon ſome jealouſies he had of his former Wife, but chiefly by the power his ſecond Wife had over him. This Bill of Repeal was much oppoſed in the Houſe, though ſent to them in ſo unuſual a way, by the King himſelf. And though there was on the 8*th* of *March* a Meſſage ſent from the Lords, that they ſhould make haſt towards an end of the Parliament, yet ſtill they ſtuck long upon it; looking on the breaking of Entails that were made by Act of Parliament, as a thing of ſuch conſequence, that it diſſolved the greateſt ſecurity that the Law of *England* gives for property. It was long argued by the Commons, and was fifteen ſeveral days brought in. At laſt a new Bill was deviſed, and that was much altered too: it was not quite ended till the day before the Parliament was diſſolved. But near the end of the Seſſion, a Proviſo was ſent from the Lords, to be added to the Bill, confirming the Attainder of the Duke and his Complices. It ſeems his Enemies would not try this at firſt, till they had by other things meaſured their ſtrength in that Houſe; and finding their intereſt grew there, they adventured on it; but they miſtook their meaſures, for the Commons would not agree to it. In concluſion, the Bill of Repeal was agreed to. But whereas there had been ſome Writings for a Marriage between the Earl of *Oxfords* Daughter and the Duke of *Somerſets* Son, and a Bill was put in for voiding theſe; upon a diviſion of the Houſe the 28*th* of *March* there were ſixty eight that agreed, and ſixty nine that rejected it, ſo this Bill was caſt out. By this we ſee what a thin Houſe of Commons there was at that time, the whole being but 137 Members. But this was a natural effect of a long Parliament: many of thoſe who were at firſt choſen, being infirm; and others not willing to put themſelves to the charge and trouble of ſuch conſtant and long attendance. It is alſo from hence clear, how great an intereſt the Duke of *Somerſet* had in the affections of the Parliament.

The Commons refuſe to attaint the Biſhop of *Dureſme* by Bill.

Another Bill gave a more evident diſcovery how hateful the Duke of *Northumberland* was to them. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* was, upon ſome complaint brought againſt him of miſpriſion of Treaſon, put into the *Tower* about the end of *December* laſt year. What the Particulars were I do not find; but it was viſible that the ſecret reaſon was, that he being Attainted, the Duke of *Northumberland* intended to have had the Dignities and Juriſdiction of that Principality conferred on himſelf: ſo that he ſhould have been made Count Palatine of *Dureſme*. *Tonſtall* had in all Points given obedience to every Law, and to all the Injunctions that had been made: but had always in Parliament proteſted againſt the

changes

1552.

changes in Religion; which he thought he might with a good Conſcience ſubmit to and obey; though he could not conſent to them. Only in the matter of the Corporal Preſence, he was ſtill of the old Perſwaſion, and writ about it. But the *Latine* Stile of his Book is much better than the Divinity and Reaſonings in it. So what he would have done, if he had been required to ſubſcribe the Articles, that were now agreed on, did not appear, for he was all this while Priſoner. There was a conſtant good correſpondence between *Cranmer* and him: Though in many things they differed in opinion; yet *Tonſtall* was both a Man of candor, and of great moderation, which agreed ſo well with *Cranmers* temper, that no wonder they lived always in good terms. So when the Bill for Attainting him as guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, on the 31*ſt* of *March*, being put in on the 28*th*, *Cranmer* ſpake ſo freely againſt it, that the Duke of *Northumberland* and he were never after that in friendſhip together. What his Arguments were I could not recover; but when he could do no more, he proteſted againſt it, being ſeconded only by the Lord *Stourton*. How it came to paſs that the other Popiſh Lords and Biſhops that proteſted againſt the other Acts of this Parliament, did not joyn in this, I cannot imagine: unleſs it was, that they were the leſs concerned for *Tonſtall*, becauſe *Cranmer* had appeared to be ſo much his friend, or were awed by their fear of offending the Duke of *Northumberland*. But when the Bill was carried down to the Commons, with the Evidences againſt him, which were ſome Depoſitions that had been taken, and brought to the Lords; they who were reſolved to condemn that practiſe for the future, would not proceed upon it now. So on the fifth of *April* they ordered the Privy-Counſellors of their Houſe, to move the Lords, that his Accuſers and he might be heard face to face: and that not being done, they went no further in the Bill.

By theſe Indications the Duke of *Northumberland* ſaw how little kindneſs the Houſe of Commons had for him. The Parliament had now ſate almoſt five years, and being called by the Duke of *Somerſet*, his Friends had been generally choſe to be of it. So that it was no wonder, if upon his Fall they were not eaſie to thoſe who had deſtroyed him: nor was there any motion made for their giving the King a Supply. Therefore the Duke of *Northumberland* thought it neceſſary for his Intereſt to call a new Parliament. And accordingly on the 15*th* of *April* the Parliament was diſſolved; and it was reſolved to ſpend this Summer in making Friends all over *England*, and to have a new Parliament in the opening of the next Year.

The Parliament is Diſſolved.

The Convocation at this time agreed to the Articles of Religion that were prepared the laſt Year: which, though they have been often printed, yet ſince they are but ſhort, and of ſo great conſequence to this Hiſtory, I have put them into the Collection, as was formerly told.

Thus the Reformation of Doctrine and Worſhip were brought to their perfection; and were not after this in a tittle mended or altered in this Reign, nor much afterwards; only ſome of the Articles were put in more general words under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Another part of the Reformation was yet unfiniſhed, and it was the chief work of this year: that was, the giving Rules to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and for all things relating to the Government of the Church, and

A Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Courts conſidered.

1552. and the exerciſe of the ſeveral Functions in it. In the former Volume it was told, that an Act had paſſed for this effect; yet it had not taken effect, but a Commiſſion was made upon it, aud theſe appointed by King *Henry* had met and conſulted about it, and had made ſome progreſs in it, as appears by an Original Letter of *Cranmers* to that King in the Year 1545. in which he ſpeaks of it as a thing then almoſt forgotten, and quite laid aſide; for from the time of the ſix Articles till then, the deſign of the Reformation had been going backward: At that time the King began to re-aſſume the thoughts of it, and was reſolved to remove ſome Ceremonies, ſuch as the creeping to the Croſs, the ringing of Bells on St. *Andrews* Eve, with other ſuperſtitious Practiſes; for which *Cranmer* ſent him the draught of a Letter to be written in the Kings Name, to the two Arch-biſhops, and to be by them communicated to the reſt of the Clergy. In the Poſtſcript of his Letter he complains much of the ſacrilegious waſt of the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, where the Dean and Prebendaries had been made to alienate many of their Mannours upon Letters obtained by Courtiers from the King, as if the Lands had been deſired for the Kings uſe: upon which they had ſurrendred thoſe Lands, which were thereupon diſpoſed of to the Courtiers that had an Eye upon them. This Letter ſhould have come in in the former Volume, but I had not ſeen it then, ſo I took hold on this Occaſion to direct the Reader to it in the *Collection*. Collection Number 61.

It was alſo formerly told, that an Act had paſſed in this Reign; to empower thirty two Perſons, who ſhould be named by the King, to make a Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which was to be finiſhed within three years. But the revolutions of Affairs, and the other more preſſing things that were ſtill uncompleated, had kept them hitherto from ſetting to that work. On the firſt of *November* laſt year, a Commiſſion was given to eight Perſons to prepare the matter for the review of the two and thirty, that ſo it might be more eaſily compiled, being in a few hands, than could well be done, if ſo many had been to ſet about it. Theſe eight were, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Cox*, and *Peter Martyr*, two Divines, Dr. *May*, and Dr. *Taylor*, two Doctors of the Law, and *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick*, two Common Lawyers. But on the 14*th* of *November* the Commiſſion was renewed, and the Biſhop of *London* was named in the room of the Biſhop of *Ely*; one *Traheron* in the room of *May*; and *Goſnald* in *Goodrick's* room. Theſe, it ſeems, deſiring more time than one year to finiſh it in, for two of the years were now lapſed, in the laſt Seſſion of the Parliament they had three years more time offered them. But it ſeems the Work was believed to be in ſuch a forwardneſs, that this continuation was not judged neceſſary, for the Royal Aſſent was not given to that Act. After the Parliament was ended, they made haſt with it. But I find it ſaid in the Preface to the Book, as it was printed in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, that *Cranmer* did the whole Work almoſt himſelf: which will juſtifie the Character ſome give of him, that he was the greateſt Canoniſt then in *England*. Dr. *Haddon*, that was Univerſity Orator in *Cambridge*, and Sir *Jo. Cheek*, were employed to put it in *Latine*. And they did ſo imitate the Stile of the *Roman* Laws, that any who reads the Book, will fancy himſelf to be reading a Work of the purer Ages of that State, when their Language was not yet corrupted with theſe barbarous terms which the mixture of other Nations brought in, and made it no where more nauſeouſly rude than in the Canon Law. 1552.

The Work was digeſted and caſt into fifty one Titles: to bring it near the Number of the Books of the Pandects, into which *Juſtinian* had digeſted the *Roman* Law. It was prepared by *February* this year, and a Commiſſion was granted to thirty two Perſons, of whom the former eight were a part: conſiſting of eight Biſhops, eight Divines, among whom *John a Laſco* was one, eight Civilians, and eight Common Lawyers. They were to reviſe, correct, and perfect the Work, and ſo to preſent it to the King. They divided themſelves into four Claſſes, eight to a Claſſis; and every one of theſe were to prepare their Corrections, and ſo to communicate them to the reſt. And thus was the Work carried on, and finiſhed; but before it received the Royal Confirmation, the King died, and this fell with him: nor do I find it was ever ſince that time taken up, or proſecuted, with the care that a thing of ſuch conſequence deſerved: and therefore I ſhall not think it improper for me, having before ſhewed what was done, in the next place to give an account of what was then intended to be done; and is now very fit to be well conſidered.

The Chief Heads of it.

The firſt Title was of the Trinity, and the Catholick Faith; in which thoſe who denied the Chriſtian Religion were to ſuffer death, and the loſs of their Goods. The Books of Scripture were numbred, theſe called *Apocryphal* being left out of the Canon; which, though they were read in the Church, it was only for the edification of the People, but not for the proof of the Doctrine. The power of the Church was ſubjected to the Scriptures: The four General Councils were received; but all Councils were to be examined by the Scripture; as were alſo the Writings of the Fathers, who were to be much reverenced, but according to what themſelves have written, they were only to be ſubmitted to when they agreed with the Scriptures.

The ſecond Title contains an enumeration of many Hereſies, *viz.* againſt the Trinity, Jeſus Chriſt, the Scriptures, about Original ſin, Juſtification, the Maſs, Purgatory; and cenſured thoſe who denied Magiſtracy to be lawful, or aſſerted the Community of Goods, or Wives; or who denied the Paſtoral Office, and thought any might aſſume it at pleaſure; or who thought the Sacraments naked Signs, who denied the Baptiſm of Infants, or thought none could poſſibly be ſaved that were not Baptized; or who aſſerted Tranſubſtantiation, or denied the lawfulneſs of Marriage, particularly in the Clergy; or who aſſerted the Popes Power; or ſuch as excuſed their ill Lives by the pretence of Predeſtination, as many wicked Men did: from which and other Hereſies all are diſſwaded, and earneſtly exhorted to endeavour the extirpation of them.

The third was about the Judgments of Hereſie before the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, even in exempted Places. They were to proceed by Witneſſes; but the Party, upon fame, might be required to purge himſelf: if he repented, he was to make publick profeſſion of it in thoſe places where he had ſpread it; and to renounce his Hereſie, ſwearing never to return to it any more: but obſtinate Hereticks were to be declared infamous, incapable of publick Truſt, or to be Witneſſes in any Court, or to have power to make a Teſtament, and were not to have the benefit

1552. of the Law: Clergy-men falling into Hereſie were not to return to their Benefices, unleſs the Circumſtances were ſuch that they required it; and thus all Capital Proceedings for Hereſie were laid down.

The fourth was about Blaſphemy, flowing from hatred or rage againſt God, which was to be puniſhed as obſtinate Hereſie was.

The fifth was about the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Lords Supper. To which is added, that Impoſition of Hands is to be retained in the Ordination of Paſtors; that Marriages are to be ſolemnly made; that thoſe who renew their Baptiſmal Vow be confirmed by the Biſhop: and that the Sick ſhould be viſited by their Paſtors.

The ſixth was about Idolatry, Magick, Witchcraft, or conſulting with Conjurers; who were to be arbitrarily puniſhed, if they ſubmitted; otherwiſe, to be excommunicated.

The ſeventh was about Preachers; whom the Biſhops were to examine carefully, before they licenſed them; and were once a year to gather together all thoſe who were licenſed in their Dioceſſes, to know of them the true ſtate of their Flock; what Vices abounded, and what Remedies were moſt proper. Thoſe who refuſed to hear Sermons, or did make diſturbance in them, were to be ſeparated from the Communion. It ſeems it was deſigned, that there ſhould be in every Dioceſs, ſome who ſhould go round a Precinct, and Preach like *Evangeliſts*, as ſome then called them.

The eighth was about Marriage; which was to be after asking Banes, three *Sundays*, or Holy-days. Thoſe who were married in any other Form, than that in the Book of Service, were not to be eſteemed lawfully married: thoſe who corrupted Virgins, were to be excommunicated, if they did not marry them; or if that could not be done, they were to give them the third part of their Goods, beſides other arbitrary puniſhments. Marriages made without the conſent of Parents or Guardians, were declared null. Then follow the things that may void Marriages; they are left free to all: Poligamy is forbid, Marriages made by force are declared void, Mothers are required to ſuckle their Children.

The ninth is about the Degrees of Marriage. All theſe in the Levitical Law, or thoſe that are reciprocal to them, are forbidden: but Spiritual Kindred was not to hinder Marriage, ſince there was nothing in Scripture about it, nor was there any good reaſon for it.

The tenth was about Adultery. A Clergy-man guilty of it was to forfeit all his Goods and Eſtate to his Wife, and Children; or if he had none, to the Poor, or ſome pious uſe; and to loſe his Benefice, and be either baniſhed, or impriſoned during Life. A Lay-man was to reſtore his Wives Portion, and to give her the half of his Goods, and be impriſoned, or baniſhed, during Life. Wives that were guilty, were to be in like manner puniſhed. But the Innocent Party might marry again; yet ſuch were rather exhorted, if they ſaw hope of amendment, to be reconciled to the offending Party. No Marriage was to be diſſolved without a Sentence of Divorce. Deſertion, long Abſence, Capital Enmities where either Party was in hazard of their Life, or the conſtant perverſeneſs or fierceneſs of a Husband againſt his Wife, might induce a Divorce: but little Quarrels might not do it; nor a perpetual Diſeaſe, Relief in ſuch a Miſery being one of the Ends of Marriage. But all ſeparation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was to be taken away. 1552.

The *11th* was about Admiſſion to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. Patrons were to conſider, the choice of the Perſon was truſted to them, but was not to be abuſed to any ſacrilegious or baſe ends: if they did otherwiſe, they were to loſe their right for that time. Benefices were not to be given, or promiſed, before they were void; nor let lie deſtitute above ſix Months, otherwiſe they were to devolve to the Biſhop. Clergy-men before their Ordination were to be examined by the Arch-deacons, with ſuch other Triers as the Biſhop ſhould appoint to be aſſiſtant to them: and the Biſhop himſelf was to try them, ſince this was one of the chief things, upon which the happineſs of the Church depended. The Candidate was to give an Oath to anſwer ſincerely, upon which he was to be examined about his Doctrine, chiefly of the whole Points of the Catechiſme, if he underſtood them aright: and what knowledge he had of the Scriptures: they were to ſearch him well whether he held Heretical Opinions: None was to be admitted to more Cures than one; and all Priviledges for Pluralities were for ever to ceaſe: nor was any to be abſent from his Cure, except for a time, and a juſt cauſe, of which he was to ſatisfie his Ordinary. The Biſhops were to take great care to allow no abſence longer than was neceſſary: every one was to enter upon his Cure within two Months after he was Inſtituted by the Biſhop. Prebendaries who had no particular Cure, were to preach in the Churches adjacent to them. Baſtards might not be admitted to Orders, unleſs they had eminent Qualities. But the Baſtards of Patrons were upon no account to be received, if preſented by them. Other bodily defects, unleſs ſuch as did much diſable them, or made them very contemptible, were not to be a barr to any. Beſide the Sponſions in the Office of Ordination, they were to ſwear that they had made no agreement to obtain the Benefice to which they were preſented, and that if they come to know of any made by others on their account, they ſhould ſignifie it to the Biſhop; and that they ſhould not do any thing to the prejudice of their Church.

The *12th* and *13th* were about the renouncing or changing of Benefices.

The *14th* was about purgation upon common fame, or when one was accuſed for any crime, which was proved incompleatly, and only by preſumptions. The Eccleſiaſtical Courts might not re-examine any thing that was proved in any Civil Court, but upon a high ſcandal a Biſhop might require a Man to purge himſelf, otherwiſe to ſeparate him from Holy things. The Form of a Purgation was, to ſwear himſelf innocent; and he was alſo to have four Compurgators of his own Rank, who were to ſwear, that they believed he ſwore true: upon which the Judge was to reſtore him to his Fame. Any that were under ſuſpicion of a Crime, might by the Judge be required to avoid all the occaſions from which the ſuſpition had riſen: But all ſuperſtitious Purgations were to be rejected.

The *15th*, *16th*, *17th*, and *18th*, were about Dilapidations, the Letting of the Goods of the Church, the confirming the former Rules of Election in Cathedrals or Colledges, and the Collation of Benefices.

1552. fices. And there was to be a Purgation of Simony, as there ſhould b occaſion for it.

The 19*th* was about Divine Offices. In the Mornings on Holy-day the Common-Prayer was to be uſed, with the Communion-Service joyned to it. In Cathedrals, there was to be Communion every *Sunday* an Holy-day; where the Biſhop, the Dean, and the Prebendaries, and al maintained by that Church, were to be preſent. There was no Sermo to be in Cathedrals in the Morning, leſt that might draw any from th Pariſh Churches; but only in the Afternoons. In the Anthems, all Figured Muſick, by which the Hearers could not underſtand what they ſung, was to be taken away. In Pariſh Churches, there were only to be Sermons in the Morning; but none in the Afternoon, except in great Pariſhes. All who were to receive the Sacrament, were to come the day before, and inform the Miniſter of it; who was to examine their Conſciences, and their Belief. On Holy-days in the Afternoon, the Catechiſm was to be explained for an hour. After the Evening-Prayers, the Poor were to be looked to; and ſuch as had given open ſcandal were to be examined, and publick Penitence was to be enjoyned them: and the Miniſter, with ſome of the Ancients of the Pariſh, were to commune together about the ſtate of the People in it: that if any carried themſelves indecently, they might be firſt charitably admoniſhed; and, if that did not prevail, ſubjected to ſeverer Cenſures: but none were to be excommunicated, without the Biſhop were firſt informed, and had conſented to it. Divine Offices were not to be performed in Chappels, or private Houſes, leſt the Churches ſhould under that pretence be neglected, and Errors more eaſily diſſeminated; excepting only the Houſes of Peers and Perſons of great Quality, who had numerous Families; but in theſe, all things were to be done according to the Book of Common-Prayer.

The 20*th* was about thoſe that bore Office in the Church; Sextons, Church-wardens, Deacons, Prieſts, and Rural Deans. This laſt was to be a Yearly Office: he that was named to it by the Biſhop, being to watch over the manners of the Clergy and People in his Precinct, was to ſignifie the Biſhops pleaſure to them, and to give the Biſhop an account of his Precinct every ſixth Month. The Arch-deacons were to be general Viſitors over the Rural Deans. In every Cathedral, one of the Prebendaries, or one procured by them, was thrice a week to expound ſome part of the Scriptures. The Biſhops were to be over all, and to remember that their Authority was given to them for that end, that many might be brought to Chriſt, and that ſuch as had gone aſtray might be reſtored by Repentance. To the Biſhop all were to give obedience according to the Word of God. The Biſhop was to preach often in his Church; was to Ordain none for Rewards, or raſhly; was to provide good Paſtors, and to deprive bad ones: he was to viſit his Dioceſs every third year, or oftener as he ſaw cauſe; but then he was to do it at his own charge: he was to have yearly Synods, and to confirm ſuch as were well inſtructed. His Family was to conſiſt of Clergy-men, whom he ſhould bring up to the Service of the Church; (ſo was St. *Auſtins*, and other Ancient Biſhops Families conſtituted.) This being a great means to ſupply the great want of good and faithful Miniſters. Their Wives and Children were alſo to avoid all levity or vain dreſſing. They were never to be abſent from their Dioceſſes, but upon a publick and urgent cauſe: and when then grew ſick or infirm, they were to have Coadjutors. If they became ſcandalous or heretical, they were to be deprived by the Kings Authority. The Arch-biſhops were to exerciſe the Epiſcopal Function in their Dioceſs; and were once to viſit their whole Province, and to overſee the Biſhops, to admoniſh them for what was amiſs, and to receive and judge Appeals, to call Provincial Synods upon any great occaſion, having obtained Warrant from the King for it. Every Biſhop was to have a Synod of his Clergy ſome time in *Lent*, ſo that they might all return home before *Palm-Sunday*. They were to begin with the Letany, a Sermon, and a Communion; then all were to withdraw into ſome private place, where they were to give the Biſhop an account of the ſtate of the Dioceſs, and to conſult of what required advice; every Prieſt was to deliver his opinion, and the Biſhop was to deliver his Sentence, and to bring matters to as ſpeedy a Concluſion as might be; and all were to ſubmit to him, or to appeal to the Arch-biſhop.

The 21*ſt*, 22*d*, 23*d*, 24*th*, 25*th*, 26*th*, 27*th*, 28*th*, and 29*th* Titles are about Church-wardens, Univerſities, Tithes, Viſitations, Teſtaments, Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, Suſpenſion, Sequeſtration, Deprivation.

The 30*th* is about Excommunication, of which, as being the chief Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, I ſhall ſet down their Scheme the more fully.

Their deſign concerning the uſe of Excommunication.

Excommunication they reckon an Authority given of God to the Church, for removing ſcandalous or corrupt Perſons, from the uſe of the Sacraments, or fellowſhip of Chriſtians, till they give clear ſigns of their repentance, and ſubmit to ſuch Spiritual puniſhments, by which the Fleſh may be ſubdued, and the Spirit ſaved. This was truſted to Churchmen, but chiefly, to Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Arch-deacons, Deans, and any other appointed for it by the Church. None ought to be excommunicated but for their obſtinacy in great faults; but it was never to be gone about raſhly; and therefore the Judge who was to give it, was to have a Juſtice of Peace with him, and the Miniſter of the Pariſh where the Party lived, with two or three learned Preſbyters, in whoſe Preſence the matter was to be examined, and Sentence pronounced, which was to be put in writing. It was to be intimated in the Pariſh where the Party lived, and in the neighbouring Pariſhes, that all Perſons might be warned to avoid the company of him that was under Excommunication; and the Miniſter was to declare what the nature and conſequences of Exmunication were, the Perſon ſo cenſured being cut off from the Body of Chriſt: after that, none was to eat, or drink, or keep company with him, but thoſe of his own Family: whoſoever did otherwiſe, if being admoniſhed they continued in it, were alſo to be Excommunicated. If the Perſon cenſured continued forty days without expreſſing any repentance, it was to be certified into the *Chancery*, and a Writ was to iſſue for taking and keeping him in Priſon, till he ſhould become ſenſible of his offences; and when he did confeſs theſe, and ſubmitted to ſuch puniſhments as ſhould be enjoyned, the Sentence was to be taken off, and the Perſon publickly reconciled to the Church. And this was to take place againſt thoſe, who, being condemned for capital Offences, obtained the Kings Pardon, but were notwithſtanding to be ſubject to Church-cenſures.

1552. Then follows the Office of receiving Penitents. They were firſt to ſtand without the Church, and deſire to be again received into it, and ſo to be brought in: the Miniſter was to declare to the People the hainouſneſs of ſin, and the mercies of God in the Goſpel, in a long Diſcourſe, of which the Form is there preſcribed: Then he was to ſhew the People, that as they were to abhor hard'ned ſinners, ſo they were to receive with the Bowels of true Charity, all ſincere Penitents: he was next to warn the Perſon, not to mock God, and deceive the People, by a feigned Confeſſion; he was thereupon to repeat, firſt a general Confeſſion, and then more particularly to name his ſin, and to pray to God for mercy to himſelf, and that none by his ill example might be defiled; and finally to beſeech them all to forgive him, and to receive him again into their Fellowſhip: Then the Miniſter was to ask the People, whether they would grant his deſires, who were to anſwer, they would: Then the Paſtor was to lay his Hand on his Head, and to abſolve him from the puniſhment of his offences, and the bond of Excommunication; and ſo to reſtore him to his place in the Church of God. Then he was to lead him to the Communion-Table, and there to offer up a Prayer of Thankſgiving to God for reclaiming that ſinner. For the other Titles they relate to the other parts of the Law of thoſe Courts, for which I refer the Reader to the Book it ſelf.

How far any of thoſe things, chiefly the laſt about Excommunication, may be yet brought into the Church, I leave to the Conſultations of the Governors of it, and of the two Houſes of Parliament. It cannot be denied, that Vice and Immorality, together with much impiety, have over-run the Nation; and though the charge of this is commonly caſt on the Clergy, who certainly have been in too many places wanting to their duty; yet on the other hand, they have ſo little power, or none at all, by Law, to cenſure even the moſt publick ſins, that the blame of this great defect ought to lie more univerſally on the whole Body of the Nation, that have not made effectual proviſion for the reſtraining of vice, the making ill Men aſhamed of their ways, and the driving them from the Holy Myſteries, till they change their courſe of Life.

A Project for relieving the Clergy reduced to great Poverty.

There was another thing propoſed this Year for the correcting the great diſorders of Clergy-men, which were occaſioned by the extream miſery and poverty to which they were reduced. There were ſome motions made about it in Parliament, but they took not effect: ſo one writ a Book concerning it, which he dedicated to the Lord Chancellor, then the Biſhop of *Ely*. He ſhewed, that without Rewards or Encouragements few would apply themſelves to the Paſtoral Function, and that thoſe in it, if they could not ſubſiſt by it, muſt turn to other employments: ſo that at that time, many Clergy-men were Carpenters, and Taylors, and ſome kept Ale-houſes. It was a reproach on the Nation, that there had been ſo profuſe a zeal for ſuperſtition, and ſo much coldneſs in true Religion. He complains of many of the Clergy who did not maintain Students at the Univerſities according to the Kings Injunctions; and that in Schools, and Colledges, the poor Scholars Places were generally filled with the Sons of the Rich; and that Livings were moſt ſcandalouſly ſold; and the greateſt part of the Country-Clergy were ſo ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no hope of doing any thing effectually for redreſſing ſo great a calamity, till the King ſhould be of Age himſelf to ſet forward ſuch Laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the Clergy. 1552.

This Year, both *Heath* of *Worceſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were put out of their Biſhopricks. For *Heath*, it has been already ſaid, that he was put in priſon for refuſing to conſent to the Book of Ordinations. But for *Day*, whether he refuſed to ſubmit to the new Book, or fell into other tranſgreſſions, I do not know. Both theſe were afterwards deprived, not by any Court conſiſting of Church-men, but by Secular Delegates, of whom three were Civilians, and three Common Lawyers, as King *Edwards* Journal informs us. *Dayes* Sentence is ſomething ambiguouſly expreſſed, in the Patent that *Scory* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had to ſucceed him; which bears date the *24th* of *May*, and mentions his being put there in the room of *George* late Biſhop of that See, who had been deprived or removed from it: In *June* following, upon *Hollbeach* Biſhop of *Lincoln's* death, *Taylour*, that had been Dean of *Lincoln*, was made Biſhop. This Year the Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter* was quite ſuppreſſed, and converted into an exempted Arch-deaconry; and *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*. In the *December* before, *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter* had been united, by reaſon of their Voicinage, and their great poverty, and that they were not very populous: ſo they were to be for ever after one Biſhoprick with two Titles, as *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Bath* and *Wells* were; and *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*. But now they were put into another method, and the Biſhop was to be called only Biſhop of *Worceſter*. In all the vacancies of Sees, there were a great many of their beſt Lands taken from them: and the Sees that before had been profuſely enriched, were now brought to ſo low a condition, that it was ſcarce poſſible for the Biſhops to ſubſiſt: and yet, if what was ſo taken from them had been converted to good uſes, to the bettering the condition of the poor Clergy over *England*, it had been ſome mitigation of ſo hainous a Robbery; but theſe Lands were ſnatched up by every hungry Courtier, who found this to be the eaſieſt way to be ſatisfied in their pretenſions: and the World had been ſo poſſeſſed with the opinion of their exceſſive Wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough.

Heath and Day turned out of their Biſhopricks.

This Year a Paſſage fell out, relating to *Ireland*, which will give me occaſion to look over to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Kings of *England* had formerly contented themſelves with the Title of Lords of *Ireland*: which King *Henry* the *8th*, in the *33d* Year of his Reign, had in a Parliament there, changed into the Title of a Kingdom. But no ſpecial Crown or Coronation was appointed, ſince it was to follow the Crown of *England*. The Popes and the Emperors have pretended, that the conferring Titles of Sovereign Dignity belonged to them. The Pope derived his claim from what our Saviour ſaid, *That all Power in Heaven and in Earth was given to him*, and by conſequence to his Vicar. The Emperors, as being a dead ſhadow of the *Roman* Empire, which Title, with the deſignation of *Cæſar*, they ſtill continued to uſe, and pretended, that as the *Roman* Emperors did anciently make Kings, ſo they had ſtill the ſame right: though becauſe thoſe Emperors made Kings in the Countreys which were theirs by Conqueſt, it was an odd ſtretch to infer, that thoſe who retained nothing of their Empire, but the Name,

The Affairs of *Ireland*.

1552. ſhould therefore make Kings in Countries that belonged not to them: and it is certain, that every entire or independent Crown or State may make for or within it ſelf what Titles they pleaſe. But the Authority the Crown of *England* had in *Ireland* was not then ſo entire, as by the many Rebellions that have fallen out ſince, it is now become. The Heads of the *Clans* and Names had the Conduct of all their ſeveral Tribes, who were led on by them to what deſigns they pleaſed: And though within the *Engliſh* Pale, the King was obeyed, and his Laws executed almoſt as in *England*; yet the native *Iriſh* were an uncivilized and barbarous Nation, and not yet brought under the Yoke; and for the greateſt part of *Ulſter*, they were united to the *Scots*, and followed their Intereſts.

There had been a Rebellion in the ſecond Year of this Reign. But Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, then Deputy, being recalled, and Sir *Edw. Bellinghame* ſent in his room, he ſubdued *O-Canor*, and *O-More*, that were the chief Authors of it: and not being willing to put things to extremities, when *England* was otherwiſe diſtracted with Wars, he perſwaded them to accept of Penſions of 100 *l.* a-piece, and ſo they came in and lived in the *Engliſh* Pale. But the Winter after, there was another Rebellion deſigned in *Ulſter*, by *O-Neal*, *O-Donnel*, *O-Docart*, and the Heads of ſome other Tribes; who ſent to the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, to procure them aſſiſtance from *France*, and they would keep up the diſorders in *Ireland*. The Biſhop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, was ſent by her to obſerve their ſtrength, that he might accordingly perſwade the King of *France* to aſſiſt them. He croſs'd the Seas, and met with them, and with *Wauchop*, a *Scotch-man*, who was the Biſhop of *Armagh* of the Popes making, and who, though he was blind, was yet eſteemed one of the beſt at Riding Poſt in the World. They ſet out all their greatneſs to the *French* Biſhop, to engage him to be their friend at the Court of *France*: but he ſeemed not ſo well ſatisfied of their ability to do any great matter, and ſo nothing followed on this. One paſſage fell out here, which will a little diſcover the temper of that Biſhop. When he was in *O-Docarts* Houſe, he ſaw a fair Daughter of his, whom he endeavoured to have corrupted, but ſhe avoided him carefully. Two *Engliſh* Gray-Friars, that had fled out of *England* for their Religion, and were there at that time, obſerving the Biſhops inclinations, brought him an *Engliſh* Whore, whom he kept for ſome time. She one night looking among his things, found a Glaſs full of ſomewhat that was very odoriferous, and poured it all down her Throat: which the Biſhop perceiving too late, fell into a moſt violent paſſion; for it had been preſented to him by *Soliman* the Magnificent, at his leaving that Court, as the richeſt Balm in *Egypt*; and was valued at 2000 Crowns. The Biſhop was in ſuch a rage, that all the Houſe was diſturbed with it; whereby he diſcovered both his lewdneſs and paſſion at once. This is related by one that was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a Page to the *Scotch* Queen; Sir *James Melvil*, who lived long in that Court, under the Conſtable of *France*, and was afterwards much employed by the Prince Elector *Palatine* in many Negotiations; and coming home to his own Country, was ſent on many occaſions to the Court of *England*, where he lived in great Eſteem. He in his old Age writ a Narrative of all the Affairs that himſelf had been concerned in, which is

one of the beſt and perfecteſt Pieces of that nature that I have ſeen. 1552.
The Original is yet extant under his own Hand in *Scotland:* a Copy of it was ſhewed me by one deſcended from him, from which I ſhall diſcover many conſiderable Paſſages, though the Affairs in which he was moſt employed, were ſomething later than the time of which I am to write. But to return to *Ireland.* Upon the Peace made with *France* and *Scotland*, things were quieted there; and Sir *Ant. St. Leiger* was in *Auguſt* 1550. again ſent over to be Deputy there. For the Reformation, it made but a ſmall progreſs in that Kingdom. It was received among the *Engliſh*, but I do not find any endeavours were uſed to bring it in among the *Iriſh*. This Year *Bale* was ſent into *Ireland.* He had been a buſie Writer upon all occaſions, and had a great deal of Learning, but wanted Temper, and did not write with the decency that became a Divine, or was ſutable to ſuch matters; which it ſeems made thoſe who recommended Men to preferment in this Church, not think him ſo fit a Perſon to be employed here in *England.* But the Biſhoprick of *Oſſery* being void, the King propoſed him to be ſent thither. So in *Auguſt* this Year Dr. *Goodaker* was ſent over to be Biſhop of *Armagh*, and *Bale* to be Biſhop of *Oſſery*. There were alſo two other, who were *Iriſh* Men, to be promoted. When they came thither, the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin* intended to have conſecrated them according to the old Pontifical; for the new Book of Ordination had not been yet uſed among them. *Goodaker* and the two others were eaſily perſwaded to it, but *Bale* abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it: who being aſſiſted by the Lord Chancellor, it was carried, that they ſhould be ordained according to the new Book. When *Bale* went into his Dioceſs, he found all things there in dark Popery; but before he could make any Reformation there, King *Edwards* death put an end to his and all ſuch deſigns.

A Change made in the Order of the Garter.

In *England* nothing elſe that had any relation to the Reformation paſſed this Year, unleſs what belongs to the change made in the Order of the Garter may be thought to relate to it. On the 23*d* of *April* the former Year, being St. *George*'s day, a Propoſition was made to conſider the Order and Statutes, ſince there was thought to be a great deal of ſuperſtition in them; and the Story upon which the Order was founded, concerning St. *George*'s fighting with the Dragon, looked like a Legend formed in the darker Ages, to ſupport the humour of Chivalry, that was then very high in the World. And as the Story had no great credibility in it ſelf, ſo it was delivered by no Ancient Author. Nor was it found that there had been any ſuch Saint: there being among Ancient Writers none mentioned of that Name, but *George* of *Alexandria*, the *Arrian* Biſhop, that was put in when *Athanaſius* was baniſhed. Upon this motion in the former Year, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earls of *Wilt-ſhire*, and *Warwick*, were appointed to review the Statutes of the Order. So this Year the whole Order was changed; and the Earl of *Weſtmorland* and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, who were now to be inſtalled, were the firſt that were received according to the new Model, (which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it was tranſlated into *Latin* out of the *Engliſh*, by the King himſelf, written all with his own Hand, and it is the third Paper after his Journal.) The Preamble of it ſets forth the noble deſign of the Order, to animate great Men to gallant Actions, and to aſſociate them into a Fraternity,

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 22.

for

1552. for their better encouragement and aſſiſtance; but ſays, it had been much corrupted by ſuperſtition, therefore the Statutes of it were hereafter to be theſe,

It was no more to be called the Order of St. *George*, nor was he to be eſteemed the Patron of it; but it was to be called the Order of the Garter. The Knights of this Order were to wear the Blew Ribond or Garter as formerly; but at the Collar, in ſtead of a George, there was to be on one ſide of the Jewel, a Knight carrying a Book upon a Sword point, on the Sword to be written *Protectio*, on the Book *Verbum Dei*; on the Reverſe, a Shield, on which ſhould be written *Fides*; to expreſs their reſolution both with offenſive and defenſive Weapons to maintain the Word of God. For the reſt of the Statutes I ſhall refer the Reader to the Paper I mentioned. But this was repealed by Queen *Mary*, and ſo the old Rules took place again, and do ſo ſtill. This deſign ſeems to have been chiefly intended, that none but thoſe of the Reformed Religion might be capable of it; ſince the adhering to, and ſtanding for the Scriptures, was then taken to be the diſtinguiſhing Character between the Papiſts and the Reformers.

This is the ſum of what was either done or deſigned this Year with relation to Religion. As for the State, there was a ſtrict enquiry made of all who had cheated the King in the ſuppreſſion of Chantries, or in any other thing that related to Churches; from which the Viſitors were believed to have embezeled much to their own uſes, and there were many Sutes in the *Star-Chamber* about it. Moſt of all theſe Perſons had been the Friends or Creatures of the Duke of *Somerſet*: and the enquiry after theſe things ſeems to have been more out of hatred to him, than out of any deſign to make the King the richer by what ſhould be recovered for his uſe. But on none did the Storm break more ſeverely than on the Lord *Paget*. He had been Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and was charged with many miſdemeanours in that Office, for which he was fined in 6000 *l.* But that which was moſt ſevere, was, that on St. *George*'s Eve, he was degraded from the Order of the Garter, for divers offences; but chiefly, becauſe he was no Gentleman, neither by Fathers ſide nor Mothers ſide. His chief offence was his greateſt Vertue. He had been on all occaſions a conſtant Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*: for which the Duke of *Northumberland* hated him mortally, and ſo got him to be degraded to make way for his own Son. This was much cenſured, as a barbarous Action, that a Man who had ſo long ſerved the Crown in ſuch publick Negotiations, and was now of no meaner Blood than he was when King *Henry* firſt gave him the Order, ſhould be ſo diſhonoured, being guilty of no other fault, but what is common to moſt Courtiers, of enriching himſelf at his Maſters coſt; for which his Fine was ſevere enough for the expiation. But the Duke of *Northumberland* was a Perſon ſo given up to violence and revenge, that an ordinary diſgrace did not ſatisfie his hatred.

Paget degraded from being a Knight of the Garter.

Sir *Ant. St. Leiger*, another Knight of the Order, was at the ſame time accuſed, upon complaint ſent from the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, for ſome high words that he had uſed. But theſe being examined, he was cleared, and admitted to his Place among the Knights at the Garter. Many others that were obnoxious came in, upon this violent proſecution, to purchaſe the favour of *Northumberland*, who was much ſet on framing a Parliament to his mind, and ſo took thoſe methods which he thought likelieſt to work his ends. It being ordinary for Men of inſolent and boiſterous tempers, who are generally as abject when they are low, as they are puft up with proſperity, to meaſure other People by themſelves; therefore knowing that the methods of reaſon and kindneſs would have no operation on themſelves, and that height and ſeverity are the only ways to ſubdue them, they uſe that ſame way of gaining others which they find moſt effectual with themſelves. 1552.

The encreaſe of Trade.

This Year the King went on, in paying his Debts, reforming the Coin, and other ways that might make the Nation great and wealthy. And one great Project was undertaken, which has been the chief beginning and foundation of the great Riches, and ſtrength of Shipping, to which this Nation has attained ſince that time. From the days of King *Henry* the third the free Towns of *Germany*, who had aſſiſted him in his Wars, obtained great Priviledges in *England*: they were made a Corporation, and lived together in the *Still-yard* near the Bridge. They had in *Edward* the *4th's* time been brought into ſome trouble, for carrying their Priviledges further than their Charter allowed them: and ſo Judgment was given that they had forfeited it, but they redeemed themſelves out of that, by a great Preſent which they made to the King. That which chiefly ſupported them at Court, was, that they trading in a Body were not only able to take the Trade out of all other Perſons Hands, by underſelling them, but they had always a great ſtock of Money; and ſo when the Government was in a ſtrait, they were ready, upon a good Security, to lend great Sums: and on leſſer occaſions could obtain the favour of a Stateſ-man by the Preſents they made him. But now Trade was raiſed much above what it had been, and Courts becoming more magnificent than formerly, there was a greater conſumption, particularly of Cloth, than had ever been known. The diſcovery of the *Indies* had raiſed both Trade and Navigation, ſo that there was a quicker circulation of the Wealth of the World, than had been in former Ages.

Antwerp, and *Hamburgh*, lying both conveniently, the one in the mouth of the *Elb*, and the other near the mouth of the *Rhine*, which were the two greateſt Rivers that fell into thoſe Seas, the Merchants of thoſe two Cities at that time had the chief Trade of the World. The *Engliſh* began to look on thoſe Eaſterlings with envy. All that was Imported or Exported came for moſt part in their bottoms: all Markets were in their Hands, ſo that Commodities of forreign growth were vented by them in *England*, and the Product of the Kingdom was bought up by them. And all the Nation being then ſet much on Paſture, they had much advanced their Manufacture; in ſo much that their own Wooll, which had been formerly wrought at *Antwerp*, was now made into Cloth in *England*, which the *Still-yard* Men obtained leave to carry away. At firſt they Shiped not above eight Cloths in a year, after that an hundred, then a thouſand, then ſix thouſand; but this laſt year there was Shipped in their Name 44000 Cloaths; and not above 1100 by all others that traded within *England*.

The Merchant Adventurers found they could not hold out, unleſs this Company was broke. So they put in their complaint againſt them in the beginning of this year, to which the *Still-yard* Men made anſwer, and

they

1552.

they replied. Upon this, the Council made a Decree, that the Charter was broken, and ſo diſſolved the Company. Thoſe of *Hamburg*, and *Lubeck*, and the Regent of *Flanders*, ſolicited the Council to have this redreſſed, but in vain: for the advantage the Nation was to have by it, was too viſible to admit of any interpoſition. But the deſign of Trade being thus ſet on foot, another Project of a higher nature followed it. The War was now begun between the Emperor and the King of *France*. And that, with the perſecution raiſed in *Flanders* againſt all that leaned to the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, made many there think of changing their Seats. It was therefore propoſed here in *England* to open a free Trade, and to appoint ſome Mart Towns, that ſhould have greater Priviledges and Securities for encouraging Merchants to live in them, and ſhould be eaſier in their Cuſtoms than they were any where elſe. *Southampton* for the Cloth Trade, and *Hull* for the Northern Trade, were thought the two fitteſt Places. And for the advantages and diſadvantages of this deſign, I find the young King had ballanced the matter exactly; for there is a large Paper all written with his own Hand, containing what was to be ſaid on both ſides. But his death, and Queen *Maries* marrying the Prince of *Spain*, put an end to this Project: though all the Addreſſes her Husband made, ſeconding the deſires of the *Eaſterlings*, could never prevail to the ſetting up of that company again. If the Reader would underſtand this matter more perfectly, he may find a great deal of it in the Kings Journal, and in the fourth Paper that follows it, where the whole Affair ſeems to be conſidered on all hands: but Men that know Merchandiſe more perfectly will judge better of theſe things.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 4.

Cardan in *England*.

This Summer, *Cardan*, the great Philoſopher of that Age, paſſed thorough *England*. He was brought from *Italy* on the account of *Hamilton* Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, who was then deſperately ſick of a Dropſie. *Cardan* cured him of his Diſeaſe: but being a Man much converſant both in Aſtrology, and Magick, as himſelf profeſſed, he told the Arch-biſhop, that though he had at preſent ſaved his Life, yet he could not change his fate; for he was to die on a Gallows. In his going through *England* he waited on King *Edward*, where he was ſo entertained by him, and obſerved his extraordinary Parts and Vertues ſo narrowly, that on many occaſions he writ afterwards of him, with great aſtoniſhment, as being the moſt wonderful Perſon he had ever ſeen.

The Affairs of *Scotland*.

But the mention of the *Scotch* Arch-biſhops ſickneſs leads me now to the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Queen had paſſed thorough *England* from *France* to *Scotland* laſt year. In her Paſſage ſhe was treated by the King with all that reſpect that one Crowned Head could pay to another. The Particulars are in his Journal, and need not be recited here. When ſhe came home, ſhe ſet her ſelf much to perſwade the Governour to lay down the Government, that it might be put in her Hands; to which he, being a ſoft Man, was the more eaſily induced, becauſe his Brother, who had great power over him, and was a violent and ambitious Man, was then ſo ſick, that there was no hope of his Life. He had alſo received Letters from *France*, in ſuch a Stile, that he ſaw he muſt either lay down the Government, or not only loſe the Honour and Penſion he had there, but be forced to ſtruggle for what he had in his own Country. Whether the *French* underſtood any thing by their Spies in the Court of *England*, that it had been propoſed there to perſwade him to pretend to the Crown, and were therefore the more earneſt to have the Government out of his Hands, I do not know: but though I have ſeen many hundreds of Letters that paſſed in thoſe times between *England* and *Scotland*, I could not find by any of them that he ever entred into any Treaty about it. 1552.

It ſeems his baſe Brother had ſome thoughts of it. For when he was ſo far recovered that he could enquire after news, and heard what his Brother had done, he flew out in a paſſion, and called him *a Beaſt for parting with the Government, ſince there was none but a*   *Laſs between him and the Crown.* I ſet down his own words, leaving a ſpace void for an Epithete he uſed of the young Queen, ſcarce decent enough to be mentioned. There had been a great Conſultation in *France* what to do with the Queen of *Scotland.* Her Unkles preſſed the King to marry her to the *Dolphin:* For thereby another Kingdom would be added to *France*, which would be a perpetual Thorn in the ſide of *England*; She had alſo ſome Proſpect of ſucceeding to the Crown of *England*; ſo that on all accounts it ſeemed the beſt Match in *Europe*, for the *Dolphin.* But the wiſe Conſtable had obſerved, that the *Spaniards* loſt by their Dominions that lay ſo remote from the chief Seat of their Government; though theſe were the richeſt Countries in *Europe*; namely, *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Millain*, and the *Netherlands*; and wiſely apprehended that *France* might ſuffer much more, by the acceſſion of ſuch a Crown, which not only was remote, but where alſo the Country was poor, and the People not eaſily governed. It would be a vaſt charge to them, to ſend Navies, and to pay Armies there: The Nobility might when they would, by confederating with *England*, either ſhake off the *French* Government, or put them to a great expence to keep it: ſo that whereas *Scotland* had been hitherto, by a Penſion, and ſometimes by a little aſſiſtance, kept in a perpetual alliance with *France*, he apprehended by ſuch a Union it might become their Enemy, and a great weight on their Government. This the Conſtable preſſed much, both out of his care of his Maſters Intereſt, and in oppoſition to the Houſe of *Guiſe.* He adviſed the King rather to marry her to ſome of his Subjects, of whom he was well aſſured, and to ſend her and her Husband home into *Scotland*; by which means the perpetual amity of that Kingdom might be preſerved on eaſie terms. But the King was ſo poſſeſſed with the notion of the Union of that Crown to *France*, that he gave no ear to this wiſe adviſe; thinking it flowed chiefly from the hatred and enmity which he knew the Conſtable bore the Family of *Guiſe.* This the Conſtable himſelf told *Melvil*, from whoſe Narrative I have it. The Queen Mother of *Scotland* being poſſeſſed of the Government, found two great Factions in it. The Head of the one was the Arch-biſhop, who now recovering, and finding himſelf neglected, and the Queen governed by other Councils, ſet himſelf much againſt her, and drew the Clergy for the moſt part into his Intereſts. The other Faction was of thoſe who hated him, and them both, and inclined to the Reformation. They ſet up the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who was their young Queens natural Brother, as their Head; and by his means offered their Service to the Queen now made Regent: they offered that

1552. they would agree with her to ſend the Matrimonial Crown to the *Dolphin*, and conſent to the Union of both Kingdoms: only they deſired her protection from the violence of the Clergy, and that they might have ſecretly Preachers in their Houſes to inſtruct them in the Points of Religion. This Offer the Queen readily accepted of, and ſo by their aſſiſtance carried things till near the end of her Regency with great moderation and diſcretion. And now the Affairs of *Scotland* were put in a Channel, in which they held long ſteady and quiet, till about ſix years after this, that upon the Peace with the King of *Spain* there were cruel Councils laid down in *France*, and from thence ſent over into *Scotland*, for extirpating Hereſie. But of that we ſhall diſcourſe in its proper place.

The Affairs of *Germany*. As for the Affairs of *Germany*, there was this year a great and ſudden turn of things there; with which the Emperor was ſurprized by a ſtrange ſupineneſs, that proved as fatal to him, as it was happy to the Empire; though all the World beſides ſaw it coming on him. Upon the delivery of *Magdeburg*, *Maurice* of *Saxe*'s Army, pretending there was an Arrear due to them, took up their Winter Quarters, near *Saxe*, in the Dominions of ſome Popiſh Princes: where they were very unwelcome Gueſts. The Sons of the *Landgrave*, being required by their Father, preſſed the Duke of *Saxe* on his Honour, to free their Father, or to become their Priſoner in his room, ſince they had his faith for his liberty: ſo he went to them, and offered them his Perſon; but though he did not truſt them with his whole deſign; yet he told them ſo much that they were willing to let him go back. The Emperors Counſellors were allarumed with what they heard from all hands. And the Duke of *Alva* (well known afterwards by his cruelties in the *Netherlands*) adviſed him to ſend for *Maurice* to come and give an account of all thoſe ſuſpitious paſſages, to take the Army out of his hands; and to take ſuch ſecurities from him, as might clear all the jealouſies, for which his carriage had given great cauſe. But the Biſhop of *Arras* was on the other hand ſo aſſured of him, that he ſaid, the giving him any ſuſpition of the Emperors diſtruſt might really engage him into ſuch deſigns; and that ſuch deep Projects as they heard he was in, were too fine conceits for *Dutch* drunken Heads. He alſo aſſured them he had two of his Secretaries in Penſion, ſo that he was advertiſed of all his motions. But the Duke of *Saxe* came to know that thoſe his Secretaries were the Emperors Penſioners; and diſſembled it ſo well, that he uſed them in all appearance with more confidence than formerly: he held all his Conſultations in their preſence, and ſeemed to open his heart ſo to them, that they poſſeſſed the Biſhop with a firm confidence of his ſincerity and ſteadineſs to the Emperors Intereſts. Yet his lingering ſo at the Town of *Magdeburg*, with the other dark Paſſages concerning him, made the Emperor conceive at laſt a jealouſie of him, and he writ for him to come and clear himſelf: Then he refined it higher; for having left Orders with the Officers whom he had made ſure to him, to follow with the Army in all the haſt they could; he himſelf took Poſt, with as ſmall a Train as his Dignity could admit of, and carried one of thoſe corrupted Secretaries with him: but on the way he complained of pains in his ſide, ſo that he could not hold on his Journey: but ſent forward his Secretary, who gave ſuch an account of him, that it, together with his coming ſo readily a great part of his way in ſo ſecure a manner, made the Emperor now lay down all his former diſtruſts. The Emperor writ to *Trent*, and to many other Places, that there was no cauſe of fear from *Maurice*. And *Maurice*, to colour the matter more compleatly, had ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Trent*, and had ordered *Melancthon*, and his other Divines, to follow them ſlowly, that as ſoon as the ſafe Conduct was obtained, they might go on and defend their Doctrine. 1552.

Proceedings at *Trent.*

Upon their coming to *Trent*, and propoſing their deſires, that all might be again conſidered; the Legates rejected the Propoſition with much ſcorn. The Emperors Ambaſſadors and Prelates preſſed that they might be well received. The Arch-biſhop of *Toledo* ſhew'd how much Chriſt had born with the Scribes and Phariſees; and that in imitation of him, they ought to leave nothing undone that might gain upon them. So it was reſolved, that the Council ſhould make a Proteſtation, that the uſage they gave them was out of Charity, which is above all Law; ſince it was againſt the Decretals to have any Treaty with profeſſed Hereticks. At the ſame time the Imperialiſts dealt no leſs earneſtly with the Ambaſſadors from the Proteſtant Princes, not to ask too much at once, but to go on by degrees; and aſſured them they had a mind to leſſen the Popes greatneſs as much as they had. The Ambaſſadors firſt ſtep was to be for obtaining a ſafe Conduct. They excepted to that which the Council had given, as different from that the Council of *Baſil* had ſent to the *Bohemians*, in four material Points. The firſt was, That their Divines ſhould have a deciſive Voice. 2. That all Points ſhould be determined according to the Scriptures; and according to the Fathers, as they were conformable to thoſe. The third, That they ſhould have the exerciſe of their Religion within their own Houſes. 4. That nothing ſhould be done in contempt of their Doctrine. So they deſired that the ſafe Conduct might be word for word the ſame with that of *Baſil*.

But the Legates abhorred the Name of that Council, that had endeavoured ſo much to break the Power of the Popedom, and had conſented to that extraordinary ſafe Conduct, only to unite *Germany*, and to gain them by ſuch compliance to be of their ſide againſt the Pope. Yet the Legates promiſed to conſider of it. The Ambaſſadors were received in a Congregation, which differed from a Seſſion of the Council, juſt as a Committee of a whole Houſe of Parliament, differs from the Houſe, when ſet according to its Forms. They began their Speech with this Salutation, *Moſt Reverend and moſt Mighty Fathers and Lords*; they added a cold Complement, and deſired a ſafe Conduct. At this time the Pope hearing that the Emperor was reſolved to bring on the old deſigns of ſome Councils for leſſening his greatneſs, and that the *Spaniſh* Biſhops were much ſet on it, united himſelf to *France*, and reſolved to break the Council as ſoon as it was poſſible; and therefore he ordered the Legates to proceed in the deciſion of the Doctrine, hoping that the Proteſtants would deſpair of obtaining any thing, and ſo go away. So the ſafe Conduct they had deſired was not granted them, and another was offered in its room, con-

1552. taining only full ſecurity for their Perſons. Upon this ſecurity, ſuch as it was, Divines came both from *Wirtenberg*, and the Town of *Strasburg*. But as they were going on to treat of Matrimony, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the Biſhops of the Empire, with the other Ambaſſadors, immediately went home. The Legates laid hold on this ſo readily, that though the Seſſion was to have been held on the ſecond of *May*, they called an extraordinary one on the 28*th* of *April*, and ſuſpended the Council for two years.

An Account of the Council of *Trent*.

And being to have no other occaſion to ſay any thing more of this Council, I ſhall only add, that there had been a great expectation over Chriſtendome of ſome conſiderable event of a General Council for many years. The Biſhops and Princes had much deſired it, hoping it might have brought the differences among Divines to a happy compoſure; and have ſetled a Reformation of thoſe abuſes, which had been long complained of, and were ſtill kept up by the Court of *Rome*, for the ends of that Principality that they had aſſumed in Sacred things. The Popes for the ſame reaſons were very apprehenſive of it, fearing that it might have leſſened their Prerogatives; and by cutting off abuſes, that brought in a great Revenue to them, have abridged their Profits. But it was, by the cunning of the Legates, the diſſenſions of Princes, the great number of poor *Italian* Biſhops, and the ignorance of the greateſt part of the other, ſo managed, that in ſtead of compoſing differences in Religion, things were ſo nicely defined, that they were made irreconcilable. All thoſe abuſes, for which there had been nothing but practiſe, and that much queſtioned before, were now, by the Proviſo's, and Reſervations, excepted for the Priviledges of the *Roman* See, made warrantable. So that it had in all Particulars an Iſſue quite contrary to what the ſeveral Parties concerned had expected from it, and has put the World ever ſince out of the humour of deſiring any more General Councils, as they are accuſtomed to call them. The Hiſtory of that Council was writ with as much Life, and Beauty, and Authority, as had been ever ſeen in any humane Writing, by Frier *Paul* of *Venice*, within half an Age of the time in which it was ended; when the thing was yet freſh in Mens Memories, and many were alive who had been preſent: and there was not one in that Age that engaged to write againſt it. But about forty years after, when Father *Paul*, and all his friends who knew from what Vouchers he writ, were dead; *Pallavicini*, a Jeſuit, who was made a Cardinal, for this Service, undertook to anſwer him, by another Hiſtory of that Council, which, in many matters of Fact, contradicts Father *Paul*; upon the credit (as he tells us) of ſome Journals and Memorials of ſuch as were preſent, which he peruſed, and cites upon all occaſions. We ſee that *Rome* hath been in all Ages ſo good at forging thoſe things which might be of uſe to its Intereſts, that we know not how to truſt that Shop of falſe Wares in any one thing that comes out of it. And therefore it is not eaſie to be aſſured of the truth and genuineneſs of any of the Materials, out of which the Jeſuite compoſed his Work. But as for the main Thread of the Story, both his and Father *Pauls* Accounts do ſo agree, that whoſoever compares them, will clearly ſee, that

And a Judgment of the Hiſtories of it.

that all things were managed by Intrigues and ſecret Practiſes; ſo that it will not be eaſie for a Man of common ſenſe, after he has read over *Pallavicini's* Hiſtory to fancy that there was any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghoſt hovering over and directing their Councils. And the care they took for palliating all the corruptions then complained of was ſo apparent, that their Hiſtorian had no other way by which to excuſe it, but to ſet up a new Hypotheſis, which a *French* Writer ſince has wittily called *the Cardinals New Goſpel*; " That there muſt be a Temporal Principality in the " Church, that all things which ſupport that Principality are to be " at leaſt tolerated, though they be far contrary to the Primitive " Patterns, and to the firſt delivery of the Goſpel by Chriſt and " his Apoſtles. That which was then ſet up, he accounts a ſtate of " Infancy, to which Milk was proper; but the Church being ſince " grown to its full ſtate and ſtrength, other things are now neceſſa- " ry for the maintaining and preſerving of it. 1552.

But to return to *Maurice*, he having poſſeſſed the Emperor with an entire confidence in him, gathered his Army together, took *Auſburg*, with many other Imperial Cities; and diſplaced the Magiſtrates which the Emperor had put in them, and reſtored their old ones, with the baniſhed Miniſters: ſo that every thing began to put on a new face. *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* did Mediate; both on his own account, for the *Turks* were falling into *Hungary*; and on the Empires; for the King of *France* was come with a great Army to the Confines of the Empire: and the Conſtable, pretending that he only deſired paſſage through the Town of *Metz*, entred it, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. *Toul* and *Verdun* fell alſo into his Hands: and the *French* were endeavouring to be admitted into *Straſburg*. The Emperor was now in great diſorder, he had no Army about him; thoſe he had confided in were declared againſt him; his own Brother was not ill pleaſed at his misfortune, the *French* were like to gain ground on his Hereditary Dominions. Being thus perplexed, and irreſolved, he did not ſend a ſpeedy Anſwer to *Maurice's* Demands, which he had ſent by his Brother; for the ſetting of the Landgrave at liberty, reſtoring the freedoms of the Empire, and particularly in matters of Religion. But to loſe no time the mean while, *Maurice* marched on to *Jnſpruch*, where the Emperor lay: and ſurprized a Paſs to which he had truſted, ſo that he was within two Miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the Emperor roſe from Supper in great haſt, and by Torch-light fled away to make his eſcape into *Italy*. He gave the Duke of *Saxe* his liberty; but he generouſly reſolved to follow him in this his calamity; and perhaps he was not willing to owe his liberty to his Couſin *Maurice*. Thus all that deſign, which the Emperor had been laying ſo many years, was now broken off on a ſudden: he loſt all the advantages he had of his former Victories, and was forced to ſet the Priſoners at liberty, and to call in the Proſcriptions; and in concluſion, the Edict of *Paſſaw* was made, by which the ſeveral Princes and Towns were ſecured in the free exerciſe of their Religion.

1552.

I have made this digreſſion, which I thought not diſagreeable to the matter of my Hiſtory, to give account of the extream danger in which Religion was in *Germany*, and how ſtrangely it was recovered; in which he who had been the chief Inſtrument of the miſeries it had groaned under, was now become its unlooked-for deliverer. I have enlarged on ſome Paſſages that are in none of the Printed Hiſtories, which I draw from *Melvils* Memoires, who ſays he had them from the Elector Palatines own Mouth.

The Emperor is much caſt down.

But the Emperors misfortunes redoubled on him. For having made Peace in the Empire, he would againſt all reaſon, or probability of ſucceſs, ſit down before *Metz*. But the Duke of *Guiſe* defended the Place ſo againſt him, and the time of the year was ſo unſeaſonable, being in *December*, that after a great loſs of Men, and vaſt expence of Treaſure, he was forced to raiſe his Siege. From thence he retired into *Flanders*; where his afflictions ſeiſed ſo violently on him, that for ſome time he admitted none to come near him: Some ſaid he was frantick, others, that he was ſullen and Melancholly. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Bruſſels* for many Weeks could learn nothing certain concerning him. Here, it is ſaid, he began to reflect on the vanity of the World; when, he who had but a year before given Law to Chriſtendome, was now driven to ſo low an ebbe, that as he had irrecoverably loſt all his footing in *Germany*; ſo in all other things his Councils were unlucky. It was one of the notableſt turns of Fortune that had been in many Ages; and gave a great demonſtration, both of an over-ruling Providence, that diſpoſes of all humane Affairs at pleaſure, and of a particular care that God had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it when it ſeemed gone without hope in *Germany*.

Theſe Reflections made deep impreſſions on his mind, and were believed to have firſt poſſeſſed him with the deſign which not long after he put in execution, of laying down his Crowns, and retiring to a private courſe of Life. In his retirement having time to conſider things more impartially, he was ſo much changed in his opinion of the Proteſtant Religion, that he who hitherto had been a moſt violent oppoſer of it, was ſuſpected of being turned to it before he died.

1553.

A Regulation of the Privy-Council.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 6.

A new Parliament.

Thus ended this Year; and now I come to the laſt and fatal Year of this young Kings Life and Reign: The firſt thing done in it, was, a regulation of the Privy-Council, which was divided into ſo many Committees, and every one of theſe had its proper Work, and days appointed for the receiving and diſpatching of all Affairs. In all theſe things a Method was preſcribed to them, of which the Reader will ſee a full account in the ſixth Paper of thoſe that follow King *Edvards* Journal; which Paper, though it is not all written with his Hand, as the others be, yet it is in ſo many places interlined by him, that he ſeems to have conſidered it much, and been well pleaſed with it. His ſecond Parliament was opened on the firſt of *March*. On the ſixth of *March* it was moved in the Houſe of Commons to give the King two Tenths and two Fifteenths with a Subſidy for two years: It was long argued at firſt, and at the paſſing the Bill it was again argued, but at laſt the Commons agreed to it. The Preamble of it is a long Accuſation of the Duke of *Somerſet*, for involving the King in Wars, waſting his Treaſure, engaging him in much Debt, embaſing the Coin, and having given occaſion to a moſt terrible Rebellion. In fine, conſidering the great Debt the King was left in by his Father, the loſs he put himſelf to in the reforming the Coin, and they finding his temper to be ſet wholly on the good of his Subjects, and not on enriching himſelf; therefore they give him two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with one Subſidy for two years. Whether the debate in the Houſe of Commons was againſt the Subſidies in this Act, or againſt the Preamble, cannot be certainly known: but it is probable the Debate at the engroſſing the Bill was about the Preamble, which the Duke of *Northumberland* and his Party were the more earneſtly ſet on, to let the King ſee how acceptable they were, and how hateful the Duke of *Somerſet* had been. The Clergy did alſo, for an expreſſion of their affection and duty, give the King ſix Shillings in the Pound of their Benefices. There was alſo a Bill ſent down from the Lords, That none might hold any Spiritual Promotion, unleſs he were either Prieſt or Deacon: But after the third reading it was caſt out. The reaſon of it was, becauſe many Noblemen and Gentlemens Sons had Prebends given them, on this pretence, that they intended to fit themſelves by Study for entring into Orders; but they kept theſe, and never advanced in their Studies: upon which the Biſhops prevailed to have the Bill agreed to by the Lords, but could carry it no further. 155

The Biſhoprick of Dureſme ſuppreſſed, and two new ones appointed.

Another Act paſſed for the ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*, which is ſo ſtrangely miſ-repreſented by thoſe who never read more than the Title of it, that I ſhall therefore give a more full account of it. It is ſet forth in the Preamble, "That that Biſhoprick being then void of a Prelate, ſo that the Gift thereof was "in the Kings pleaſure: and the compaſs of it being ſo large, extending to ſo many Shires ſo far diſtant, that it could not be ſufficiently ſerved by one Biſhop; and ſince the King, according to "his godly diſpoſition, was deſirous to have Gods Holy Word "preached in theſe Parts, which were wild and barbarous, for lack "of good Preaching, and good Learning; therefore he intended to "have two Biſhopricks for that Dioceſs: the one at *Dureſme*, which "ſhould have 2000 Marks Revenue; and another at *Newcaſtle*, "which ſhould have 1000 Marks Revenue: and alſo to Found a "Cathedral Church at *Newcaſtle*, with a Deanry and Chapter, out "of the Revenues of the Biſhoprick: therefore the Biſhoprick of "*Dureſme* is utterly extinguiſhed and diſſolved, and Authority is "given for Letters Patents to erect the two new Biſhopricks together with the Deanry and Chapter at *Newcaſtle*: with a Proviſo "that the Rights of the Deanry, Chapter, and Cathedral of *Dureſme* ſhould ſuffer nothing by this Act.

When this Bill is conſidered, that diſſolution that was deſigned by it will not appear to be ſo ſacrilegious a thing as ſome Writers

1553. have repreſented it. For whoſoever underſtands the value of old Rents, eſpecially ſuch as theſe were near the Marches of an Enemy, where the Service of the Tenants in the War made their Lands be ſet at very low rates, will know, that 3000 Marks of Rent being reſerved, beſides the endowing of the Cathedral, which could hardly be done under another thouſand Marks, there could not be ſo great a Prey of that Biſhoprick as has been imagined. *Ridley*, as himſelf writes in one of his Letters, was named to be Biſhop of *Dureſme*, being one of the Natives of that Country; but the thing never took effect. For in *May*, and no ſooner, was the Temporalty of the Biſhoprick turned into a County-Palatine, and given to the Duke of *Northumberland*. But the Kings ſickneſs, and ſoon after his death, made that and all the reſt of theſe deſigns prove abortive.

How *Tonſtall* was deprived, I cannot underſtand. It was for miſpriſion of Treaſon, and done by Secular Men. For *Cranmer* refuſed to meddle in it. I have ſeen the Commiſſion given by Queen *Mary* to ſome Delegates to examine it: in which it is ſaid, That the Sentence was given only by Lay-men; and that *Tonſtal*, being kept Priſoner long in the *Tower*, was brought to his Trial, in which he had neither Counſel aſſigned him, nor convenient time given him for clearing himſelf; and that after divers Proteſtations, they had, notwithſtanding his Appeal, deprived him of his Biſhoprick. He was not only turned out, but kept Priſoner, till Queen *Mary* ſet him at liberty.

At the end of this Parliament the King granted a free Pardon: concerning which, this is only remarkable, That whereas it goes for a Maxime, that the Acts of Pardon muſt be paſſed without changing any thing in them, the Commons, when they ſent up this Act of Pardon to the Lords, deſired that ſome words might be amended in it; but it is not clear what was done, for that ſame day the Acts were paſſed, and the Parliament was diſſolved.

In it the Duke of *Northumberland* had carried this Point, That the Nation made a publick Declaration of their diſlike of the Duke of *Somerſets* Proceedings; which was the more neceſſary, becauſe the King had let fall words concerning his death, by which he ſeemed to reflect on it with ſome concern, and look'd on it as *Northumberlands* deed. But the Act had paſſed with ſuch difficulty, that either the Duke did not think the Parliament well enough diſpoſed for him; or elſe he reſolved totally to vary from the Meaſures of the Duke of *Somerſet*, who continued the ſame Parliament long, whereas this that was opened on the firſt was diſſolved on the laſt day of *March*.

A Viſitation for the Plate in the Churches.

Viſitors were ſoon after appointed to examine, what Church-plate, Jewels, and other Furniture, was in all Cathedrals and Churches; and to compare their account with the Inventories made in former Viſitations; and to ſee what was embezeled, and how it was done. And becauſe the King was reſolved to have Churches and Chappels furniſhed with that that was comely and convenient for the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; they were to give one or two Chali-

ces

1553.

ces of Silver, or more, to every Church, Chappel, or Cathedral, as their diſcretions ſhould direct them; and to diſtribute comely Furniture for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices; and to ſell the reſt of the Linen, and give it to the Poor: and to ſell Copes, and Altar-Cloaths, and deliver all the reſt of the Plate and Jewels to the Kings Treaſurer Sir *Edm. Peckham.* This is ſpitefully urged by one of our Writers, who would have his Reader infer from it, that the King was ill principled as to the matters of the Church, becauſe when this Order was given by him he was now in the *16th* Year of his Age. But if all Princes ſhould be thus judged by all Inſtructions that paſs under their Hands, they would be more ſeverely cenſured than there is cauſe. And for the particular matter that is charged on the Memory of this young Prince, which, as it was repreſented to him, was only a calling for the ſuperfluous Plate and other Goods that lay in Churches more for pomp than for uſe; though the applying of it to common uſes, except upon extream neceſſities, is not a thing that can be juſtified; yet it deſerved not ſo ſevere a cenſure; eſpecially the Inſtructions being Signed by the King in his ſickneſs; in which it is not likely that he minded Affairs of that kind much, but ſet his Hand eaſily to ſuch Papers as the Council prepared for him.

Inſtructions for the Preſident of the *North.*

Theſe Inſtructions were directed, in the Copy that I have peruſed, to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Preſident of the *North*: upon which occaſion, I ſhall here make mention of that which I know not certainly in what Year to place, namely, the Inſtructions that were given to that Earl when he was made Preſident of the *North.* And I mention them the rather, becauſe there have been ſince that time ſome Conteſts about that Office, and the Court belonging to it. There was by his Inſtructions a Council to be aſſiſtant to him; whereof ſome of the Members were at large, and not bound to attendance, others were not to leave him without licence from him: and he was in all things to have a negative Voice in it. For the other Particulars, I refer the Reader to the Copy, which he will find in the *Collection.* One Inſtruction among them belongs to Religion; that he and the other Councellors, when there was at any time Aſſemblies of People before them, ſhould perſwade them to be obedient chiefly to the Laws about Religion, and eſpecially concerning the Service ſet forth in their own Mother-Tongue. There was alſo a particular charge given them concerning the aboliſhed Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*: whoſe abuſes they were by continual inculcation ſo to beat into the minds of the People, that they might well apprehend them, and might ſee that thoſe things were ſaid to them from their Hearts, and not from their Tongues only for Forms ſake. They were alſo to ſatisfie them about the abrogation of many Holy-days appointed by the ſame Biſhop; who endeavoured to perſwade the World that he could make Saints at his pleaſure: which by leading the People to idleneſs, gave occaſion to many vices and inconveniences. Theſe Inſtructions were given after the Peace was made with *Scotland*; otherwiſe there muſt have been a great deal in them relating to that War; but the Critical time of them I do not know.

Collection Number 55.

1553.

The Form of the Biſhops Letters Patents.

This Year *Harly* was made Biſhop of *Hereford*, inſtead of *Skip*, who died the laſt Year. And he being the laſt of thoſe who were made ſo by Letters Patents, I ſhall give the Reader ſome ſatisfaction concerning that way of making Biſhops. The Patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the See, by death, or removal: upon which the King being informed of the good qualifications of ſuch a one, appoints him to be Biſhop, during his natural Life, or ſo long as he ſhall behave himſelf well: giving him power to ordain and deprive Miniſters, to confer Benefices, judge about Wills, name Officials, and Commiſſaries, exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, viſit the Clergy, inflict Cenſures, and puniſh ſcandalous Perſons, and to do all the other parts of the Epiſcopal Function that were found by the Word of God to be committed to Biſhops; all which they were to execute and do in the Kings Name and Authority. After that in the ſame Patent follows the reſtitution of the Temporalties. The day after, a Certificate in a Writ called a *Significavit* was to be made of this, under the Great Seal, to the Arch-biſhop, with a Charge to conſecrate him.

The firſt that had his Biſhoprick by the Kings Patents was *Barlow* that was removed from St. *Davids* to *Bath* and *Wells*. They bear date the third of *February*, in the ſecond Year of the Kings Reign: and ſo *Ferrar*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, was not the firſt, as ſome have imagined, for he was made Biſhop the firſt of *Auguſt* that Year. This *Ferrar* was a raſh indiſcreet Man, and drew upon himſelf the diſlike of the Prebendaries of St. *Davids*. He was made Biſhop upon the Duke of *Somerſets* favour to him. But laſt Year many Articles were objected to him: ſome, as if he had incurred a *Præmunire* for acting in his Courts not in the Kings, but his own Name, and ſome for neglecting his Charge; and ſome little indecencies were objected to him, as going ſtrangely habited, travelling on foot, whiſtling impertinently, with many other things, which if true, ſhewed in him much weakneſs and folly. The heavieſt Articles he denied: yet he was kept in Priſon, and Commiſſioners were ſent into *Wales* to examine Witneſſes, who took many Depoſitions againſt him. He lay in Priſon till Queen *Maries* time; and then he was kept in on the account of his Belief. But his ſuffering afterwards for his Conſcience, when *Morgan*, who had been his chief Accuſer before on thoſe other Articles, being then made his Judge, condemned him for Hereſie, and made room for himſelf to be Biſhop by burning him, did much turn Peoples Cenſures from him, upon his Succeſſor.

By theſe Letters Patents it is clear, that the Epiſcopal Function was acknowledged to be of Divine appointment, aud that the Perſon was no other way named by the King than as Lay-Patrons preſent to Livings; only the Biſhop was legally authorized, in ſuch a part of the Kings Dominions, to execute that Function which was to be derived to him by Impoſition of Hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that ſuch Perſons were true Biſhops, and for ſaying, as ſome have done, that they were not from Chriſt, but from the King.

Upon this occaſion it will not be improper to repreſent to the Reader how this matter ſtands according to Law at this day, which

1553.

is the more neceſſary, becauſe ſome ſuperficial Writers have either miſunderſtood, or miſ-repreſented it. The Act that authorized thoſe Letters Patents, and required the Biſhops to hold their Courts in the Kings Name, was repealed both by the 1 *Mar. Chap.* 2. and 1, and 2 *Phil.* and *Mary Chap.* 8. The latter of theſe that repealed only a part of it, was repealed by the 1 *Eliz. Chap.* 1. and the former by the 1 *Jac. Chap.* 25. So ſome have argued, that ſince thoſe Statutes which repealed this Act of *Edward* the *6th* 1. *Par. Chap.* 2. are ſince repealed, that it ſtands now in full force. This ſeems to have ſome colour in it, and ſo it was brought in queſtion in Parliament in the fourth year of King *James*: and great debate being made about it, the King appointed the two Chief Juſtices to ſearch into the matter: they upon a ſlight enquiry agreed, that the Statute of *Edw.* the *6th* was in force by that Repeal; but the Chief Baron, and the other Judges, ſearching the matter more carefully, found, that the Statute had been in effect repealed by the firſt of *Eliz. Ch.* 1. where the Act of the 25 *Hen.* 8. concerning the Election and Juriſdiction of Biſhops, as formerly they had exerciſed it, was revived: ſo that being in full force, the Act of *Edw.* the *6th* that repealed it, was thereby repealed. To this all the Learned Men of the Law did then agree; ſo that it was not thought ſo much as neceſſary to make an explanatory Law about it, the thing being indeed ſo clear, that it did not admit of any ambiguity.

Coke 2. *Inſt.* p. 684, 685.

In *May* this Year the King by his Letters Patents authorized all School-maſters to teach a new and fuller Catechiſme, compiled, as is believed, by *Poinet.*

Theſe are all the Paſſages in which the Church is concerned this Year. The Forreign Negotiations were important. For now the ballance began to turn to the *French* ſide; therefore the Council reſolved to mediate a Peace between the *French* and the Emperor. The Emperor had ſent over an Ambaſſador in *September* laſt year, to deſire the King would conſider the danger in which *Flanders* was now, by the *French* Kings having *Metz*, with the other Towns in *Lorrain*, which did in a great meaſure divide it from the aſſiſtance of the Empire: and therefore moved, that according to the ancient League between *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*, they would enter into a new League with him. Upon this occaſion the Reader will find how the Secretaries of State bred the King to the underſtanding of buſineſs, with relation to the Studies he was then about: for Secretary *Cecil* ſet down all the Arguments for and againſt that League, with little Notes on the Margent, relating to ſuch Topicks from whence he brought them; by which it ſeems the King was then learning Logick. It is the fifth of thoſe Papers after his Journal.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 5.

A Treaty with the Emperor.

It was reſolved on, to ſend Sir *John Moriſon*, with Inſtructions to complement the Emperor upon his coming into *Flanders*, and to make an offer of the Kings aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, who had made great Depredations that year both in *Hungary*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*. If the Emperor ſhould, upon that, complain of the *French* King, and ſay, that he had brought in the *Turks*, and ſhould have asked aſſiſtance againſt him; he was to move the Emperor to ſend over an

1553. Ambaſſador to treat about it, ſince he that was then Reſident in *England* was not very acceptable. Theſe Inſtructions (which are in Collection Number 57. the *Collection*) were Signed in *September*, but not made uſe of till *January* this year. And then new Orders were ſent to propoſe the King to be a Mediator between *France* and the Emperor. Upon which, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Phil. Hobbey* were ſent over, to joyn with Sir *John Moriſon* : and Sir *William Pickering*, and Sir *Tho. Chaloner*, were ſent into *France*. In *May* the Emperor fell ſick, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors could learn nothing certainly concerning him: but then the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Biſhop of *Arras*, treated with them. The Biſhop of *Arras* complained, that the *French* had begun the War, had taken the Emperors Ships at *Barcelona*, had robbed his Subjects at Sea, had ſtirred up the Princes of *Germany* againſt him, had taken ſome of the Towns of the Empire from him; while the *French* Ambaſſadors were all the while ſwearing to the Emperor, that their Maſter intended nothing ſo much as to preſerve the Peace: ſo that now, although the *French* were making ſeveral Overtures for Peace, they could give no credit to any thing that came from them. In fine, the Queen and Biſhop of *Arras*, promiſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors to let the Emperor know of the Kings offering himſelf to mediate; and afterwards told them, that the Emperor delayed giving anſwer till he were well enough to do it himſelf.

On the 26*th* of *May*, the Ambaſſadors writ over that there was a Project ſent them out of *Germany*, of an Alliance, between the Emperor, *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, and the Princes of the Empire. They did not deſire that the King ſhould offer to come into it of his own accord; but *John Frederick* of *Saxe* would move *Ferdinand* to invite the King into it. This way they thought would give leaſt jealouſie. They hoped the Emperor would eaſily agree to the Conditions that related to the Peace of *Germany*, ſince he was now out of all hopes of making himſelf Maſter of it. The Princes neither loved, nor truſted him; but loved his Brother, and relied much on *England*. But the Emperor having propoſed, that the *Netherlands* ſhould be included in the perpetual League of the Empire, they would not agree to that, unleſs the Quota's of their Contribution were much changed: for theſe Provinces were like to be the Seats of Wars, therefore they would not engage for their defence, but upon reciprocal advantages and eaſie terms.

When the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in the Court of *France*, deſired to know on what terms a Peace might be mediated, they found they were much exalted with their ſucceſs: ſo that (as they writ over on the firſt of *May*) they demanded the reſtitution of *Millan*, and the Kingdoms of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, the Sovereignty of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and the Town of *Tournay*; they would alſo have *Siena* to be reſtored to its liberty, and *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, to continue under the Protection of *France*. Theſe terms the Council thought ſo unreaſonable, that, though they writ them over as News to their Ambaſſadors in *Flanders*, yet they charged them not to

1553.

propoſe them. But the Queen of *Hungary* asked them what Propoſitions they had for a Peace, knowing already what they were; and from thence ſtudied to inflame the Ambaſſadors, ſince it appeared how little the *French* regarded their Mediation, or the Peace of Chriſtendome, when they asked ſuch high and extravagant things upon a little ſucceſs.

On the *9th* of *June* the Emperor ordered the Ambaſſadors to be brought into his Bed-Chamber, whither they were carried by the Queen of *Hungary*. He looked pale, and lean; but his Eyes were lively, and his Speech clear. They made him a Complement upon his Sickneſs, which he returned with another for their long attendance. Upon the matter of their Embaſſy, he ſaid, the King of *France* had begun the War, and muſt likewiſe begin the Propoſitions of Peace: But he accepted of the Kings Offer very kindly, and ſaid, They ſhould always find in him great inclinations to a juſt Peace. On the firſt of *July* the Council writ to their Ambaſſadors. Firſt, aſſuring them, that the King was ſtill alive, and they hoped he ſhould recover; they told them, they did not find that the *French* would offer any other terms than thoſe formerly made: and they continued ſtill in that mind, that they could not be offered by them as Mediators; yet they ordered them to impart them unto the Emperor as News, and carefully to obſerve his looks and behaviour upon their opening of every one of them.

The Kings ſickneſs.

But now the Kings death broke off this Negotiation, together with all his other Affairs. He had laſt year, firſt the Meaſels, and then the Small-Pox, of which he was perfectly recovered: In his Progreſs, he had been ſometimes violent in his Exerciſes, which had caſt him into great Colds: but theſe went off, and he ſeemed to be well after it. But in the beginning of *January* this year, he was ſeized with a deep Cough; and all Medicines that were uſed did rather encreaſe than leſſen it; upon which a ſuſpition was taken up, and ſpread over all the World, (ſo that it is mentioned by moſt of the Hiſtorians of that Age) that ſome lingering Poiſon had been given him: but more than Rumours, and ſome ill-favoured Circumſtances, I could never diſcover concerning this. He was ſo ill, when the Parliament met, that he was not able to go to *Weſtminſter*; but ordered their firſt meeting, and the Sermon, to be at *White-hall*. In the time of his ſickneſs, Biſhop *Ridley* preached before him, and took occaſion to run out much on Works of Charity; and the obligation that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in good Works. This touched the King to the quick: So that preſently after Sermon he ſent for the Biſhop. And after he had commanded him to ſit down by him, and be covered, he reſumed moſt of the Heads of the Sermon, and ſaid, he looked on himſelf as chiefly touched by it: he deſired him, as he had already given him the Exhortation in general, ſo to direct him how to do his duty in that Particular. The Biſhop, aſtoniſhed at this tenderneſs in ſo young a Prince, burſt forth in Tears, expreſſing how much he was overjoyed to ſee ſuch inclinations in him: but told him he muſt take time to think on it, and craved leave to conſult with the Lord Major, and Court of Aldermen. So the King writ

His care of the Relief of the Poor.

1553. by him to them to conſult ſpeedily how the Poor ſhould be relieved. They conſidered there were three ſorts of Poor; ſuch as were ſo by natural infirmity or folly, as impotent Perſons, and Mad-men, or Ideots; ſuch as were ſo by accident, as ſick, or maimed Perſons; and ſuch as by their idleneſs did caſt themſelves into poverty. So the King ordered the *Gray-friars* Church near *Newgate*, with the Revenues belonging to it, to be a Houſe for Orphans: St. *Bartholomews* near *Smith-field* to be an Hoſpital: and gave his own Houſe of *Bridewell* to be a Place of Correction and Work for ſuch as were wilfully idle. He alſo confirmed and enlarged the Grant for the Hoſpital of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark*, which he had erected and endowed in *Auguſt* laſt. And when he ſet his Hand to theſe Foundations, which was not done before the 26*th* of *June* this Year: He thanked God, that had prolonged his Life, till he had finiſhed that deſign. So he was the firſt Founder of thoſe Houſes, which, by many great Additions ſince that time, have riſen to be among the Nobleſt in *Europe*.

Several Marriges.

He is perſwaded to leave the Crown to the Lady *Jane*.

Which the Judges at firſt oppoſed.

He expreſſed in the whole courſe of his ſickneſs, great ſubmiſſion to the Will of God, and ſeemed glad at the approaches of death; only the conſideration of Religion and the Church touched him much; and upon that account he ſaid, he was deſirous of Life. About the end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, the Duke of *Suffolks* three Daughters were married: The eldeſt, Lady *Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, the fourth Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, (who was the only Son whom he had yet unmarried:) The ſecond, the Lady *Katharine*, to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldeſt Son, the Lord *Herbert*: The third, the Lady *Mary*, who was crooked, to the Kings Groom-Porter *Martin Keys*. The Duke of *Northumberland* married his two Daughters, the eldeſt to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Son to Sir *William Sidney*, that had been Steward to the King when he was Prince; the other was married to the Lord *Haſtings*, Son to the Earl of *Huntington*. The People were mightily inflamed againſt this inſolent Duke, for it was generally given out, that he was ſacrificing the King to his own extravagant ambition. He ſeemed little to regard their Cenſures, but attended on the King moſt conſtantly, and expreſſed all the care and concern about him that was poſſible. And finding that nothing went ſo near his Heart as the ruine of Religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his Siſter *Mary* ſhould come to the Crown: Upon that, he and his Party took advantage to propoſe to him to ſettle the Crown by his Letters Patents on the Lady *Jane Gray*. How they prevailed with him to paſs by his Siſter *Elizabeth*, who had been always much in his favour, I do not ſo well underſtand. But the King being wrought over to this, the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, who was next in King *Henry*'s Will, was ready to devolve her Right on her Daughter, even though ſhe ſhould come afterwards to have Sons. So on the 11*th* of *June*, *Mountague* that was Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Baker*, and *Bromley*, two Judges, with the Kings Attorney, and Solicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with ſome Privy-Councellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend

the

1553.

the danger the Kingdom might be in, if upon his death his Siſter *Mary* ſhould ſucceed; who might marry a Stranger, and ſo change the Laws and the Religion of the Realm. So he ordered ſome Articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the Crown to deſcend. They objected, that the Act of Succeſſion, being an Act of Parliameut, could not be taken away by any ſuch device: yet the King required them to take the Articles, and draw a Book according to them: they asked a little time to conſider of it. So having examined the Statute of the firſt Year of this Reign, concerning Treaſons, they found that it was Treaſon, not only after the Kings death, but even in his Life, to change the Succeſſion. Secretary *Petre* in the mean while preſſed them to make haſt: When they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any ſuch thing; for it was Treaſon; and all the Lords ſhould be guilty of Treaſon if they went on in it. Upon which, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was not then in the Council-Chamber, being advertiſed of this, came in great fury, calling *Mountague* a Traitor, and threatned all the Judges; ſo that they thought he would have beaten them. But the Judges ſtood to their Opinion. They were again ſent for, and came, with *Goſnold* added to them, on the 15*th* of *June*. The King was preſent, and he ſomewhat ſharply asked them, Why they had not prepared the Book as he had ordered them? They anſwered, That what ever they did would be of no force without a Parliament. The King ſaid, He intended to have one ſhortly. Then *Mountague* propoſed, that it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But the King ſaid, He would have it firſt done, and then ratified in Parliament; and therefore he required them on their Allegiance to go about it; and ſome Counſellors told them, if they refuſed to obey that, they were Traitors. This put them in a great conſternation; and old *Mountague*, thinking it could not be Treaſon what ever they did in this matter while the King lived, and at worſt, that a Pardon under the Great Seal would ſecure him, conſented to ſet about it, if he might have a Commiſſion requiring him to do it, and a Pardon under the Great Seal when it was done. Both theſe being granted him, he was ſatisfied. The other Judges, being asked if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear; except *Goſnald*, who ſtill refuſed to do it. But he alſo, being ſorely threatned, both by the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, conſented to it the next day. So they put the Entail of the Crown in Form of Law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor to put the Seal to it. They were all required to ſet their Hands to it, but both *Goſnald* and *Hales* refuſed. Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a moſt ſteady and zealous Man for the Reformation, would upon no conſideration yield to it: After that the Lord Chancellor, for his Security, deſired that all the Counſellors might ſet their Hands to it; which was done on the 21*ſt* of *June* by thirty three of them; it is like, including the Judges in the Number. But *Cranmer*, as he came ſeldom to Council after the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall, ſo he was that day abſent on deſign. *Cecil*, in a Relation which he made one write of this Tranſaction, for clearing himſelf afterwards, ſays, That when he had heard *Goſnald* and *Hales* declare how much it was againſt Law, he refuſed to ſet his Hand to it as a Counſellor, and that he only Signed as a

But through fear all yielded except Judge *Hales*.

Witneſs

1553. Witneſs to the Kings Subſcription. But *Cranmer* ſtill refuſed to do it after they had all Signed it, and ſaid he would never conſent to the diſinheriting of the Daughters of his late Maſter. Many Conſultations were had to perſwade him to it. But he could not be prevailed on, till the King himſelf ſet on him; who uſed many Arguments, from the danger Religion would otherwiſe be in, together with other Perſwaſions; ſo that, by his Reaſons, or rather Importunities, at laſt he brought him to it. But whether he alſo uſed that diſtinction of *Cecils*, that he did it as a Witneſs, and not as a Counſellor, I do not know: but it ſeems probable, that if that liberty was allowed the one, it would not be denied the other.

Cranmer was very hardly brought to conſent to it.

The Kings ſickneſs becomes deſperate.

But though the ſetling this buſineſs gave the King great content in his mind, yet his Diſtemper rather encreaſed than abated; ſo that the Phyſicians had no hope of his recovery. Upon which, a confident Woman came, and undertook his Cure, if he might be put into her Hands. This was done, and the Phyſicians were put from him, upon this pretence, that they having no hopes of his recovery, in a deſperate Caſe deſperate Remedies were to be uſed. This was ſaid to be the Duke of *Northumberlands* advice in particular; and it encreaſed the Peoples jealouſie of him, when they ſaw the King grow very ſenſibly worſe every day after he came under the Womans care: which becoming ſo plain, ſhe was put from him, and the Phyſicians were again ſent for, and took him into their charge. But if they had ſmall hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus haſtening on him, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who knew he had done but half his work, except he had the Kings Siſters in his Hands, got the Council to write to them in the Kings Name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his ſickneſs. But as they were on the way, on the ſixth of *July*, his Spirits and Body were ſo ſunk, that he found death approaching; and ſo he compoſed himſelf to die in a moſt devout manner. His whole exerciſe was in ſhort Prayers and Ejaculations. The laſt that he was heard to uſe was in theſe words: *Lord God deliver me out of this miſerable and wretched Life, and take me among thy Choſen; Howbeit not my Will but thine be done; Lord, I commit my Spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Choſens ſake ſend me Life and Health, that I may truly ſerve thee. O my Lord God, bleſs my People, and ſave thine Inheritance; O Lord God, ſave thy choſen People of* England; *O Lord God, defend this Realm from Papiſtry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praiſe thy Holy Name, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake.* Seeing ſome about him, he ſeemed troubled, that they were ſo near, and had heard him: but with a pleaſant countenance he ſaid, he had been praying to God. And ſoon after, the Pangs of death coming on him, he ſaid to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who was holding him in his Arms, *I am faint, Lord have mercy on me, and receive my Spirit*; and ſo he breathed out his Innocent Soul. The Duke of *Northumberland*, according to *Cecils* Relation, intended to have concealed his death for a fortnight, but it could not be done.

His laſt Prayer

His Death and Character.

Thus died King *Edward* the ſixth, that incomparable young Prince. He was then in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, and was counted the wonder of that Time. He was not only learned in the Tongues, and other Liberal Sciences, but knew well the State of his Kingdom. He kept a Book, in which he writ the Characters that were given him, of all the chief Men of the Nation, all the Judges, Lord-Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace over *England:* in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for Religion. He had ſtudied the matter of the Mint, with the Exchange, and value of Money; ſo that he underſtood it well, as appears by his Journal. He alſo underſtood Fortification, and deſigned well. He knew all the Harbours and Ports, both of his own Dominions, and of *France*, and *Scotland*; and how much Water they had, and what was the way of coming in to them. He had acquired great knowledge in Forreign Affairs; ſo that he talked with the Ambaſſadors about them in ſuch a manner, that they filled all the World with the higheſt opinion of him that was poſſible; which appears in moſt of the Hiſtories of that Age. He had great quickneſs of apprehenſion; and being miſtruſtful of his memory, uſed to take Notes of almoſt every thing he heard: he writ theſe firſt in *Greek* Characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them; and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a Copy brought him of every thing that paſſed in Council, which he put in a Cheſt, and kept the Key of that always himſelf. 1553.

In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful; but his Vertues and true Piety were yet more extraordinary. He was ſuch a Friend to Juſtice, that, though he loved his Unkle the Duke of *Somerſet* much, yet when he was poſſeſſed of a belief of his deſigning to murder his Fellow-Councellors, he was alienated from him: and being then but fourteen, it was no wonder if that was too eaſily infuſed in him. His chief Favourite was *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, to whom he writ many Letters and Inſtructions when he ſent him to be bred in *France*. In one of his Letters to him, he writ, That he muſt not think to live like an Ambaſſador, but like a private Gentleman, who was to be advanced as he ſhould deſerve it. He allowed him to keep but four Servants: he charged him to follow the company of Gentlemen, rather than of Ladies: that he ſhould not be ſuperfluous in his Apparel: that he ſhould go to the Campagne, and obſerve well the Conduct of Armies, and the Fortification of ſtrong Places: and let the King know always when he needed Money, and he would ſupply him. All theſe with many other directions the King writ with his own Hand: and at his return, to let him ſee he intended to raiſe him by degrees, he gave him a Penſion only of 150 Pound. This *Fitz-Patrick* did afterwards fully anſwer the opinion this young King had of him. He was bred up with him in his Learning; and as it is ſaid, had been his whipping Boy, who, according to the Rule of educating our Princes, was always to be whipt for the Kings faults. He was afterwards made by Queen *Elizabeth* Baron of Upper *Oſſory* in *Ireland*, which was his Native Country.

King *Edward* was tender and compaſſionate in a high meaſure: ſo that he was much againſt the taking away the Lives of Hereticks; and therefore ſaid to *Cranmer*, when he perſwaded him to Sign the Warrant for the burning of *Joan* of *Kent*, that he was not willing to do it, becauſe he thought that was to ſend her quick to Hell. He expreſſed great tenderneſs to the miſeries of the Poor in his ſickneſs, as hath been already

1553. ſhewn. He took particular care of the Sutes of all poor Perſons; and gave Dr. *Cox* ſpecial charge to ſee that their Petitions were ſpeedily anſwered, and uſed oft to conſult with him how to get their matters ſet forward. He was an exact keeper of his word; and therefore, as appears by his Journal, was moſt careful to pay his Debts, and to keep his credit: knowing that to be the chief Nerve of Government; ſince a Prince that breaks his Faith, and loſes his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himſelf liable to perpetual diſtruſts, and extream contempt.

He had above all things a great regard to Religion. He took Notes of ſuch things as he heard in Sermons, which more ſpecially concerned himſelf: and made his meaſures of all Men by their zeal in that matter. This made him ſo ſet on bringing over his Siſter *Mary* to the ſame Perſwaſions with himſelf; that when he was preſſed to give way to her having Maſs, he ſaid, That he would not only hazard the loſs of the Emperors friendſhip, but of his Life, and all he had in the World, rather than conſent to what he knew was a ſin: and he cited ſome Paſſages of Scripture that obliged Kings to root out Idolatry; by which he ſaid he was bound in Conſcience not to conſent to her Maſs; ſince he believed it was Idolatry; and did argue the matter ſo learnedly with the Biſhops, that they left him, being amazed at his knowledge in Divinity. So that *Cranmer* took *Cheek* by the Hand upon it, and ſaid, He had reaſon all the days of his Life to rejoyce that God had honoured him to breed ſuch a Scholar. All Men who ſaw and obſerved theſe qualities in him, looked on him as one raiſed by God for moſt extraordinary ends; and when he died, concluded that the ſins of *England* muſt needs be very great, that had provoked God to take from them a Prince under whoſe Government they were like to have ſeen ſuch bleſſed times. He was ſo affable and ſweet natured, that all had free acceſs to him at all times; by which he came to be moſt univerſally beloved, and all the high things that could be deviſed were ſaid by the People to expreſs their eſteem of him. The Fable of the Phœnix pleaſed moſt; ſo they made his Mother one Phœnix, and him another, riſing out of her Aſhes. But graver Men compared him to *Joſiah*; and long after his death I find both in Letters and Printed Books they commonly named him *Our Joſias*, others called him *Edward* the Saint.

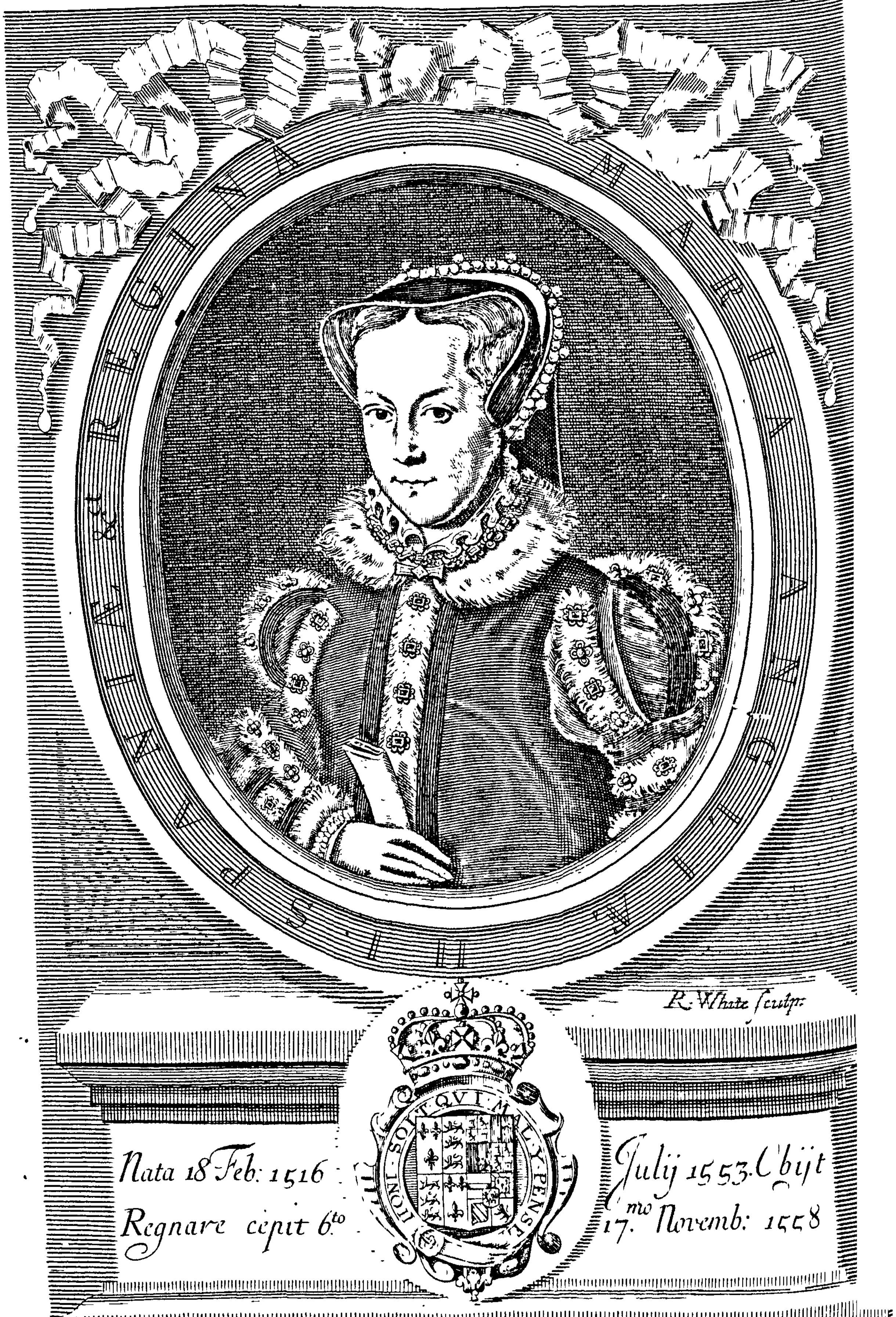
A Prince of ſuch qualities; ſo much eſteemed and loved, could not but be much lamented at his death; and this made thoſe of the Reformation abhor the Duke of *Northumberland*, who they ſuſpected had haſtened him to ſuch an untimely end: which contributed, as much as any thing, to the eſtabliſhing of Queen *Mary* on the Throne; for the People reckoned none could be ſo unworthy to govern, as thoſe who had poiſoned ſo worthy a Prince, and ſo kind a Maſter. I find nothing of opening his Body for giving ſatisfaction about that which brought him to his end; though his lying unburied till the eighth of *Auguſt* makes it probable that he was opened.

But indeed the ſins of *England*, did at this time call down from Heaven heavy Curſes on the Land. They are ſadly expreſſed in a Diſcourſe that *Ridley* writ ſoon after, under the Title of the Lamentation of *England*: he ſays Lechery, Oppreſſion, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and a hatred and ſcorn of Religion, were generally ſpread among all People: chiefly those of the higher Rank. *Cranmer* and he had been much diſliked: the former for delivering his Conſcience ſo freely on the Duke of *Somerſets* death; and both of them for oppoſing ſo much the rapine and ſpoil of the Goods of the Church, which was done without Law or Order. Nor could they engage any to take care of relieving the Poor, except only *Dobbs*, who was then Lord Major of *London*. Theſe ſins were openly preached againſt, by *Latimer*, *Lever*, *Bradford*, and *Knox*, who did it more ſeverely, and by others who did it plainly, though more ſoftly. One of the main cauſes *Ridley* gives of all theſe evils, was, that many of the Biſhops, and moſt of the Clergy, being all the while Papiſts in Heart, who had only complied to preſerve their Benefices, took no care of their Pariſhes, and were rather well pleaſed that things were ill managed. And of this that good Biſhop had been long very apprehenſive when he conſidered the ſins then prevailing, and the Judgments which they had reaſon to look for; as will appear by an excellent Letter, which he ſent about to his Clergy to ſet them on to ſuch Duties as ſo ſad a Proſpect required: It will be found in the *Collection*; and though it belongs to the former Year, yet I chooſe rather to bring it in on this occaſion. Theſe things having been fully laid open in the former parts of this Work, I ſhall not inſiſt on them here, having mentioned them only for this cauſe, that the Reader may from hence gather, what we may ſtill expect, if we continue guilty of the ſame or worſe ſins, after all that illumination and knowledge with which we have been ſo long bleſt in theſe Kingdoms.

1553.

Collection Number 58.

The END *of the Firſt* BOOK.



MARIA ANGLIÆ HISPANIÆ & REGINA
HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
R. White ſculp.

Nata 18 Feb: 1516 Julij 1553 Obijt
Regnare cepit 6to 17mo Novemb: 1558

Printed for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in S^{t} Pauls Church yard.

BOOK II.

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF Queen MARY.

1553.

UPon the Death of King *Edward*, the Crown devolved, according to King *Henry's* Will, and the Act of Parliament, made in the 35*th* Year of his Reign, on his Eldeſt Siſter, the now Queen *Mary*. She was on her way to *London*, in obedience to the Letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her Brother in his Sickneſs; and was come within half a days Journey of the Court, when ſhe received an Advertiſement from the Earl of *Arundel*; that her Brother was dead; together with an account of what was done about the Succeſſion. The Earl alſo informed her, that the King's Death was concealed, on deſign to entrap her before ſhe knew of it; and therefore he adviſed her to retire. Upon this, ſhe knowing that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great ſlaughter he had made of the Rebels, when he ſubdued them in the third Year of the laſt Reign; therefore choſe to go that way to the Caſtle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*: Which Place being near the Sea, ſhe might, if her Deſigns ſhould miſcarry, have an opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor that was then in *Flanders*.

Q. *Mary* ſucceeds, but is in great danger.

And retires to *Suffolk*.

At *London*, it ſeems, the whole Buſineſs of ſetting up the Lady *Jane*; had been carried very ſecretly; ſince if Queen *Mary* had heard any hint

1553.

hint of it, ſhe had certainly kept out of the way, and not adventured to have come ſo near the Town. It was an unaccountable Error in the Party for the Lady *Jane*, that they had not, immediately after the Seal was put to the Letters Patents, or at furtheſt, preſently after the King's Death, ſent ſome to make ſure of the King's Siſters; inſtead of which they thus lingred, hoping they would have come into their Toils, in an eaſier and leſs violent way. On the 8*th* of *July*, they writ to the Engliſh Ambaſſadors at *Bruſſels* the news of the King's Death, but ſaid nothing of the Succeſſion. On the 9*th* of *July* they perceived the King's Death was known; for Queen *Mary* writ to them, from *Kenning-Hall*, that ſhe underſtood the King her Brother was dead; which how ſorrowful it was to her, God only knew, to whoſe Will ſhe did humbly ſubmit her Will. The Proviſion of the Crown to her, after his Death, ſhe ſaid, was well known to them all; but ſhe thought it ſtrange, that he being three days dead, ſhe had not been advertiſed of it by them. She knew what Conſultations were againſt her, and what Engagements they had entred into; but was willing to take all their Doings in good part, and therefore did give Pardon for all that was paſt, to ſuch as would accept of it, and required them to proclaim her Title to the Crown in *London*.

She writes to the Council.

Upon this Letter, they ſaw the death of the King could no longer be concealed; ſo the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, went to *Durham-Houſe*, where the Lady *Jane* lay, to give her notice of her being to ſucceed to the Crown, in the room of the deceaſed King. She received the News with great ſorrow for King *Edward*'s Death; which was not at all leſſened, but rather encreaſed, by that other part of their Meſſage, concerning her being to ſucceed him.

Who declare for the Lady *Jane*.

Lady *Jane*'s Character.

She was a Lady that ſeemed indeed born for a great Fortune; for as ſhe was a beautiful and graceful Perſon, ſo ſhe had great Parts, and greater Vertues. Her Tutor was Dr. *Elmer*, believed to be the ſame that was afterwards made Biſhop of *London* by Queen *Elizabeth*. She had learned from him the Latin and Greek Tongues to great perfection; ſo that being of the ſame Age with the late King, ſhe ſeemed ſuperior to him in thoſe Languages. And having acquired the helps of Knowledg, ſhe ſpent her time much in the ſtudy of it. *Roger Aſcham*, Tutor to the Lady *Elizabeth*, coming once to wait on her at her Father's Houſe in *Leiceſterſhire*, found her reading *Plato*'s Works in *Greek*; when all the reſt of the Family were hunting in the Park: He asked her, How ſhe could be abſent from ſuch pleaſant Diverſions? She anſwered, The Paſtimes in the Park were but a ſhadow to the delight ſhe had in reading *Plato's Phedon*, which then lay open before her; and added, That ſhe eſteemed it one of the greateſt Bleſſings that God ever gave her, that ſhe had ſharp Parents, and a gentle School-maſter, which made her take delight in nothing ſo much, as in her Study. She read the Scriptures much, and had attained great knowledg in Divinity. But with all theſe Advantages of Birth and Parts, ſhe was ſo humble, ſo gentle, and pious, that all People both admired and loved her, and none more than the late King. She had a Mind wonderfully raiſed above the World, and at the Age wherein others are, but imbibing the Notions of Philoſophy, ſhe had attained to the practice of the

higheſt

1553.

higheſt Precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hope of a Crown, nor caſt down when ſhe ſaw her Palace made afterwards her Priſon; but carried her ſelf, with an equal temper of Mind, in thoſe great inequalities of Fortune, that ſo ſuddenly exalted and depreſſed her. All the Paſſion ſhe expreſſed in it was, that which is of the nobleſt ſort, and is the indication of tender and generous Natures, being much affected with the Troubles her Father and Huſband fell in, on her account.

Her unwillingneſs to accept of the Crown.

The mention of the Crown, when her Father, with her Father-in-Law, ſaluted her, Queen, did rather heighten her diſorder upon the King's Death. She ſaid, She knew, by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by natural Right, the Crown was to go to the King's Siſters; ſo that ſhe was afraid of burdening her Conſcience, by aſſuming that which belonged to them; and that ſhe was unwilling to enrich her ſelf by the ſpoils of others. But they told her, all that had been done was according to the Law, to which all the Judges and Counſellors had ſet their Hands. This joined with their Perſuaſions, and the Importunities of her Huſband, who had more of his Fathers temper, than of her Philoſophy in him, at length prevailed with her to ſubmit to it: Of which her Father-in-Law did afterwards ſay in Council, She was rather, by enticement of the Counſellors, and force, made to accept of the Crown, then came to it by her own ſeeking and requeſt.

Council writes to Q. *Mary*.

Upon this, order was given for proclaiming her Queen the next day. And an Anſwer was writ to Queen *Mary*, ſigned by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*; the Marqueſſes of *Wincheſter* and *Northampton*; the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Huntington*, *Bedford*, and *Pembrook*; the Lords, *Cobham* and *Darcy*; Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *William Cecil*, Sir *John Cheek*, Sir *John Maſon*, Sir *Edward North*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, in all one and twenty; letting her know, 'That Queen *Jane* was now their Soveraign, according to the Ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patents, to whom they were now bound by their Allegiance. They told her, That the Marriage between her Father and Mother, was diſſolved by the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, according to the Laws of God, and of the Land. That many noble Univerſities in Chriſtendom had conſented to it; That the Sentence had been confirmed in Parliaments, and ſhe had been declared illegitimate, and uninheritable to the Crown. They therefore required her to give over her Pretences, and not to diſturb the Government; and promiſed, that if ſhe ſhewed her ſelf Obedient, ſhe ſhould find them all ready to do her any Service which in Duty they could.

Lady *Jane* proclaimed Queen.
Collection. Number 1.

The day following they proclaimed Queen *Jane*. The Proclamation will be found in the *Collection*. It ſets forth, 'That the late King had, by his Letters Patents, limited the Crown, that it ſhould not deſcend to his two Siſters, ſince they were both illegitimated by Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, and Acts of Parliament, and were only his Siſters by the Half-Blood, who (though it were granted they had been legitimate) are not inheritable by the Law of *England*. It was added, That there was alſo great cauſe to fear, that the King's Siſters might marry Strangers, and ſo change the Laws of the Kingdom, and

1553.

'ſubject it to the Tyranny of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and other Foreign Laws. For theſe Reaſons they were excluded from the Succeſſion; and the Lady *Frances*, Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, being next the Crown, it was provided, that if ſhe had no Sons at the death of the King, the Crown ſhould devolve immediately on her eldeſt Daughter *Jane*, and after her, and her Iſſue, to her Siſters; ſince ſhe was born within the Kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore ſhe was proclaimed Queen, promiſing to be moſt benign and gracious to all her People, to maintain God's Holy Word, and the Laws of the Land, requiring all the Subjects to obey and acknowledg her. When this was proclaimed, great multitudes were gathered to hear it; but there were very few that ſhouted with the Acclamations ordinary on ſuch Occaſions. And whereas a Vintner's Boy did ſome-way expreſs his ſcorn at that which was done, it was ordered, that he ſhould be made an Example the next day, by being ſet on a Pillory, and having his Ears nail'd to it, and cut off from his Head; which was accordingly done; a Herauld in his Coat, reading to the multitude that was called together, by ſound of Trumpet, the nature of his Offence.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

Upon this, all People were in great diſtraction; The Proclamation, opening the new Queen's Title, came to be variouſly deſcanted on. Some who thought the Crown deſcended by right of Blood, and that it could not be limited by Parliament, argued, that the King having his Power from God, it was only to deſcend in the natural way of Inheritance; therefore they thought the next Heir was to ſucceed. And whereas the King's two Siſters were both by ſeveral Sentences and Acts of Parliament, declared *Baſtards*; and whether that was well judged, or not, they were to be reputed ſuch as the Law declared them to be, ſo long as it ſtood in force; therefore they held that the Queen of *Scotland* was to ſucceed; who, though ſhe pretended this upon Queen *Mary*'s Death, yet did not claim now, becauſe by the Papal Law, the Sentence againſt Queen *Mary* was declared *Null*. Others argued, that though a Prince were named by an immediate appointment from Heaven, yet he might change the courſe of Succeſſion, as *David* did, preferring *Solomon* before *Adonijah*: But this, it was ſaid, did not belong to the King's of *England*, whoſe right to the Crown, with the extent of their Prerogative, did not come from any Divine Deſignation, but from a long Poſſeſſion, and the Laws of the Land: and that therefore the King might by Law limit the Succeſſion, as well as he and other Kings had in ſome Points limited the Prerogative, (which was clearly Sir *Thomas More*'s Opinion); and that therefore the Act of Parliament, for the Succeſſion of the King's Siſters, was ſtill ſtrong in Law. It was alſo ſaid, That if the King's Siſters were to be excluded for Baſtardy, all *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue were in the ſame predicament; ſince he was not lawfully married to the French Queen, his former Wife *Mortimer* being then alive, and his Marriage with her was never diſſolved; (for though ſome Engliſh Writers ſay they were divorced, yet thoſe who wrote for the Queen of *Scots* Title, in the next Reign denied it); But in this the difference was great between them; ſince the King's Siſters were declared Baſtards in Law, whereas this againſt *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue, was only a Surmiſe. Others objected, That if the Blood gave an Indefeaſible Title, How came it that the L. *Jane*'s Mother did not Reign? It is true, *Maud* the

Empreſs,

1553.

Empreſs, and *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, were ſatisfied that their Sons, *Henry* the Second, and *Henry* the Seventh, ſhould reign in their Rights; but it had never been heard of, that a Mother had reſigned to her Daughter,eſpecially when ſhe was yet under Age. But this was imputed to the Duke of *Suffolk*'s weakneſs, and the Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland*. That Objection concerning the Half-Blood,being a Rule of Common Law in the Families of Subjects,to cut off from Step-Mothers the Inclinations and Advantages of deſtroying their Huſbands Children, was not thought applicable to the Crown: Nor was that of Ones being born out of the Kingdom, which was hinted at to exclude the Queen of *Scotland*,thought pertinent to this Caſe: ſince there was an Exception made in the Law for the King's Children,which was thought to extend to all their Iſſue. But all People agreed in this, that though by Act of Parliament, King *Henry* was empowred to provide or limit the Crown, by his Letters Patents; yet that was a Grant particularly to him, and did not deſcend to his Heirs: So that the Letters Patents made by King *Edward*, could have no force to ſettle the Crown, and much leſs when they did expreſly contradict an Act of Parliament. The proceeding ſo ſeverely againſt the Vintners Boy, was imputed to the violent temper of the Duke of *Northumberland*. And though when a Government is Firm, and Factions are weak, the making ſome publick Examples, may intimidate a Faction otherwiſe diſheartned; yet Severities, in ſuch a juncture as this, when the Council had no other ſupport but the aſſiſtance of the People, ſeemed very unadviſed; and all thought it was a great Error to puniſh him in that manner.

The Duke of *Northumberland* much hated.

This made them reflect on the reſt of *Northumberland*'s Cruelties; His bringing the Duke of *Somerſet*, with thoſe Gentlemen that ſuffered with him, to their End, by a foul Conſpiracy; but above all things, the Suſpitions that lay on him, of being the Author of the late King's untimely Death, enraged the People ſo much againſt him, that without conſidering what they might ſuffer under Queen *Mary*, they generally inclined to ſet her up.

Many declare for Q. *Mary*.

The Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in many Towns near *London*, yet the People were generally running to Queen *Mary*: Many from *Norfolk* came to her, and a great Body of *Suffolk* Men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They deſired to know of her, whether ſhe would alter the Religion ſet up in King *Edward*'s Days; to whom ſhe gave full Aſſurances, that ſhe would never make any Innovation or Change, but be contented with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion. Upon this they were all poſſeſſed with ſuch a belief of her ſincerity,that it made them reſolve to hazard their Lives and Eſtates in her Quarrel. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suffolk* raiſed Forces, and joined with her; ſo did the Sons of the Lord *Wharton* and *Mordant*; with many more.

The Council orders Forces to be ſent againſt her.

Upon this the Council reſolved to gather Forces for the diſperſing of theirs, and ſent the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother to raiſe *Buckinghamſhire*, and others to other parts, ordering them to meet the Forces that ſhould come from *London*, at *New-Market*. It was at firſt propoſed to ſend the Duke of *Suffolk* to command them; but the Lady *Jane* was ſo much concerned in her Father's preſervation, that ſhe urged, he might not be ſent; and he being but a ſoft Man, was eaſily excuſed. So

1553. it fell next on the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was now much diſtracted in his Mind. He was afraid, if he went away, the City might declare for Queen *Mary*; nor was he well aſſured of the Council, who ſeemed all to comply with him, rather out of fear, than good will. *Cecil* would not officiate as Secretary, as himſelf relates; the Judges would do nothing; and the Duke plainly ſaw, that if he had not (according to the cuſtom of our Princes, on their firſt coming to the Crown) gone with the Lady *Jane*, and the Council, into the *Tower*, whereby he kept them as Priſoners, the Council were inclined to deſert him. This divided him much in his Thoughts. The whole ſucceſs of his Deſign depended on the diſperſing of the Queen's Forces: And it was no leſs neceſſary to have a Man of courage continue ſtill in the *Tower*. There was none there whom he could entirely truſt, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and he was ſo mean ſpirited, that he did not depend much on him. But the progreſs the Queen's Forces made, preſſed him to go, and make head againſt her. So he laid all the heavy Charges he could on the Council, to look to Queen *Jane*, and to ſtand firmly to her Intereſts; and left *London* on the *14th* of *July*, marching out with 2000 Horſe, and 6000 Foot. But as he rode through *Biſhops-gate* ſtreet, and *Shoreditch*, though there were great Crouds looking on, none cried out to wiſh him ſucceſs, which gave a ſad indication how ill they were affected to him.

And write to the Emperor.

The Council writ to the Emperor by one *Shelley*, whom they ſent to give notice of the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion, complaining that the Lady *Mary* was making Stirs, and that his Ambaſſador had officiouſly medled in their Affairs; but that they had given Orders for reducing the Lady *Mary* to her Duty. They alſo deſired the continuance of his Friendſhip, and that he would command his Reſident to carry himſelf as became an Ambaſſador. Sir *Philip Hobbey* was continued Ambaſſador there; the others were ordered to ſtay and proſecute the Mediation of the Peace; but the Emperor would not receive thoſe Letters; and in a few days there went over others from Queen *Mary*.

Ridley preaches for the L. *Jane*'s Title.

Ridley was appointed to ſet out Queen *Jane*'s Title, in a Sermon at *Pauls*; and to warn the People of the Dangers they would be in, if Queen *Mary* ſhould reign: which he did, and gave an account in his Sermon of what had paſſed between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the ſame time the Duke of *Northumberland*, at *Cambridg*, where himſelf was both Chancellor of the Univerſity, and Steward of the Town, made the Vice-Chancellor preach to the ſame purpoſe. But he held in more general terms, and managed it ſo, that there was no great Offence taken on either hand.

Q. *Mary*'s Party grows ſtrong.

But now the Queen had made her Title be proclaimed at *Norwich*; and ſent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and others of great Quality, to come to her aſſiſtance. Some Ships had been ſent about, to lie on that Coaſt for intercepting her, if ſhe ſhould fly away; but thoſe who commanded them were ſo dealt with, that inſtead of acting againſt her, they declared for her. Sir *Edward Haſtings* having raiſed 4000 Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, inſtead of joining with the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service. Many were alſo from all Places every day running to her, and in ſeveral Counties

1553.

of *England* ſhe was proclaimed Queen. But none came in to the Duke of *Northumberland*, ſo he writ earneſtly to the Lords at *London*, to ſend him more Supplies.

And the Council turn to her.

They underſtanding, from all the Corners of *England*, that the Tyde grew every-where ſtrong for the Queen, entred into Conſultations how to redeem their paſſed Faults, and to reconcile themſelves to her. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland* on many accounts. The Marqueſs of *Winchester* was famous for his dexterity in ſhifting ſides, all ways to his own Advantage. To them joined the Earl of *Pembrook*, the more cloſely linked to the Intereſts of the Lady *Jane*, ſince his Son had married her Siſter; which made him the more careful to diſentangle himſelf in time. To thoſe, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Sir *John Maſon*, with the two Secretaries, came over. It was ſaid, that the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors had deſired an Audience in ſome Place in the City; and it was propoſed to give it in the Earl of *Pembrooks* Houſe; who being the leaſt ſuſpected, it was agreed to, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, that they ſhould be ſuffered to go from the *Tower* thither. They alſo pretended, that ſince the Duke of *Northumberland* had writ ſo earneſtly for new Forces, they muſt go and treat with my Lord Mayor and the City of *London* about it. But as ſoon as they were got out, the Earl of *Arundel* preſſed them to declare for Queen *Mary*: And to perſwade them to it, he laid open all the Cruelty of *Northumberland*, under whoſe Tyranny they muſt reſolve to be enſlaved, if they would not now ſhake it off. The other conſenting readily to it, they ſent for the Lord Mayor, with the Recorder, and the Aldermen; and having declared their Reſolutions to them, they rode together into *Cheapſide*, and there proclaimed Queen *Mary*, on the 19*th* of *July*: From thence they went to Saint *Pauls*, where *Te Deum* was ſung. An Order was ſent to the *Tower*, to require the Duke of *Suffolk* to deliver up that Place, and to acknowledge Queen *Mary*: and that the Lady *Jane* ſhould lay down the Title of *Queen*. To this, as her Father ſubmitted tamely, ſo ſhe expreſſed no ſort of Concern in loſing that imaginary Glory, which now had for nine days been rather a Burden, than any Matter of Joy to her. They alſo ſent Orders to the Duke of *Northumberland* to diſband his Forces, and to carry himſelf as became an Obedient Subject to the Queen. And the Earl of *Arundel*, with the Lord *Paget*, were ſent to give her an account of it, who continued ſtill at *Framingham* in *Suffolk*.

And proclaimed her Queen.

The Duke of *Northumberland* ſubmits, and is taken.

The Duke of *Northumberland* had retired back to *Cambridg*, to ſtay for new Men from *London*; but hearing how Matters went there, before ever the Councils Orders came to him, he diſmiſt his Forces, and went to the Market-place, and proclaimed the Queen, flinging up his own Hat for joy, and crying, *God ſave Queen Mary*. But the Earl of *Arundel* being ſent by the Queen to apprehend him; it is ſaid, That when he ſaw him, he fell abjectly at his Feet to beg his favour. This was like him, it being not more unuſual for ſuch Inſolent Perſons to be moſt baſely ſunk with their Misfortunes, than to be out of meaſure blown up with ſucceſs. He was, on the 25*th* of *July*, ſent to the *Tower*, with the Earl of *Warwick* his eldeſt Son, *Ambroſe* and *Henry* two of his other Sons. Some other of his Friends were made Priſoners, among whom was Sir *Thomas Palmer*, the wicked Inſtrument of

With many more Priſoners who were ſent to the *Tower* of *London*.

the Duke of *Somerſet*'s fall, who was become his moſt intimate Confident; and Dr. *Sands* the Vicechancellor of *Cambridg*.

Now did all People go to the Queen to implore her Mercy. She received them all very favourably, except the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, Dr, *Ridley*, and Lord *Robert Dudley*. The firſt of theſe had been a ſubmiſſive fawner on the Duke of *Northumberland*; the ſecond had incurred her diſpleaſure by his Sermon, and ſhe gladly laid hold on any colour to be more ſevere to him, that way might be made for bringing *Bonner* to *London* again; the third had followed his Father's Fortunes. On the 27*th*, the Lords Chief Juſtices, *Cholmley* and *Montague*, were ſent to the *Tower*; and the day after, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *John Cheek*, went after them; the Lady *Jane* and her Huſband being ſtill detained in the *Tower*. Three days after an Order came to ſet the Duke of *Suffolk* at liberty, upon engagement to return to Priſon when the Queen required it, for it was generally known that he had been driven on by *Dudley*; and as it was believed, that he had not been faulty out of Malice, ſo his great weakneſs made them little apprehenſive of any Dangers from him; and therefore the Queen being willing to expreſs a ſignal Act of Clemency at her firſt coming to the Crown, it was thought beſt to let it fall on him.

The Queen enters *London*.

Now did the Queen come towards *London*, being met on the way by her Siſter *Elizabeth*, with a thouſand Horſe, who had gathered about her, to ſhew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in this late conteſt had been linked together. She made her entry to *London* on the third of *Auguſt*, with great ſolemnity and pomp. When ſhe came to the *Tower*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almoſt ſeven Years in it; *Gardiner*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that had been five Years there; the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, that had been kept there near two Years; and the Lord *Courtney*, (whom ſhe made afterwards Earl of *Devonſhire*) that was Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and had been kept there ever ſince his Father was Attainted, had their Liberty granted them. So now ſhe was peaceably ſetled in the Throne, without any effuſion of Blood; having broke through a Confederacy againſt her, which ſeemed to be ſo ſtrong, that if he that was the Head of it, had not been univerſally odious to the Nation, it could not have been ſo eaſily diſſipated. She was naturally pious and devout, even to ſuperſtition; had a generous diſpoſition of Mind, but much corrupted by Melancholy, which was partly natural in her, but much increaſed by the croſs Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advancement; ſo that ſhe was very peeviſh, and ſplenetick, towards the end of her Life. When the Differences became irreconcilable between her Father and Mother, ſhe followed her Mothers Intereſts, they being indeed her own; and for a great while could not be perſwaded to ſubmit to the King; who being impatient of contradiction from any, but eſpecially from his own Child, was reſolved to ſtrike a terror in all his People, by putting her openly to death. Which her Mother coming to know, writ her a Letter of a very devout ſtrain, which will be found in the *Collections*. In which, 'She encouraged her to ſuffer 'chearfully, to truſt to God, and keep her heart clean. She charged 'her, in all things, to obey the King's Commands, except in the Mat'ters of Religion. She ſent her two Latin Books, the one of the Life 'of

She had been in danger in her Father's Time.

Coll. Numb. 2.

1553.

‘of Chriſt, (which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas a Kempis*) ‘and the other St. *Jerom's* Letter. She bid her divert her ſelf at the Virginals or Lute, but above all things to keep her ſelf pure, and to enter ‘into no treaty of Marriage, till theſe ill times ſhould paſs over; of ‘which her Mother ſeemed to retain ſtill good hopes. This Letter ſhould have been in my former Volumn, if I had then ſeen it, but it is no improper Place to mention it here. At Court, many were afraid to move the King for her; both the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* look'd on, and were unwilling to hazard their own Intereſts to preſerve her. But (as it was now printed, and both theſe appealed to) *Cranmer* was the only Perſon that would adventure on it. In his gentle way, he told the King, that ſhe was young and indiſcreet, and therefore it was no wonder if ſhe obſtinately adhered to that which her Mother, and all about her, had been infuſing into her for many Years: but that it would appear ſtrange if he ſhould for this Cauſe ſo far forget he was a Father, as to proceed to Extremities with his own Child: that if ſhe were ſeparated from her Mother, and her People, in a little time there might be ground gained on her; but to take away her Life, would raiſe horror through all *Europe* againſt him. By theſe means he preſerved her at that time.

And was preſerv'd by *Cranmer's* means.

She ſubmitted to her Father.

After her Mother's Death, in *June* following, ſhe changed her note; for beſides the Declaration ſhe then ſigned, which was inſerted in the former part of this Work; ſhe writ Letters of ſuch ſubmiſſion, as ſhew how expert ſhe was at diſſembling. Three of theſe to her Father, and one to *Cromwell*, I have put in the *Collection*; ‘in which ſhe, ‘with the moſt ſtudied Expreſſions, declaring her ſorrow for her paſt ‘ſtubbornneſs, and diſobedience to his moſt juſt and vertuous Laws, ‘implores his Pardon, as lying proſtrate at his Feet: and conſidering ‘his great Learning and Knowledg, ſhe puts her Soul in his Hand, reſolving that he ſhould for ever thereafter direct her Conſcience, from ‘which ſhe vows ſhe would never vary. This ſhe repeats in ſuch tender words, that it ſhews ſhe could command her ſelf to ſay any thing that ſhe thought fit for her ends. And when *Cromwell* writ to her, to know ‘what her Opinion was about Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Reliques; ſhe aſſures him ſhe had no Opinion at all, but ſuch as ſhe ſhould ‘receive from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and ‘he ſhould imprint upon it, in theſe and all other Matters, whatever ‘his ineſtimable Vertue, high Wiſdom, and excellent Learning, ſhould ‘think convenient for her. So perfectly had ſhe learned that ſtile, that ſhe knew was moſt acceptable to him. Having copied theſe from the Originals, I thought it not unfit to inſert them, that it may appear how far thoſe of that Religion can comply, when their Intereſt leads them to it.

Collect. Numb. 3, 4, 5, 6.

From that time this Princeſs had been in all Points moſt exactly compliant to every thing her Father did. And after his Death, ſhe never pretended to be of any other Religion, than that which was eſtabliſhed by him: So that all that ſhe pleaded for, in her Brother's Reign, was only the continuance of that way of Worſhip, that was in uſe at her Father's Death. But now, being come to the Crown, that would not content her; yet when ſhe thought where to fix, ſhe was diſtracted between two different Schemes that were preſented to her.

1553.

The Deſigns for changing Religion.

On the one hand, *Gardiner* and all that Party, were for bringing Religion back to what it had been at King *Henry*'s Death; and afterward, by ſlow degrees, to raiſe it up to what it had been before his breach with the Papacy. On the other hand, the Queen, of her own Inclination, was much diſpoſed to return immediately to the Union of the Catholick Church, as ſhe called it: and it was neceſſary for her to do it, ſince it was only by the Papal Authority that her Illegitimation was removed. To this it was anſwered, that all theſe Acts and Sentences that had paſſed againſt her, might be annulled, without taking any notice of the Pope. *Gardiner* finding theſe things had not ſuch weight with her as he deſired, for ſhe looked on him as a crafty temporizing Man, ſent over to the Emperor, on whom ſhe depended much, to aſſure him, that if he would perſwade her to make him Chancellor, and to put Affairs into his Hands, he ſhould order them ſo, that every thing ſhe had a mind to, ſhould be carried in time. But *Gardiner* underſtood ſhe had ſent for Cardinal *Pool*; ſo he writ to the Emperor, that he knew *his Zeal* for the Exaltation of the Popedom, would undo all; therefore he preſſed him to write to the Queen for moderating her heat, and to ſtop the Cardinal's coming over. He ſaid, that *Pool* ſtood Attainted by Law, ſo that his coming into *England* would allarm the Nation. He obſerved, that upon a double account they were averſe to the Papacy: The one was, for the Church Lands, which they had generally bought from the Crown on very eaſie terms, and they would not eaſily part with them. The other was, The fear they had of Papal Dominion and Power, which had been now for about 25 Years ſet out to the People, as the moſt intollerable Tyranny that ever was. Therefore, he ſaid, it was neceſſary to give them ſome time to wear out theſe Prejudices; and the precipitating of Councils might ruin all. He gave the Emperor alſo ſecret Aſſurances of ſerving him in all his Intereſts. All this *Gardiner* did the more warily, becauſe he underſtood that Cardinal *Pool* hated him as a falſe and deceitful Man. Upon this the Emperor writ to the Queen ſeveral Letters with his own hand, which is ſo hardly legible, that it was not poſſible for me, or ſome others to whom I ſhewed them, to read them, ſo well as to copy them out: and one that was written by his Siſter, the Queen of *Hungary*, and ſigned by him, is no better; but from many half Sentences, I find, that all was with a deſign to temper her, that ſhe ſhould not make too much haſt, nor be too much led by Italian Counſels. Upon the return of this Meſſage, the Seal, which had been taken from *Goodrick*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and put for ſome days in the keeping of *Hare*, Maſter of the Rolls, was, on the 13*th* of *Auguſt*, given to *Gardiner*, who was declared Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the conduct of Affairs was chiefly put in his hands. So that now the meaſure of the Queen's Councils, was to do every thing ſlowly, and by ſuch ſure ſteps as might put them leſs in hazard.

Gardiner's Policy.

He is made Chancellor.

The Duke of *Northumb.* and others Tried.

The firſt thing that was done, was, the bringing the Duke of *Northumberland* to his Trial. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lord High Steward; the Queen thinking it fit to put the firſt Character of honour on him, who had ſuffered ſo much for being the Head of the Popiſh Party. And here a ſubtle thing was ſtarted, which had been kept a great Secret hitherto. It was ſaid, the Duke of *Norfolk* had never

1553.

never been truly attainted; and that the Act againſt him was not a true Act of Parliament; ſo that without any Pardon, or reſtitution in Blood; he was ſtill Duke of *Norfolk*. This he had never mentioned all the laſt Reign, leſt that ſhould have procured an Act to confirm his Attainder. So he came now in upon his former Right, by which, all the Grants that had been given of his Eſtate, were to be declared void by Common Law. The Duke of *Northumberland*, with the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were brought to their Trials. The Duke deſired two Points might be firſt anſwered by the Judges, in matter of Law. The one, Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and the Order of the Privy Council, could become thereby guilty of Treaſon? The other was, Whether thoſe who had been equally guilty with him, and by whoſe Direction and Commands he had acted, could ſit his Judges? To theſe the Judges made anſwer, That the Great Seal of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity, to thoſe that acted on ſuch a Warrant: and that any Peer that was not, by an Attainder upon Record, convicted of ſuch acceſſion to his Crime, might ſit his Judg, and was not to be challenged upon a Surmiſe or Report. So theſe Points, by which only he could hope to have defended himſelf, being thus determined againſt him, he confeſſed he was guilty, and ſubmitted to the Queen's Mercy. So did the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Duke's Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, who (it ſeems by this Trial) had a Writ for ſitting in the Houſe of Peers; they were all three found guilty. Judgment alſo paſſed next day, in a Jury of Commoners, againſt St. *John Gates*, and his Brother Sir *Humphrey*; Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, confeſſing their Indictments. But of all theſe it was reſolved, that only the Duke of *Northumberlrnd*, and Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, ſhould be made Examples: *Heath*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was employed to inſtruct the Duke, and to prepare him for his Death. Whether he had been always in heart what he then profeſſed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping that it might procure him favour, is variouſly reported: but certain it is, that he ſaid, he had been always a Catholick in his Heart; yet this could not ſave him. He was known to be a Man of that temper, ſo given, both to revenge and diſſimulation, that his Enemies ſaw it was neceſſary to put him out of the way, leſt if he had lived, he might have inſinuated himſelf into the Queen's favour, and then turn'd the danger upon them. So the Earl of *Arundel*, now made Lord Steward of the Houſhold, with others, eaſily obtained that his Head ſhould be cut off, together with Sir *John Gates*'s, and Sir *Thomas Palmers*.

And condemned.

At his Death he profeſſes he had been always a Papiſt.

On the 22*d* of *Auguſt* he was carried to the Place of Execution. On the way, there was ſome expoſtulation between *Gates* and him; They, as is ordinary for Complices in ill Actions, laying the blame of their Miſeries on one another: Yet they profeſſed they did mutually forgive, and ſo died in Charity together. It is ſaid, that he made a long Speech, accuſing his former ill Life, and confeſſing his Treaſons. But that part of it which concerned Religion, is only preſeved. In it, he exhorted the People to ſtand to the Religion of their Anceſtors, and to reject that of latter date, which had occaſioned all the miſery of the foregoing thirty Years; and deſired, as they would prevent the like for the future,

1553. that they would drive out of the Nation theſe Trumpets of Sedition, the new Preachers; that for himſelf, what-ever he had otherwiſe pretended, he believed no other Religion than that of his fore-fathers; in which he appealed to his Ghoſtly Father, the Biſhop of *Worceſter* then preſent with him; but being blinded with Ambition, he had made wreck of his Conſcience, by temporiſing, for which he profeſſed himſelf ſincerely penitent. So did he, and the other two, end their days. *Palmer* was little pittied, as being believed a treacherous Conſpirator againſt his former Maſter, and Friend, the Duke of *Somerſet*.

His Character. Thus died the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*. He had been, in the former parts of his Life, a great Captain, and had the reputation of a wiſe Man: He was generally ſucceſsful, and they that are ſo, are always eſteemed wiſe. He was an extraordinary Man in a lower ſize, but had forgot himſelf much when he was raiſed higher, in which his Mind ſeemed more exalted than his Fortunes. But as he was tranſported by his Rage and Revenge out of meaſure, ſo he was as ſervile and mean in his Submiſſions. *Fox*, it ſeems, was informed, that he had hopes given him of his Life, if he ſhould declare himſelf to be of the Popiſh Religion, even though his Head were laid on the Block: but which way ſoever he made that Declaration, either to get his Life by it, or that he had really been always what he now profeſſed; it argued that he regarded Religion very little, either in his Life, or at his Death. But whether he did any thing to haſten the late King's Death, I do not find it was at all enquired after: Only thoſe who conſidered how much Guilt diſorders all People, and that they have a black Cloud over their Minds, which appears, either in the violence of Rage, or the abjectneſs of Fear, did find ſo great a change in his deportment, in theſe laſt Paſſages of his Life, from what was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was ſome extraordinary thing within him from whence it flowed.

King *Edwards* Funeral. And for King *Edward's* Death, thoſe who had Affairs now in their Hands, were ſo little careful of his Memory, and indeed ſo glad of his Death, that it is no wonder they made little ſearch about it. It is rather ſtrange that they allowed him ſuch Funeral Rites. For the Queen kept a ſolemn Exequie, with all the other Remembrances of the Dead, and Maſſes for him, uſed in the Roman Church, at the *Tower*, on the *8th* of *Auguſt*, the ſame day that he was buried at *Weſtminſter*; the Lord Treaſurer, (who was the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, ſtill continued in that Truſt) the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembrook*, being the principal Mourners. *Day*, that was now to be reſtored to his See of *Chicheſter*, was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon: In which he commended and excuſed the King, but loaded his Government ſeverely; and extolled the Queen much, under vvhom he promiſed the People happy days. It was intended that all the Burial Rites ſhould have been according to the old Forms that were before the Reformation. But *Cranmer* oppoſed this vigorouſly, and inſiſted upon it, That as the King himſelf had been a zealous promoter of that Reformation, ſo the Engliſh Service was then eſtabliſhed by Law: upon this he ſtoutly hindred any other way of officiating, and himſelf performed all the Offices of the Burial; to which he joined the ſolemnity of a Communion. In theſe, it may be eaſily imagined, he did every thing with a very lively ſorrow;

ſince as he had loved the King beyond expreſſion, ſo he could not but look on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a ſtep to his own.

The Queen declares ſhe will force no Man's Conſcience.

On the 12*th* of *Auguſt*, the Queen made an open declaration in Council, that although her Conſcience was ſtaied in the Matters of Religion, yet ſhe was reſolved not to compel or ſtrain others, otherwiſe than as God ſhould put into their Hearts, a perſuaſion of that Truth ſhe was in; and this ſhe hoped ſhould be done by the opening His Word to them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers. Now all the deprived Biſhops looked to be quickly placed in their Sees again. *Bonner* went to St. *Pauls* on the 13*th* of *Auguſt*, being *Sunday*, where *Bourn*, that was his Chaplain, preached before him. He ſpake honourably of *Bonner*, with ſharp Reflections on the Proceedings againſt him in the Time of King *Edward*. This did much provoke the whole Audience, who as they hated *Bonner*, ſo could not hear any thing ſaid that ſeemed to detract from that King. Hereupon there was a great Tumult in the Church; ſome called to pull him down, others flung Stones, and one threw a Dagger towards the Pulpit with that force, that it ſtuck faſt in the timber of it; *Bourn*, by ſtooping, ſaved himſelf from that danger: and *Rogers*, and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, and of great credit with the People, ſtood up, and gently quieted the heat; and they, to deliver *Bourn* out of their hands, conveyed him from the Pulpit, to a Houſe near the Church.

A Tumult at *Pauls* Croſs.

This was ſuch an Accident as the Papiſts would have deſired; for it gave them a colour to proceed more ſeverely, and to prohibit Preaching, which was the firſt ſtep they intended to make. There was a Meſſage ſent to the Lord Mayor, to give a ſtrict charge, that every Citizen ſhould take care of all that belonged to him, and ſee that they went to their own Pariſh Church, and kept the Peace; as alſo to acquaint them with what the Queen had declared in Council on the 13*th* of *Auguſt*. And on the 18*th*, there was publiſhed an Inhibition in the Queen's Name, to this effect; 'That ſhe, conſidering the great Danger that had come to the Realm, by the Differences in Religion, did delare for her ſelf, that ſhe was of that Religion that ſhe had profeſſed from her Infancy, and that ſhe would maintain it during her time, and be glad that all her Subjects would charitably receive it: Yet ſhe did not intend to compel any of her Subjects to it, till publick Order ſhould be taken in it by common Aſſent: requiring all, in the mean while, not to move Sedition or Unquietneſs, till ſuch Order ſhould be ſetled, and not to uſe the Names of *Papiſt*, or *Heretick*, but to live together in Love, and in the Fear of God: but if any made Aſſemblies of the People, ſhe would take care they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed: and ſhe ſtraitly charged them, that none ſhould preach, or expound Scripture, or print any Books, or Plays, without her ſpecial Licenſe.' And required her Subjects, that none of them ſhould 'preſume to puniſh any on pretence of the late Rebellion, but as they ſhould be authoriſed by her: Yet ſhe did not thereby reſtrain any from informing againſt ſuch Offenders: She would be moſt ſorry to have cauſe to execute the ſeverity of the Law, but ſhe was reſolved not to ſuffer ſuch Rebellious Doings to go unpuniſhed, but hoped her Subjects would not drive her to the extream execution of the Laws.

An Inhibition of all preaching.

When

1553.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

When this was publiſhed, which was the firſt thing that was ſet out in her Name ſince ſhe had come to the Crown, it was much deſcanted on. The Profeſſion ſhe made of her Religion to be the ſame it had been from her Infancy, ſhewed it was not her Father's Religion, but entire Popery that ſhe intended to reſtore. It was alſo obſerved, that whereas before ſhe had ſaid plainly ſhe would compel none to be of it; now that was qualified with this, till publick Order ſhould be taken in it; which was, till they could ſo frame a Parliament, that it ſhould concur with the Queen's Deſign. The equal forbidding of Aſſemblies, or ill Names, on both ſides, was thought intended to be a Trap for the Reformed, that they ſhould be puniſhed if they offended, but the others were ſure to be rather encouraged. The reſtraint of preaching without Licenſe, was pretended to be copied from what had been done in King *Edward*'s Time: Yet then there was a Liberty left for a long time to all to Preach in their own Churches, only they might preach no where elſe without a Licenſe: And the power of Licenſing was alſo lodged at firſt with the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, and at laſt with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as well as with the King; whereas now, at one ſtroke, all the Pulpits of *England* that were in the hands of the Reformed, were brought under an Interdict; for they were ſure to obtain no Licenſes. But the cunningeſt part of theſe Inhibitions, was, the declaring that the Queen would proceed with rigour againſt all that were guilty of the late Rebellion, if they ſhould provoke her; many about *London* had ſome way or other expreſſed themſelves for it, and theſe were the hotteſt among the Reformed: So that here was a ſharp threatning hanging over them, if they ſhould expreſs any more Zeal about Religion.

She requites the Service of the Men of *Suffolk* ill.

When this was put out, the Queen underſtanding, that in *Suffolk*, thoſe of that Profeſſion took a little more liberty than their Neighbours, preſuming on their great Merit, and the Queen's Promiſes to them; there was a ſpecial Letter ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s Vicar, himſelf being at *Bruſſels*, to ſee to the execution of theſe Injunctions, againſt any that ſhould preach without Licenſe. Upon this, ſome came from *Suffolk* to put the Queen in mind of her Promiſe. This was thought inſolent; and ſhe returned them no other anſwer, But that they being Members, thought to rule her that was their Head; but they ſhould learn, that the Members ought to obey the Head, and not to think to bear Rule over it. One of theſe had ſpoken of her Promiſe with more confidence than the reſt, his Name was *Dobbe*; ſo he was ordered to ſtand three days in the Pillory, as having ſaid that which tended to the defamation of the Queen. And from hence all ſaw what a ſevere Government they were to come under, in which the claiming of former Promiſes, that had been made by the Queen when ſhe needed their Aſſiſtance, was to be accounted a Crime. But there was yet a more unreaſonable Severity ſhewed to *Bradford* and *Rogers*, who had appeaſed the Tumult the *Sunday* before, and reſcued the Preacher from the Rage of the People. It was ſaid, that their appeaſing it, ſo eaſily, ſhewed what Intereſt they had with the People, and was a preſumption that they had ſet it on; ſo without any further Proof, the one was put in the *Tower*, and the other confined to his Houſe.

1553.

The Popiſh Biſhops reſtored.

But now the deprived Biſhops, who were *Bonner* of *London*, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, *Tonſtall* of *Dureſm*, *Heath* of *Worceſter*, and *Day* of *Chicheſter*, were to be reſtored to their Sees. I have only ſeen the Commiſſion for reſtoring *Bonner* and *Tonſtall*; but the reſt were no doubt in the ſame ſtrain,with a little variation.The Commiſſion for *Bonner* bearing date the 22th of *Auguſt*,was directed to ſome Civilians,ſetting forth,that he had petitioned the Queen to examine the Appeal he had made from the Delegates that had deprived him; and that therefore the Sentence againſt him being unjuſt and illegal, he deſired it might be declared to be of no effect. Upon which, theſe did, without any great heſitation, return the Sentences void, and the Appeals good. So thus they were reſtored to their Sees. But becauſe the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm* was by Act of Parliament diſſolved, and the Regalities of it, which had bin given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, were now by his Attainder fallen into the Queen's hand, She granted *Tonſtall* Letters Patents, erecting that Biſhoprick again of new; making mention that ſome wicked Men, to enrich themſelves by it, had procured it to be diſſolved.

The Conſultations among the Reformed Doctors.

On the 29th of *Auguſt* Commiſſion was granted to *Gardiner* to give Licences under the Great Seal to ſuch Grave, Learned and diſcreet Perſons, as he ſhould think meet and able to preach God's Word. All who were ſo licenſed, were qualified to preach in any Cathedral or Parochial Church,to which he ſhould think it convenient to ſend them. By this the Reformers were not only out of hope to obtain any Licences, but likewiſe ſaw a way laid down for ſending ſuch Men as *Gardiner* pleaſed into all their Pulpits, to infect their People. Upon this they conſidered what to do. If there had been only a particular Inderdiction of ſome private perſons, the conſiderations of Peace and Order being of a more publick nature than the conſequence of any one Man's open Preaching could be, they judged it was to be ſubmitted to: but in ſuch a caſe, when they ſaw this Interdiction was general, and on deſign to ſtop their mouths till their Enemies ſhould ſeduce the People, they did not think they were bound in Conſcience to give Obedience. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly; others, inſtead of Preaching in Churches, were contented to have only the Prayers and other Service there; but for inſtructing their People, had private Conferences with them. The Council hearing that their Orders had been diſobeyed by ſome in *London*, two in *Coventry*, and one in *Amerſham*, they were ſent for, and put in Priſon. And *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and *Hooper* of *Glouceſter*, being cited to appear before the Council, they came and preſented themſelves on the 29th and 30th of *Auguſt*; and on the firſt of *September*, *Hooper* was ſent to the Fleet, and *Coverdale* appointed to wait their pleaſure.

At this time the Popiſh Party, growing now inſolent over *England*, began to be as forward in making Changes, before the Laws warranted them, as theſe of the Reformation had been in King *Edward*'s time: ſo that in many places they ſet up Images, and the Latin Service, with the old Rites again. This was plainly againſt Law; but the Council had no mind to hinder it; but on the other hand encouraged it all they could. Upon which Judg *Hales*, who thought he might with the more aſſurance ſpeak his mind, having appeared ſo ſteadily for the Queen, did at the Circuits in *Kent*, give a Charge to the Juſtices to ſee to the execu-

The barbarous uſage of Judg *Hales*.

1553 execution of King *Edward*'s Laws, which were ſtill in force and unrepealed. Upon this he was, without any regard to his former Zeal, put firſt into the Marſhalſea; from thence he was removed to the Counter, and after that to the Fleet: where the good old Man was ſo diſordered with the Cruelties that the Warden told him were contriving againſt all that would not change their Religion, that it turned his Brain, ſo that he endeavoured to have kill'd himſelf with a Penknife. He was after that, upon his Submiſſion, ſet at liberty; but never came to himſelf again: ſo he, not being well looked to, drowned himſelf. This, with the uſage of the *Suffolk*-Men, was much cenſured; and from thence it was ſaid, that no Merits or Services could ſecure any from the Cruelties of that Religion. And it appeared in another ſignal Inſtance, how the Actions of Men were not ſo much conſidered as their Religion. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Mountague*, who had very unwillingly drawn the Letters Patents for the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion, was turned out of his Place, kept ſix weeks in Priſon, fined in a Thouſand pounds, and ſome Lands that had been given him by King *Edward*, were taken from him; tho he had ſent his Son with Twenty Men to declare for the Queen, and had a great Family of Seventeen Children, ſix Sons and eleven Daughters: whereas Judg *Bromley* that had concurred in framing the Letters Patents without any reluctancy, was made Lord Chief Juſtice: The true Reaſon was, *Bromley* was a Papiſt in his heart, and *Mountague* was for the Reformation.

In many other places, where the People were Popiſhly affected, they drove away their Paſtors. At *Oxford*, *Peter Martyr* was ſo ill uſed, that he was forced to fly for his ſafety to *Lambeth*, where he could not look

Cranmer declared openly againſt the Maſs.

for any long protection, ſince *Cranmer* himſelf was every day in expectation of being ſent to Priſon. He kept himſelf quiet, and was contriving how to give ſome Publick and Noble Teſtimonies to the Doctrine that he had ſo long profeſſed, and indeed had bin the chief promoter of in this Church. But his quiet behaviour was laid hold on by his Enemies, and it was given out, that he was reſolved to comply with every thing the Queen had a mind to. So I find *Bonner* wrote to his Friend Mr.

Bonners Inſolence. Coll. Numb. 7.

Leachmore on the 6th of *September*, in that Letter which is in the Collection. 'He gives him notice that the day before he had bin reſtored to 'his Biſhoprick, and *Ridley* repulſed; for which he is very witty. '*Ridley* had a Steward for two Manours of his, whoſe name was *Shipſide*, his Brother-in-law; upon which he plays as if he had bin Sheepſhead. He orders *Leachmore* to look to his Eſtate, and he ſhould take 'care at the next Parliament that both the *Sheepſheads* and the Calves-'heads ſhould be uſed as they deſerved. He adds that *Cranmer*, whom 'in ſcorn he calls Mr. *Canterbury*, was become very humble, and ready 'to ſubmit himſelf in all things; but that would not ſerve his turn: 'and it was expected that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower that very 'day. Theſe reports being brought to *Cranmer*, ſome adviſed him to fly beyond Seas: he ſaid he would not diſwade others from that courſe, now that they ſaw a Perſecution riſing; but conſidering the ſtation he was in, and the hand he had in all the Changes that were made, he thought it ſo indecent a thing for him to fly, that no entreaties ſhould ever perſwade him to it. So he by *Peter Martyr's* advice, drew up a

Cranmer's Declaration. Coll. Numb. 8.

Writing, that I have put in the *Collection* (in Latin, as it was at that time

tranſlated.) The ſubſtance of it was to this effect; 'That as the Devil 1553.
'had at all times ſet on his Inſtruments by Lies to defame the Servants of
'God, ſo he was now more than ordinarily buſie. For whereas King
'*Henry* had begun the correcting of the abuſes of the Maſs, which his
'Son had brought to a further perfection: and ſo the Lords Supper
'was reſtored to its firſt Inſtitution, and was celebrated according to
'the pattern of the Primitive Church; now, the Devil intending to
'bring the Maſs again into its room, as being his own invention, had
'ſtirred up ſome to give out that it had been ſet up in *Canterbury* by
'his the ſaid *Cranmer's* Order; and it was ſaid that he had undertaken
'to ſing Maſs to the Queens Majeſty, both at King *Edwards* Funeral,
'at *Paul's*, and other places: and though for theſe twenty years he
'had deſpiſed all ſuch vain and falſe reports, as were ſpread of him; yet
'now he thought it not fit to lye under ſuch miſrepreſentations. Therefore he proteſted to all the World, that the Maſs was not ſet up at
'*Canterbury* by his order; but that a fawning hypocritical Monk (this
'was *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*,) had done it without his knowledge; and for what he was ſaid to have undertaken to the Queen, her
'Majeſty knew well how falſe that wa : offering if he might obtain
'her Leave for it, to maintain, that every thing in the Communion Service that was ſet out by their moſt innocent and good King *Edward*,
'was according to Chriſts Inſtitution, and the practice of the Apoſtles,
'and the ancient Church for many Ages: to which the Maſs was contrary, being full of errors and abuſes; and although *Peter Martyr* was
'by ſome called an ignorant Man, he with him or other four or five, ſuch
'as he ſhould chooſe, would be ready to defend not only their Book
'of Common Prayer, and the other Rites of their Service, but the
'whole Doctrine and Order of Religion, ſet forth by the late King, as
'more pure, and more agreeable to the Word of God, than any ſort of
'Religion that had been in *England* for a thouſand years before it: provided that all things ſhould be judged by the Scriptures, and that he
'Reaſonings on both ſides ſhould be faithfully written down.

Publiſhed without his knowledge.

This he had drawn, with a Reſolution to have made a publick uſe of it: but *Scory*, who had bin Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, coming to him, he ſhewed him the Paper, and bad him conſider of it. *Scory* indiſcreetly gave Copies of it; and one of theſe was publickly read in *Cheapſide*, on the fifth of *September*. So on the eighth of that month he was called before the *Star-Chamber* and asked whether he was the Author of that ſeditious Bill, that was given out in his name; and if ſo, whether he was ſorry for it. He anſwered, that the Bill was truly his; but he was very ſorry it had gone from him in ſuch a manner; for he had reſolved to have inlarged it in many things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of *Pauls*, and of the other Churches in *London*, with his hand and Seal to it. He was at that time, contrary to all mens expectation, diſmiſſed. *Gardiner* plainly ſaw he could not expect to ſucceed him, and that the Queen had deſigned that See for Cardinal *Pool*, ſo he reſolved to protect and preſerve *Cranmer* all he could. Some moved that he ſhould be only put from his Biſhoprick, and have a ſmall Penſion aſſigned him, with a charge to keep within a Confinement, and not to meddle with matters of Religion. He was generally beloved for the gentleneſs of his temper; ſo it was thought that proceeding ſe-

But owned by him before the Council.

1553 verely with him, might Alienate ſome from them, and embroil their affairs in the next Parliament. Others objected, that if he, who had been the chief promoter of Hereſy, was uſed with ſuch tenderneſs, it would encourage the reſt to be more obſtinate. And the Queen who had forgot the Services he did her in her Father's time, remembring rather that he had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce againſt her Mother, was eaſily induced to proceed ſeverely. So on the thirteenth of *September* both he and *Latimer* were called before the Council; *Latimer* was that day committed; but *Cranmer* was reſpited till next day, and then he was ſent to the *Tower*, both for matters of Treaſon againſt the Queen, and for diſperſing of ſeditious Bills. *Tylor* of *Hadlee*, and ſeveral other Preachers, were alſo put in Priſon; and upon an Information brought againſt *Horn* Dean of *Dureſm*, he was ſent for.

He and *Latimer* ſent to the Tower.

The Forreigners ſent out of *England*.

The Forreigners, that were come over upon publick Faith and encouragement, were better uſed: for *Peter Martyr* was preſerved from the rage of his enemies, and ſuffered to go beyond Sea. There was alſo an Order ſent to *John a Laſco* and his Congregation to be gone; their Church being taken from them, and their Corporation diſſolved. And an hundred ſeventy five of them went away in two Ships to *Denmark*, on the ſeventeenth of *September*, with all their Preachers; except two, who were left to look to thoſe few, which ſtayed behind, and being engaged in Trade, reſolved to live in *England*, and follow their Conſciences in the matters of Religion in private, with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Teachers. But *a Laſco*, after a long and hard paſſage, arriving at *Denmark*, was as ill received there, as if it had been a popiſh Country, when they underſtood that he and his Company were of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion: ſo that, though it was *December*, and a very ſevere Winter, they were required to be gone within two days, and could not obtain ſo much as liberty to leave their Wives or Children behind them, till they could provide a place for them. From thence they went, firſt to *Lubeck*, then to *Wiſmar*, and *Hamburgh*, where they found the diſputes about the manner of Chriſts Preſents in the Sacrament, had raiſed ſuch violent animoſities, that after much barbarous uſage, they were baniſhed out of all thoſe Towns, and could find no place to ſettle in, till about the end of *March*, that they came to *Friſeland*, where they were ſuffered to plant themſelves.

Many Engliſh fly beyond Sea

Many in *England*, ſeeing the Government was ſet on ſevere courſes ſo early, did infer that this would ſoon grow up to an extream Perſecution; ſo that above a thouſand Perſons fled beyond Seas: moſt of them went in the company, and as the Servants, of French Proteſtants, who having come over in King *Edwards* time, were now required, as the *Germans* had been, to return into their own Country. The Council underſtanding this, took care that no Engliſhman ſhould eſcape out of their hands; and therefore ſent an Order to the Ports, that none ſhould be ſuffered to go over as Frenchmen, but thoſe who brought Certificates from the French Embaſſador. Among thoſe that had got over, ſome eminent Divines went; who, either having no Cures, or being turned out of their Benefices, were not under ſuch ties to any Flock, ſo that they judged themſelves diſingaged and therefore did not, as Hirelings leave their Flock to the Perſecution then imminent, but rather went to look after thoſe who had now

left

1553.

left England. The chief of theſe that went at firſt were *Cox*, *Sanders*, *Grindal*, and *Horn*. *Cox* was without any good colour turned out, both of his Deanery of *Chriſt-Church*, and his Prebendary at *Weſtminſter*. He was put into the Marſhalſea, but on the 19th of *Auguſt* was diſcharged. *Sands* was turned out for his Sermon before the Duke of *Northumberland* at *Cambridge*: On what account *Grindal* was turned out, I know not; *Horn*, ſoon after he got beyond Sea, printed an Apology for his leaving his Country: he tells that he heard there was ſome Crimes againſt the State objected to him, which made him come up from *Dureſm* to clear himſelf: It was ſaid that three Letters had been written to him in the Queens name, requiring him to come up, and intimating that they were reſolved to charge him with contempt, and other points of State. He proteſts that he had never received but one, which was given him on the Road; but ſeeing how he was like to be uſed, he withdrew out of *England*: upon which he takes occaſion in that diſcourſe to vindicate the Preachers in King *Edwards* time, againſt whom it was now objected, that they had neglected Faſting and Prayer, and had allowed the People all ſorts of Liberty: This he ſaid was ſo falſe, that the ruling Men in that time were much offended at the great freedom which the Preachers then took, ſo that many of them would hear no more Sermons; and he ſays for himſelf, that though *Tonſtal* was now his great enemy, he had refuſed to accept of his Biſhoprick, and was ill uſed, and threatned, for denying to take it.

The Queen rewards thoſe who had ſerved her.

All theſe things tended much to inflame the People. Therefore great care was taken, firſt, to oblige all thoſe Noblemen who had aſſiſted the Queen at her coming to the Crown; ſince a grateful acknowledgment of paſt Services is the greateſt encouragement, both to the ſame Perſons to renew them, & to others to undertake the like upon new occaſions. The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Steward; Sir *Edward Haſtings* was made Maſter of the Horſe, and afterwards Lord *Haſtings*; Sir *John Gage*, Lord Chamberlain; Sir *John Williams*, who had Proclaimed the Queen in *Oxford-ſhire*, was made Lord *Williams*; and Sir *Henry Jerningham*, that firſt gathered the Men of *Norfolk* about her, was made Captain of her Guard: but *Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex* had done the moſt conſiderable Service of them all; for to him ſhe had given the chief Command of her Army, and he had managed it with that Prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her Aſſiſtance; ſo an unuſual Honour was contrived for him, that he might cover his head in her Preſence: which paſſed under the Great Seal the ſecond of *October*; he being the only Peer of *England* in whom this Honour was ever conferred, as far as I know. The like was granted to the Lord *Courcy* Baron of *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, whoſe Poſterity enjoy it to this day: but I am not ſo well informed of that Family, as to know by which of our Kings it was firſt granted. The Queen having ſummoned a Parliament to the tenth of *October* was Crowned on the firſt of that month, by *Gardiner*, who with ten other Biſhops, all in their Mitres, Coaps, and Croſiers, performed that Ceremony with great Solemnity. *Day* preaching the Coronation Sermon; who, it ſeems, was accounted the beſt Preacher among them; ſince he was ordered to Preach both at the late Kings Funeral, and now again at the Coronation.

The Queen is Crowned, and diſcharges all Taxes.

But *Gardiner* had prepared a Largeſs of an extraordinary nature for

1553.

the Queen to diſtribute that day among her People, beſides her general Pardon; he cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, which did ſet forth, 'that whereas the good Subjects of *England* had always exhibited Aid to their Princes, when the good of the Publick, and Honour of the Realm required it; and though the Queen, ſince her coming to the Crown, found the Treaſury was marvelouſly exhauſted, by the evil Government of late years, eſpecially ſince the Duke of *Northumberland* bare Rule; though ſhe found her ſelf charged with diverſe great ſums of her Father and Brothers Debts, which for her own Honour, and the Honour of the Realm, ſhe determined to pay in times convenient and reaſonable; yet having a ſpecial regard to the welfare of of her Subjects, and accounting their loving hearts and proſperity the chiefeſt Treaſure which ſhe deſired, next to the Favour and Grace of God; therefore, ſince in her Brothers laſt Parliament, two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Subſidy both out of Lands and Goods, were given to him for paying his Debts; which were now due to her; ſhe of her great Clemency did fully pardon and diſcharge theſe Subſidies; truſting her ſaid good Subjects will have loving conſideration thereof for their parts, whom ſhe heartily requires, to bend themſelves wholly to God, to ſerve him ſincerely, and with continual Prayer, for the honour and advancement of the Queen, and the Common-Wealth.'

A Parliament ſummoned.

And thus matters were prepared for the Parliament; which was opened the tenth of *October*. In the Writ of Summons, and all other Writs, the Queen retained ſtill the Title of *Supream Head*. *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford* came thither, reſolving to juſtifie their Doctrine. Moſt of the other reformed Biſhops were now in Priſon: for beſides theſe formerly mentioned, on the fourth of *October* the Arch-Biſhop of *York* was put in the Tower, no cauſe being given, but heinous Offences only named in general. When the Maſs begun, it is ſaid that thoſe two Biſhops withdrew, and were upon that never ſuffered to come to their Places again. But one *Beal* the Clerk of the Council in Queen *Elizabeths* time, reports this otherwiſe, and more probably; that Biſhop *Taylor* took his place in his Robes, but refuſing to give any reverence to the Maſs, was violently thruſt out of the Houſe. He ſays nothing of *Harley*, ſo it is probable that he followed the other. The ſame Writer alſo informs us, that in many places of the Country, Men were choſen by Force and Threats; in other places thoſe imployed by the Court, did by violence hinder the Commons from coming to chuſe; in many places falſe Returns were made; and that ſome were violently turned out of the Houſe of Commons: upon which reaſons he concludes that it was no Parliament, ſince it was under a Force; and ſo might be annulled, as the Parliament held at *Coventry* in the 38th year of King *Henry* the 6th was, upon Evidence of the like Force, declared afterwards to be no Parliament. The Journals of the Houſe of Lords in this Parliament are loſt; ſo there is no light to be had of their proceedings, but from the imperfect Journals of the Houſe of Commons.

Biſhops violently thruſt out for not worſhiping the Maſs.

Great diſorder in Elections.

On the ſecond day of the Seſſion, one moved in the Houſe of Commons for a review of King *Edwards* Laws. But that being a while argued, was at this time laid aſide, and the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage was put in. Then followed a Debate upon Dr. *Nowell's* being returned

1553.

from *Loo* in *Cornwal*, whether he being a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter* could ſit in that Houſe? and the Committee being appointed to ſearch fot Precedents, it was reported, that he being repreſented in the Convocation Houſe, could not be a Member of that Houſe; ſo he was caſt out. The Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was ſent up to the Lords, who ſent it down to the Commons to be reformed in two proviſo's that were not according to former Precedents. How far this was contrary to the Rights of the Commons, who now ſay that the Lords cannot alter a Bill of Money, I am not able to determine. The only publick Bill that paſſed in this ſhort Seſſion was for a Declaration of Treaſons and Felonies: by which it was ordained that nothing ſhould be judged Treaſon, but what was within the Statute of Treaſons in the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third; and nothing ſhould be ſo judged Felony, that was not ſo before the 1ſt year of King *Henry* the eight, excepting from any benefit of this Act, all ſuch as had been in Priſon before the laſt of *September*; who were alſo excepted out of the Qeens Pardon at her Coronation. Two private Bills alſo paſſed: the one for the reſtoring of the Wife of the late Marqueſs of *Exeter*, who had been Attainted in the 32 year of King *Henry's* Reign; and the other for her Son *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*. And ſo the Parliament was Prorogued from the 21 to the 24 of *October*, that their might be a Seſſion of Parliament conſiſting only of Acts of Mercy; though this Repeal of additional Treaſons and Felonies, was not more than what had paſſed in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign, without the clogg of ſo ſevere a proviſo, by which many were cut off from the Favour deſigned by it.

An Act for moderating ſome ſevere Laws.

Some have thought, that ſince Treaſons had been reduced by the ſecond Act of *Edward* the 6th to the ſtandard of the 25*th* of *Edward* the third, that therefore there was ſomewhat elſe deſigned by this Act, then barely the repealing ſome late ſevere Acts, which being done the 1ſt of *Edward* 6th, needed not be now repealed, if it imported no more. And ſince this Act as it is worded, mentions, or rather excepts, thoſe Treaſons that are declared and expreſſed in the 25th of *Edward* the 3d, they have inferred that the power of Parliaments declaring of Treaſons *ex Poſt facto*, which was reſerved by that Statute, is hereby taken away; and that nothing is now to be held Treaſon, but what is ennumerated in that Statute. Yet this is ſtill liable to Debate; ſince the one may be thought to be declared and expreſſed in general words, as well as the other ſpecialties are in more particular words; and is alſo ſtill in force. So nothing ſeems comprehended within this Repeal, but the Acts paſſed in King *Edwards* Reign, declaring other Crimes to be Treaſon: ſome are added in the ſame Act, and others in that of the 3*d* and 4*th* of his Reign chap. 5. Nor is it likely that, if the Parliament had intended to have delivered the Subjects from the apprehenſions of all Acts of Attainder, upon a Declaration of new Treaſons, they would not have expreſſed it more plainly; ſince it muſt have been very grateful to the Nation, which had groaned heavily under Arbitrary Attainders of late years.

When the Parliament met again, the firſt Bill the Commons entred on, was that of Tonnage and Poundage, which they paſſed in two days. Then was the Bill about King *Henry's* Marriage with the Queens Mother ſent down on the 26th by the Lords, and the Commons paſſed it no the 28th: ſo ſtrangely was the ſtream turned, that a Divorce that had been

The Mariage of Queen *Katherine* to King *Henry* Confirmed.

1553

been for ſeven years much deſired by the Nation, was now repealed upon fewer days conſultation. In the Preamble it was ſaid, 'That truth how much ſoever obſcured and born down, will in the end break out: and that therefore they declared that King *Henry* the *8th*, being lawfully married to Queen *Katherine* by the conſent of both their Parents, and the advice of the wiſeſt Men in the Realm, and of the beſt and notableſt Men for learning in Chriſtendom, did continue that ſtate twenty years in which God bleſſed them with her Majeſty and other iſſue, and a courſe of great happineſs; but then a very few malicious Perſons did endeavour to break that happy agreement between them, and ſtudied to poſſeſs the King, with a ſcruple in his Conſcience about it: and to ſupport that, cauſed the Seals of ſome Vniverſities to be got againſt it, a few Perſons being corrupted with money for that end. They had alſo by ſiniſtrous ways, and ſecret threatnings procured the Seals of the Vniverſities of this Kingdom, and finally *Thomas Cranmer* did moſt ungodlily, and againſt Law, judge the Divorce, upon his own unadviſed underſtanding of the Scriptures, upon the Teſtimonies of the Vniverſities, and ſome bare and moſt untrue conjectures; and that was afterwards confirmed by two Acts of Parliament, in which was contained the Illegitimacy of her Majeſty: But that Marriage not being prohibited by the Law of God, and lawfully made, could not be ſo broken; ſince what God hath joyned together, no Man could put aſunder: all which they conſidering, together with the many miſeries that had fallen on the Kingdom ſince that time, which they did eſteem Plagues ſent from God for it; therefore they declare that Sentence given by *Cranmer* to be unlawful, and of no force from the beginning: and do alſo repeal the Acts of Parliament that had confirmed it.

Which was much Cenſured.

By this Act, *Gardiner* had performed his Promiſe to the Queen, of getting her Illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the Popes Authority. But in the drawing of it, he ſhewed that he was paſt all ſhame: when he could frame ſuch an Act, of a buſineſs which himſelf had ſo violently and ſervilely promoted. The falſehood of that pretence of corrupting Vniverſities has been ſhewn in the former Volumn: but it was all they had now to ſay. The laying it all upon *Cranmer* was as high a pitch of malice and impudence as could be deviſed: for as *Gardiner* had been ſetting it on, long before *Cranmer* was known to King *Henry*; ſo he had been joyned with him in the Commiſſion, and had given his aſſent to the Sentence which *Cranmer* gave. Nor was the Divorce grounded meerly upon *Cranmers* underſtanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fulleſt and moſt ſtudied Arguments, that had perhaps been in any Age brought together in one particular caſe: and both Houſes of Convocation had condemned the Mariage before his ſentence. But becauſe in the right of his See he was *Legate to the Pope*, therefore to make the Sentence ſtronger, it went only in his name, though he had but a ſmall ſhare in it, compared to what *Gardiner* had.

The Queens carries ſeverely to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

By this Act, there was alſo a ſecond Illegittimation brought on the Lady *Elizabeth*, to whom hitherto the Queen had been very kind, uſing her on all occaſions with the tenderneſs of a Siſter: but from this time forwards ſhe handled her more ſeverely. It was perhaps occaſioned

1553.

by this Act; ſince before they ſtood both equally illegittimated; but now the Act that legitimated the Queen making her moſt certainly a Baſtard in Law, the Queen might think it now too much to uſe her as ſhe had done formerly. Others ſuggeſt a more ſecret reaſon of this diſtaſt. The new Earl of *Devonſhire* was much in the Queens favour, ſo that it was thought ſhe had ſome inclinations to marry him; but he, either not preſuming ſo high, or really having an averſion to her, and an inclination to her Siſter, who of that moderate ſhare of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his Addreſſes with more than ordinary concern to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and this did bring them both in trouble, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn.

The Laws made by King *Edward* repealed.

The next Bill that was ſent from the Lords to the Commons, was for the repealing King *Edward's* Laws about Religion. It was ſent down on the 31*ſt* of *October*, and argued ſix days in the Houſe of Commons: but in the end it was carried, and ſent back to the Lords. The Preamble of it ſets forth the great diſorders that had fallen out in the Nation by the changes that had been made in Religion, from that which their Fore-fathers had left them by the Authority of the Catholick Church: thereupon all the Laws that had been made in King *Edwards* time about Religion were now repealed; and it was Enacted that, from the 20*th* of *December* next, there ſhould be no other Form of Divine Service but what had been uſed in the laſt year King of *Henry* the 8*th*, leaving it free to all till that day, to uſe either the Books appointed by King *Edward*, or the old ones at their pleaſure.

An Act againſt the affronting Prieſts.

Another Act was paſſed, which the Commons ſent up to the Lords, againſt all thoſe who by any overt Act ſhould moleſt or diſquiet any Preacher, becauſe of his Office, or for any Sermon that he might have Preached; or ſhould any way diſturb them when they were in any part of the Divine Offices, that either had been in the laſt year of King *Henry*, or ſhould be afterwards ſet forth by the Queen; or ſhould break or abuſe the holy Sacrament, or break Altars, Crucifixes, or Croſſes, thoſe that did any of theſe things ſhould be preſented to the Juſtices of Peace, and be by them put in Priſon, where they ſhould lye three Months, or till they were penitent for their Offences: and if any reſcued them, they ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment. But to this a Proviſo was added by the Lords, that this Act ſhould no way derogate from the Authority of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Courts, who might likewiſe proceed upon ſuch Offences: and a Certificate from the Ordinaries, that ſuch Offenders were puniſhed by them, being brought to the Juſtices of Peace, they were to proceed no further: or if the Juſtices made a Certificate that they had puniſhed them according to Law, the Ordinary might not puniſh them a ſecond time. But the Commons were now ſo heated, that they ſent up another Bill to the Lords againſt thoſe who came not to Church, nor to Sacraments, after the old Service ſhould be again ſet up: the inflicting of the Puniſhments in theſe caſes being left to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. This fell in the Houſe of Lords, not ſo much from any oppoſition that was made, as that they were afraid of allarming the Nation too much, by many ſevere Laws at once.

An Act againſt unlawful Aſſemblies.

Another Law was made for ſecuring the publick Peace againſt unlawful

lawful

1553. lawful and rebellious Aſſemblies: that if any to the number of twelve or above, ſhould meet to alter any thing of Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, and being required by any, having the Queens Authority, to diſperſe themſelves, ſhould continue after that an hour together, it ſhould be Felony: or if that number met to break Hedges or Parks, to deſtroy Deer or Fiſh, &c. and did not diſperſe upon Proclamation, it ſhould be Felony: or if any, by ringing of Bells, Drums, or firing of Beacons, gathered the People together, and did the things before mentioned, it was Felony: if the Wives or Servants of Perſons ſo gathered, caried Meat, Money, or Weapons to them, it ſhould be Felony: and if any above the number of two, and within twelve, ſhould meet for theſe ends, they ſhould ſuffer a years impriſonment; empowering the Sheriffs or Juſtices to gather the Country for the reſiſtance of Perſons ſo offending, with Penalties on all, between eighteen and ſixty, that, being required to come out againſt them, ſhould refuſe to do it. When this Act was known, the People then ſaw clearly how they had been deceived by the former Act, that ſeemed ſo favourable, repealing all Acts of new Treaſons and Felonies; ſince there was ſo ſoon after it an Act paſſed that renewed one of the ſevereſt Laws of the laſt Reign, in which ſo many things, that might flow from ſudden heats, were made Felonies, and a great many new and ſevere Proviſo's were added to it. The Queens diſcharge of the Subſidy was confirmed by another Act.

The Marqueſs of *Northampton's* 2d Marriage is annulled.

There followed two private Acts, which occaſioned more Debate than the publick ones had done: The one was, the repeal of the Act that had confirmed the Marqueſs of *Northamptons* Marriage: It was much argued in the Houſe of Commons, and on the 28th of *November* it was agreed to. It contains, that the Act of confirming the Divorce, and the ſecond Marriage, was procured more upon untrue ſurmiſes and private reſpects, than for any publick good, and increaſe of vertue: and that it was an encouragement for ſenſual Perſons, to practiſe by falſe allegations that they might be ſeparated from their Wives, rather then a Precedent to induce People to live with their Wives in a godly ſort: thereupon the Act was repealed, and declared void and of no effect. In this it ſeems, the Arguments that were againſt it in the Houſe of Commons had ſo moderated the Stile of it, that it was not repealed as an Act ſinful in it ſelf, but it was only declared that in that particular caſe the Divorce was unlawfully made: for it is reaſonable to believe that the Biſhops had put in the firſt draught of the Bill, a ſimple repeal of it, and of all ſuch Divorces, founded on the indiſſolubleneſs of the Marriage Bond.

And the Duke of *Norfolks* Attainder.

The other Act was about the Duke of *Norfolk*, for declaring his Attainder void. The Patentees that had purchaſed ſome parts of his Eſtate from the Crown, deſired to be heard to plead againſt it. But the Seſſion of the Parliament being near at an end, the Duke came down himſelf to the Houſe of Commons on the 4th of *December*; and deſired them earneſtly to paſs his Bill; and ſaid, that the difference between him and the Patentees was referred to Arbiters, and if they could not agree it, he would refer it to the Queen. It was long argued after that, but in the end it was agreed to. It ſets forth, that the Act by which he was Attainted, had no ſpecial matter in it, but only Treaſons in general, and a pretence that out of the Parliaments care for the King, and his Son the Prince, it was neceſſary to attaint him: That the Reaſons they pretended, were, his uſing Coats of Arms, which he and his Anceſtors had and might lawfully uſe. It further ſays, That the King died the next night after the Commiſſion was given for paſſing the Bill; and that it did not appear, that the King had given his Aſſent to it: That the Commiſſion was not ſigned by the King's hand, but only by his Stamp; and that was put to the neather eud, and not to the upper part of the Bill, which ſhewed it was done in diſorder; and that it did not appear that theſe commiſſioned for it had given the *Royal Aſſent* to it. Upon which Conſiderations, that pretended Act is declared void and null by the common Laws of the Land. And it is further declared, That the Law was, and ever hath been, that the Royal Aſſent ſhould be given, either by the King being preſent, or in his abſence, by a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, ſigned with his hand, and publickly notified to the Lords and Commons.

Cranmer and others attainted.

The laſt Act of which I ſhall give an account, was the Confirmation of the Attainders that had been made. On the 3*d* of *November*, Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Jane* his Wife, with two other Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, (which were all, except the Lord *Robert*, who was reſerved for greater Fortunes,) were brought to their Trial. Theſe all confeſſed their Endictments. Only *Cranmer* appealed to those that judged him, how unwillingly he had conſented to the excluſion of the Queen; that he had not done it, till thoſe whoſe profeſſion it was to know the Law had ſigned it: upon which he ſubmitted himſelf to the Queen's Mercy. But they were all attainted of High-Treaſon, for levying War againſt the Queen, and conſpiring to ſet up another in her room. So theſe Judgments, with thoſe that had paſſed before, were now confirmed by Act of Parliament.

But the See of *Canterbury* is not declared void.

And now *Cranmer* was legally deveſted of his Arch-Biſhoprick, which was hereupon void in Law, ſince a Man that is attainted can have no right to any Church-Benefice; his Life was alſo at the Queen's Mercy. But it being now deſigned to reſtore the Eccleſiaſtical Exemption and Dignity to what it had been anciently, it was reſolved, that he ſhould be ſtill eſteemed Archbiſhop, till he were ſolemnly degraded, according to the Canon Law. The Queen was alſo inclined to give him his Life at this time, reckoning, that thereby ſhe was acquitted of all the Obligations ſhe had to him; and was reſolved to have him proceeded againſt for Hereſy, that ſo it might appear ſhe did not act out of revenge, or on any perſonal account. So all that followed on this againſt *Cranmer*, was a Sequeſtration of all the Fruits of his Arch-Biſhoprick; himſelf was ſtill kept in Priſon: Nor were the other Priſoners proceeded againſt at this time. The Queen was deſirous to ſeem willing to pardon Injuries done againſt her ſelf, but was ſo heated in the Matters of Religion, that ſhe was always inexorable on that Head.

Having given this Account of Publick Tranſactions, I muſt relate next what were more ſecretly carried on, but breaking out at this time, occaſioned the ſudden Diſſolution of the Parliament.

The Queen treats about a Reconciliation with *Rome*.

Cardinal *Dandino*, that was then the Pope's Legate at the Emperor's Court, ſent over *Commendone* (afterwards a Cardinal) to bring him a certain Account of the Queen's Intentions concerning Religion; he gave him in charge, to endeavour to ſpeak with her in private; and to perſuade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apoſtolick See. This

1553. was to be managed with great ſecrecy, for they did not know whom to truſt in ſo important a Negotiation: It ſeems, they neither confided in *Gardiner*, nor in any of the other Biſhops. *Commendone*, being thus inſtructed, went to *Newport*, where he gave himſelf out to be the Nephew of a Merchant, that was lately dead at *London*; and hired two Servants to whom he was unknown, and ſo he came over unſuſpected to *London*. There he was ſo much a Stranger, that he did not know to whom he ſhould addreſs himſelf. By accident he met with one *Lee*, a Servant of the Queen's, that had fled beyond Sea during the former Reign, and had been then known to him; ſo he truſted him with the Secret of his Buſineſs in *England*. He procured him a ſecret Audience of the Queen, in which ſhe freely owned to him her Reſolution of reconciling her Kingdom to the See of *Rome*, and ſo of bringing all things back to the ſtate in which they had been before the Breach made by her Father: but ſhe ſaid, It was abſolutely neceſſary to manage that Deſign with great Prudence and Secreſy, leſt in that Confuſion of Affairs, the diſcovery of it might much diſturb her Government, and obſtruct her Deſign. She writ by him to the Pope, giving him aſſurance of her filial Obedience, and ſo ſent *Commendone* to *Rome*. She alſo writ by him to Cardinal *Pool*, and ordered *Commendone* to move the Pope, that he might be ſent over with a Legatine Power. Yet he that writ that Cardinal's Life inſinuates, that the Queen had another deſign in deſiring that *Pool* might be ſent over; for ſhe ask'd him, Whether the Pope might not diſpence with the Cardinal to marry, ſince he was only in Deacon's Orders? Before *Commendone* left *England*, he ſaw the Duke of *Northumberland* executed, and ſoon after he made all the haſte that was poſſible to carry thoſe acceptable Tidings to *Rome*; and by his dexterity in this Negotiation, he laid the foundation of thoſe great Fortunes, to which he was afterwards advanced. There was no ſmall Joy in the Conſiſtory, when the Pope and the Cardinals underſtood, that a Kingdom, from which they had drawn ſo much Wealth in former times, was now to become again tributary to them. So there was a publick rejoicing for three days, in which the Pope ſaid Maſs himſelf, and diſtributed his ordinary Largeſs of Indulgences, of which he was the more bountiful, becauſe he hoped they ſhould come in credit again, and be purchaſed at the Rates at which they had been formerly ſold. Yet in the Conſiſtory, *Commendone* did not poſitively ſay he was ſent by the Queen, that being only communicated to the Pope: all he told the Cardinals, was, That he underſtood from very good hands, that the Queen was very well diſpoſed to that See, and that ſhe deſired, that a Legate might be ſent over with full Powers. Many of the Cardinals thought this was too bare a Meſſage; and that it was below the Papal Dignity, to ſend a Legate, till the Pope was earneſtly deſired to do it, by an expreſs Meſſage, and an Embaſſy ſent by the Queen. But it was ſaid, that *Commendone* had ſaid nothing but by the Queen's expreſs Orders, who was yet in ſo unſetled a condition, that till ſhe held a Seſſion of Parliament, it might much endanger her to appear openly in ſuch a Matter: They were to remember, how *England* had been loſt by too much ſtiffneſs formerly; and they were to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who left his ninety nine Sheep, to ſeek the one that was ſtrayed. So it was granted, that *Pool* ſhould go Legate, with a full Power. But *Gardiner* coming to

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1553.

know this, ſent to the Emperor to ſtop his Journey; aſſuring him, that things were going well on, and that his coming over would ſpoil all. At this time the Emperor began to think of marrying his Son *Philip* to the Queen, who, tho ſhe was above nine years elder than he, yet being but thirty ſeven years old, was not out of hopes of having Children. The Emperor ſaw, that if *England* were united to the Spaniſh Crown, it would raiſe that Monarchy to a great height, they ſhould have all the Trade of the World in their hands, and ſo encloſe *France*, that it ſeemed as probable a ſtep to the Univerſal Monarchy, as that he had lately loſt in *Germany*. When this Match was firſt propoſed, I do not know; but I have read ſome parts of a Letter concerning it, (for it is not all legible) which was written by the Queen of *Hungary*, and ſigned by the Emperor, in the beginning of *November*; this, tho it was not the firſt Propoſition, yet ſeems to have followed ſoon after it. The Queen entertained the Motion eaſily, not truſting to the Affections of her People, nor thinking it poſſible to have the Papal Authority ſet up, nor the Church-Lands reſtored, without a forreign Force to aſſiſt her. It is ſaid, and I have ſhewn ſome ground to believe, that ſhe had ſome Inclinations to Cardinal *Pool*; and that the Emperor, fearing that might be an hindrance to his Deſign, therefore the Cardinal's coming over was ſtopp'd, till the Queen was married to his Son *Philip*. But of this I find no certain footſteps. On the contrary, *Gardiner*, whoſe eye was chiefly upon the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, would rather have promoted *Pool's* pretenſions to the Queen; ſince her marrying a Subject, and not a Stranger, would have made the Government much eaſier, and more acceptable to the People; and it would have been the beſt thing he could do for himſelf, if he could have perſuaded her to marry him, who alone was like to ſtand between him and that Dignity.

But ſtopp'd in his Journey by the Emperor.

The true Account of it, is: The Emperor preſſed her, firſt to ſettle the State, and conſummate her Marriage; and that would more eaſily make way for what was to follow: For *Gardiner* had aſſured him, the bringing in of the Papal Power, and making up the Marriage, both at once, would be things of ſuch ill digeſtion, that it would not be eaſy to carry them together; and therefore it was neceſſary to let a conſiderable Interval go between. This being reſolved on, it was apparent the Marriage ought to go firſt, as that which would give them more ſtrength to conclude the other. And this was the true reaſon of ſtopping Cardinal *Pool* at * *Dilling*; which the Emperor at firſt did by his own Authority, but afterwards got the Queen to ſend one to him to the ſame purpoſe. She ſent *Goldwell* (afterwards Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) to him, with the two Acts that were paſſed, for the juſtifying of her Mother's Marriage, and for bringing all things back to the State in which they were at her Father's Death. Thereby ſhe let him ſee, that ſhe was going forward in the Buſineſs for which he was ſent; but withal ſhe told him, That the Commons, in paſſing thoſe Acts, had expreſſed great averſion to the taking of the Supremacy from the Crown, or the reſtoring of the Pope's Power; and that they were much allarm'd, to hear he was coming over Legate; and it prejudiced her Affairs, that the Meſſage ſhe had ſent by *Commendone*, had been publiſhed in the Conſiſtory. Therefore ſhe deſired him to keep out of *England*, till he were further adver-

The Queen ſent one to him.

* A Town on the *Danube*.

1553.

advertiſed. But to let him ſee how much ſhe depended on his Counſels, ſhe deſired he would ſend her a Liſt of ſuch Perſons as ſhould be made Biſhops; for many were now to be turned out. To this (beſides the Anſwer which he might have writ to her ſelf, that I have not ſeen,) he writ a copious Anſwer, in a tedious Paper of Inſtructions, which he gave to *Goldwell*; the Concluſion of which, ſumming up his whole Mind fully enough, I thought ſufficient to put into the *Collection*, for the Inſtructions are extream long, and very full of words to little purpoſe. They ſeem to be of his own hand-writing, but of that I am not well aſſured, having ſeen nothing elſe of his hand, except his Subſcription.

Collections, Numb. 9.

The Advice he ſent to the Queen.

The ſubſtance of it was this: 'He rejoyced much at the two Acts that were paſſed, but yet he cenſures them both, becauſe he obſerved ſome Defects in them: In the Act for confirming her Mother's Marriage, he found fault that there was no mention made of the Pope's Bulls, by the authority of which only it could be a lawful Marriage. In the other, he did not like it, that the Worſhip of God, and the Sacraments, were to be as they were in the end of her Father's Reign; for then the People were yet in a State of Schiſm, and Schiſmaticks have no right to the Sacraments; the Pope's Interdict ſtill lay on the Nation, and till that were taken off, none could without Sin either adminiſter or receive them. He told her, that *Commendone* had ſaid nothing in her Name to the Conſiſtory, but had ſpoken to them only on the Reports which, he ſaid, he had heard of her from good hands; and it was neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat, in order to the ſending a Legate: That many in the Conſiſtory had oppoſed the ſending of him, becauſe there was no expreſs Deſire ſent about it; but it was carried, that he ſhould come over with very full Graces, and Power to reconcile the Kingdom on very eaſy Terms. He alſo told her, he was afraid, that when the Pope and Cardinals ſhould hear that he was ſtopp'd, they would repent their Benignity, and take this as an Affront, and recall him and his Powers, and ſend another, that would not be ſo tender of the Nation, or bring with him ſuch full Powers: That to prevent this, he had ſent one to the Pope and Cardinals, to mitigate their diſpleaſure, by letting them know, he was only ſtopp'd for a little while, till the Act of Atttainder that ſtood againſt him was repealed; and to make a ſhew of going forward, he had ſent his Houſhold-Stuff to *Flanders*, but would ſtay where he was, till he had further Orders. He ſaid, he knew this flowed chiefly from the Emperor, who was for uſing ſuch Political Courſes, as himſelf had followed in the Buſineſs of the *Interim*, and was earneſt to have the State ſetled, before ſhe meddled with Religion; he had ſpoke with his Confeſſor about it, and had convinced him of the Impiety of ſuch Courſes, and ſent him to work on him. He alſo told the Queen, he was afraid carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that ſhe might thereby fall from her ſimplicity in Chriſt, in which ſhe had hitherto lived. He encouraged her therefore to put on a Spirit of Wiſdom and Courage, and to truſt in God, who had preſerved her ſo long, and had ſetled her on the Throne in ſo unlook'd for a manner. He deſired, ſhe would ſhew as much Courage in rejecting the Supremacy, as her Father had done in acquiring it. He confeſſed, he knew none in either Houſe of Parliament fit to propoſe

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1553.

'that matter: the Spiritualty had all complied ſo far, had written and declared for it ſo much, that it could not flow from them decently; and the Temporalty being poſſeſſed of the Church Lands, would not willingly move it: therefore he thought it beſt for her ſelf to go to the Parliament, having before-hand acquainted ſome few both of the Spiritualty and Temporalty with her Deſign; and that ſhe ſhould tell both Houſes, ſhe was touched in her Conſcience, that ſhe and her People were in a Schiſm from the Catholick-Church and the Apoſtolick See; and that therefore ſhe had deſired a Legate to come over to Treat about it; and ſhould thereupon propoſe that the Attainder might be taken off from him, that he might be capable to come on that Meſſage. And he proteſted, that he had never acted againſt the King, or Kingdom, but only with deſign to reduce them to the Unity of the Church; neither before nor after the Attainder: and whereas ſome might apprehend a thraldom from the Papacy, ſhe might give them aſſurance that they ſhould ſee all things ſo well ſecured, that there ſhould no danger come to the Nation from it; and he aſſured them that he, for his part, ſhould take as much care of that, as any of all the Temporalty could deſire. What Recomendations he ſent, for the Sees that were to be declared vacant, I do notknow.

But *Gardiners* methods are preferred to him.

When this Diſpatch of his was brought into *England*, *Gardiner*, by the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, convinced the Queen that his method was unpracticable, and that the Marriage muſt be firſt diſpatched: and now *Gardiner* and he did declare open Enmity to one another. *Gardiner* thought him a weak man, that might have ſome ſpeculative knowledge of abſtracted *Ideas*, but underſtood not the World, nor the genious of the Engliſh Nation. *Pool*, on the other hand, thought him a falſe Man, that made Conſcience of nothing, and was better at Intrigues and Diſſimulation, than the Government of the Church. But the Emperor ſaw *Gardiner* had ſo prudently managed this Parliament, that he concluded his meaſures were rather to be followed than the Cardinals.

The Houſe of Commons diſpleaſed with the Marriage with *Spain.*

In the Houſe of Commons it was given out that it was neceſſary to gain the Queen to the Intereſt of the Nation, and to turn her from forreign Councils and Aid, by being eaſy to her in the matter of Religion, and therefore they were ready both to repeal the Divorce, and King *Edwards* Laws. But when they ſaw the deſign of the Marriage, and uniting with *Rome*, was ſtill carried on, they were all much allarm'd: ſo they ſent their Speaker, and twenty of their Houſe with him, with an earneſt and humble Addreſs to her, not to marry a Stranger. This had ſo inflamed the Houſe, that the Court ſaw more could not be expected from them, unleſs they were ſatisfied in that point. So on the 6th of *December* the Parliament was diſſolved. Upon that *Gardiner* ſent to the Emperor, to let him know that the Marriage was like to meet with ſuch oppoſition, that unleſs extraordinary Conditions were offered, which all ſhould ſee were much to the advantage of the Engliſh Crown, it could not be carried without a general Rebellion. He alſo aſſured him, that if great ſums of money were not ſent over to gratifie the chief Nobility and leading men in the Country, both for obliging them to his Intereſt, and enabling them to carry Elections for the next Parliament, the oppoſition would be ſuch, that the Queen muſt lay down all thoughts of marrying his Son. Upon this, the Emperor and his Son reſolved to

The Parliament is diſſolved.

1553 offer what Conditions the Engliſh would demand; for *Philip* reckoned, if he once had the Crown on his Head, it would be eaſie for him, with the aſſiſtance which his other Dominions might give him, to make all theſe ſignifie little. And for Money the Emperor borrowed twelve hundred thouſand Crowns, (which in Engliſh Money was four hundred thouſand pounds, for the Crown was then a Noble) and promiſed to ſend it over to be diſtributed as *Gardiner* and his Embaſſadors ſhould think fit: but made his Son bind himſelf to repay him that ſum, when he had once attained the Crown of *England.* And this the Emperour made ſo little a ſecret, that when, a year after, ſome Towns in *Germany*, that had lent a part of this money, deſired to be repaid; he anſwered them, that he had lent his Son 1200000 Crowns to marry him to the Queen of *England*, and had yet received of him only 300000 Crowns, but he had good ſecurity for the reſt, and the Merchants were bound to pay him 100000 lib. Sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. All this was printed ſoon after at *Straſburgh* by the Engliſh there, in a Book which they ſent over to *England*; in which, both the Addreſs made by the Commons in Parliament, and this Anſwer of the Emperour's to the Towns, is mentioned. And that whole Diſcourſe, (which is in the form of an Addreſs to the Queen, the Nobility and the Commons,) is written with ſuch gravity and ſimplicity of Stile, that as it is by much the beſt I have ſeen of this time: ſo in theſe publick Tranſactions, there is no reaſon to think it untrue. For the things which it relates are credible of themſelves; and though the ſum there mentioned was very great, yet he that conſiders that *England* was to be bought with it, will not think it an extraordinary price. In that Diſcourſe, it is further ſaid, that as *Gardiner* corrupted many by Bribes, ſo in the Court of *Chancery*, Common Juſtice was denied to all but thoſe who came into theſe Deſigns,

1200000 Crowns ſent into *England* to procure the conſent of the Nation to the Marriage.

The Proceedings of the Convocation.

Having thus given an account of what was done in the Parliament, I ſhall next ſhew how the Convocation proceeded. *Bonner* being to preſide in it, as being the firſt Biſhop of the Province of *Canterbury*, appointed *John Harpsfield* his Chaplain to preach: who took his Text out of the twentieth of the *Acts* (verſe 20) *Feed the Flock.* He run out in his bidding Prayers, moſt profuſely on the Queens Praiſes, comparing her to *Deborah* and *Eſther*, with all the ſervileſt flatteries he could invent: next he bid them pray for the Lady *Elizabeth*: but when he came to mention the Clergy, he enlarged in the praiſes of *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonſtal*, *Heath*, and *Day*, ſo groſly, that it ſeems the ſtrains of flattering Church-men at that time were very courſe: and he run out ſo copiouſly in them, as if he had been to deliver a Panegyrick and not to bid the Beads. In his Sermon he inveighed againſt the late Preachers, for not obſerving Faſts, nor keeping Lent, and for their Marriages which he ſeverely condemned,

Diſputes concerning the Sacrament

Weſton Dean of *Weſtminſter* was preſented Prolocutor by the lower Houſe, and approved of by *Bonner*. Whether any of the Biſhops that had been made in King *Edwards* time ſat among them, I do not know. But in the lower Houſe there was great oppoſition made. There had been care taken that there ſhould be none returned to the Convocation, but ſuch as would comply in all points. But yet there came ſix Non-compliers, who being Deans or Arch-Deacons, had a right to ſit in the Convocation. Theſe were *Philpot* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, *Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*,*Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*,*Cheyney* Arch-deacon of *Hereford*,*Ailmer* Arch-deacon of *Stow*,and *Young* Chanter of St.*Davids*. *Weſton* the Prolocuter propoſed to them,on the 18*th* of *October*,that there had been a Catechiſm printed in the laſt year of King *Edwards* Reign in the name of that Synod,and as he underſtood it was done without their conſents,which was a peſtiferous Book,and full of Hereſies; There was likewiſe a very abominable Book of Common Prayer ſet out; it was therefore the Queens pleaſure that they ſhould prepare ſuch Laws about Religion,as ſhe would ratifie with her Parliament. So he propoſed that they ſhould begin with condemning thoſe Books, particularly the Articles in them contrary to the Sacrament of the Altar: and he gave out two queſtions about it: Whether in the Sacrament,upon the Sanctification of the Bread and Wine, all their ſubſtance did not vaniſh; being changed into the Body and Blood of Chriſt? and, Whether the natural Body of Chriſt was not corporally preſent in the Euchariſt, either by the Tranſubſtantiation of the Elements into his Body and Blood, or by the Conjunction of Concomitance, as ſome expreſſed it? The Houſe was adjourned till the 20*th*, on which day every Man was appointed to give in his Anſwer to theſe Queſtions. All anſwered and ſubſcribed in the affirmative, except the ſix before mentioned. *Philpot* ſaid, whereas it was given out that the Catechiſm was was not approved by the Convocation, though it was printed in their name; it was a miſtake: for the Convocation had authoriſed a number of Perſons to ſet forth Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to whom they had committed their Synodal Authority; So that they might well ſet out ſuch Books in the name of the Convocation. He alſo ſaid, that it was againſt all order, to move Men to ſubſcribe in ſuch points, before they were examined: and ſince the number of theſe on the one ſide, was ſo unequal to thoſe on the other ſide; he deſired that Dr. *Ridley*, Mr. *Rogers*, and two or three more, might be allowed to come to the Convocation. This ſeemed very reaſonable. So the lower Houſe propoſed it to the Biſhops. They anſwered, that theſe perſons being Priſoners, they could not bring them: but they ſhould move the Council about it. A Meſſage alſo was ſent from ſome great Lords, that they intended to hear the Diſputation; ſo the Houſe adjourned till the 23*d*. 1553.

There was then a great appearance of Noblemen and others. The Prolocutor began with a Proteſtation, that by this Diſpute they did not intend to call the Truth in doubt, to which they had all ſubſcribed; but they did it only to ſatisfie the objections of thoſe few who refuſed to concur wtih them. But it was denied to let any Priſoners or others aſſiſt them, for it was ſaid, that that being a Diſpute among thoſe of the Convocation, none but Members were to be heard in it. *Haddon*, and *Ailmer*, foreſeeing they ſhould be run down with clamour and noiſe, refuſed to diſpute: *Young* went away: *Cheyney* being next ſpoke to, did propoſe his Objections: that St. *Paul* calls the Sacrament *Bread* after the Conſecration: that *Origen* ſaid, it went into the Excrement: and *Theodoret* ſaid, the Bread and Wine did not in the Sacrament depart from their former *Subſtance*,*Form*,and *Shape*. *Moreman* was called on to anſwer him: He ſaid, that St. *Paul* calling it Bread, was to be underſtood thus, *the Sacrament or Form of Bread*. To *Origens* Authori-

1553 ty he anſwered nothing; but to *Theodoret* he ſaid, the word they render *Subſtance* ſtood in a more general ſignification, and ſo might ſignifie *accidental Subſtance.* Upon this, *Ailmer*, who had reſolved not to Diſpute, could not contain himſelf, but ſaid the *Greek* Word, ὀυσία, could not be ſo underſtood, for the following words of *Form* and *Shape* belonged to the Accidents, but that only belonged to the Subſtance of the Elements. Upon this there followed a Conteſt about the ſignification of that word. Then *Philpot* ſtruck in, and ſaid, the occaſion of *Theodorets* writing, plainly ſhewed, that was a vain Cavil; for the Diſpute was with the *Eutychians*, whether the Body and humane Nature of Chriſt had yet an Exiſtence diſtinct from the Divine Nature? The *Eutychians* ſaid, it was ſwallowed up by his Godhead; and argued from ſome expreſſions uſed concerning the Sacrament, as if the preſence of Chriſt in it had ſwallowed up the Elements: againſt which, *Theodoret*, according to the Orthodox Doctrine, argued to prove that there was in Chriſt a humane Nature, not ſwallowed up; and ſaid, that as in the Sacrament, notwithſtanding the union of Chriſt with the Elements, they did not depart from their *Subſtance, Form, and Shape*; So the humane Nature of Chriſt, was not abſorbed by its Union to the Godhead. So it plainly appeared, this word *Subſtance* ſtood for the Nature of the Elements. *Moreman* being ſtraitned in anſwering this, *Philpot* ſaid, if he had not an Anſwer ready, he would deſire him to think on one again their next Meeting; upon this the Prolocutor checked him, as if he were bragging too ſoon. He inſiſted on his Argument, but was commanded to be ſilent. *Haddon* upon that propoſed another Argument, from theſe Words of our Saviour, *The Poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always*: That therefore his Body was not in the Sacrament. To this the Prolocutor anſwered, that Chriſt was not to be always with us ſo as to receive our Alms; which is all that was intended by that place: But *Haddon* brought a copious Citation out of St. *Auſtin*, applying that very Place to prove that Chriſt's natural Preſence was no more on Earth, after his Aſcenſion into Heaven. To this Dr. *Watſon* oppoſed another place of St. *Auſtin*, and ſome diſpute was about thoſe Places: After that, *Haddon* read more Authorities of Fathers, aſſerting that Chriſt was in Heaven and not on Earth; the Words of the Inſtitution did plainly expreſs it; both becauſe the Sacrament was to be in *remembrance of Chriſt, and becauſe it was to continue until his coming again.* But to this they ſaid, he was not on Earth in a bodily manner; and they endeavoured to take away the Force of the Argument from the Words, *until his coming again*, by ſome other Acceptions of the Word [*until.*] But *Haddon* asked them, whether they thought Chriſt did eat his own natural Body, when he inſtituted and took the Sacrament? they ſaid he did. Upon that he anſwered, that that was ſo abſurd, that he thought it needleſs to argue more with thoſe who could yield it, and ſo he ſate down. *Philpot* argued, that Chriſt could not receive his own Body in the Sacrament, ſince it was given for the Remiſſion of Sins, of which he was not capable, having no Sin; *Weſton* anſwered, he might receive it, as well as he Baptized: But *Philpot* anſwered, he was baptized, as he ſaid himſelf, to be an example to others. So ended this days Diſpute.

On the 25. *Philpot*, who was ordered to begin that Day, had prepared a long Diſcourſe in *Latin:* But *Weſton* interrupted him, and ſaid, He muſt make no Speech, he was only to propoſe his Arguments, and that in *Engliſh*; though it had been before ordered that the Diſpute ſhould be in *Latin*. Then *Philpot* went to explain what ſort of Preſence he would diſpute againſt, and what he allowed. Here *Weſton* again interrupted him, and bid him form his Argument. Upon that he fell down on his Knees, and begged of the Lords, and Privy Counſellors that were preſent, That he might have leave to ſpeak his Mind: Which they granted him; ſo, he ſaid, For their Sacrifice of the Maſs, he would prove that it was no Sacrament at all, and that Chriſt was no way preſent in it; which if he ſhould not do, before the Queen and her Council, againſt any ſix that would maintain the contrary, he ſhould be willing to be burnt before the Court Gates. Upon this there was great out-crying, that he was mad, and talkt idely; and *Weſton* threatned to ſend him to Priſon. But this noiſe being laid, and he claiming the priviledg of the Houſe for the freedom of Speech, was required to go on to an Argument. Then he proved that Chriſt was in Heaven; for himſelf ſaid, *I leave the World, and go to my Father:* And to prove there was no ambiguity in theſe words, he obſerved, that his Diſciples ſaid upon this, *Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, without any Parable.* It was anſwered, by Dr. *Chedſey*, That thoſe words were only meant of his viſible Aſcenſion, but did not exclude his inviſible preſence; and he cited ſome words of *Chryſoſtom's*, That Chriſt took his Fleſh with him, and alſo left his Fleſh behind him. *Weſton*, and the reſt ſaid, That Authority was unanſwerable; and for a while would not hear his Anſwer. But *Philpot* ſhewed him, that *Chryſoſtom's* words muſt be underſtood in a large ſenſe, as Believers are ſaid to be Fleſh of his Fleſh; for that Father applies that alſo to Baptiſm, from theſe words, *As many as are baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt*; ſo the Fleſh that Chriſt left on Earth, according to him, is not the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament. Upon this, *Pye*, Dean of *Chicheſter*, whiſpered ſomewhat to the Prolocutor; who thereupon ſaid to *Philpot*, That he had diſputed enough. He anſwered, That he had a dozen of Arguments, and they were enjoining him ſilence, before he had got through one of them. They threatned to ſend him to Priſon if he ſpoke more. He ſaid, That was far from the promiſe they had made of hearing them fully; and from what was preached laſt *Sunday* at *Pauls*, That all things ſhould be anſwered in this Diſputation. But *Pye* ſaid, He ſhould be anſwered another vvay. *Philpot* replyed, There vvas a Company of them now got together, vvho had heretofore diſſembled vvith God and the World; and vvere now met to ſuppreſs God's Truth, and to ſet forth falſe Devices, vvhich they vvere not able to maintain. After this *Ailmer* ſtood up, and brought many Authorities out of Greek Authors, to prove that οὐσία in *Theodoret*, could only be underſtood of the *ſubſtance* of Bread and Wine: and *Moreman* deſired a days time to conſider of them. Then *Peru*, though he had ſubſcribed vvith the reſt, brought ſome Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation; for which the Prolocutor chid him, ſince he had before ſubſcribed. *Ailmer* anſwered, That it vvas againſt the freedom of the Houſe, for any to be ſo chid for delivering his Conſcience. It was now become late, ſo they adjourned to the 27*th*. 1553.

1553. Then they again diſputed about *Theodorets* words, where *Haddon* ſhewed that he ſaid the Symboles retained the ſame *Subſtance* that they had before. After that *Cheyney* fell to argue about thoſe words; he acknowledged a real Preſence, but denied Tranſubſtantiation, and preſſed *Theodoret*'s Authority ſo cloſs, that *Watſon* ſaid he was a *Neſtorian*; and if *Theodoret*, who was but one, was of their ſide, there was above a hundred Fathers againſt them. Upon this *Cheyney* quoted *Ireneus*, who had ſaid, that our fleſh was *nouriſhed* by the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, He alſo cited *Heſychius*, who ſaid, that in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, the Symboles that were not conſumed in the Communion, were burnt afterwards; he deſired to know whether the Aſhes were the Body of Chriſt, or what it was that was burnt. To all this *Harpſfield* made a long Anſwer concerning Gods Omnipotence, and the weakneſs of mens underſtandings, that could not comprehend Divine Myſteries. But *Cheyney* ſtill asked what it was that was burnt? *Harpſfield* replied, it was either the Subſtance of Bread, or the Body of Chriſt; and afterwards ſaid it was a Miracle: At that *Cheyney* ſmiled, and ſaid then he could ſay no more. *Weſton* asked, whether there was not enough ſaid in anſwer to theſe mens Objections? Many of the Clergy cried out, *Yes*, *Yes*: But the multitude with repeated cries ſaid, *No*, *No*: *Weſton* ſaid, he ſpake to thoſe of the Houſe, and not to the rude Multitude. Then he asked thoſe Divines, whether they would now for three days anſwer the Arguments that ſhould be put to them? *Haddon*, *Cheyney* and *Ailmer*, ſaid they would not: But *Philpot* offered to do it. *Woſton* ſaid, he was a mad man, and fitter to be ſent to *Bedlam*. *Philpot* ſaid, he that had carried himſelf with ſo much Paſſion, and ſo little Indifferency, deſerved a Room there much better. *Weſton* neglecting him turned to the Aſſembly, and ſaid, they might ſee what ſort of men theſe were, whom they had now anſwered three days; but 'tho they had promiſed it, and the Order of Diſputation did require it, that they ſhould anſwer in their turn three days, they now declined it. Upon that, *Ailmer* ſtood up and anſwered, that they had made no ſuch Promiſe, nor undertaken any ſuch Diſputation; but being required to give their Reaſons, why they would not ſubſcribe with the reſt, they had done it, but had received no Anſwer to them, and therefore would enter into no further Diſputation before ſuch Judges, who had already determined and ſubſcribed thoſe Queſtions. So the Houſe was adjourned to the 30*th*. and then *Philpot* appeared to anſwer, but deſired firſt leave to proſecute his former Argument, and urged that ſince Chriſt as man is like us in all things without ſin, therefore as we are reſtrained to one place at a time, ſo is Chriſt but in one place, and that is *Heaven*; for St. *Peter* ſays, *the Heavens muſt contain him till the Reſtitution of all things*. To this it was anſwered, that Chriſt being God, his Omnipotence was above our underſtanding: and that to ſhut him in one place, was to put him in Priſon. *Philpot* ſaid, he was not ſpeaking of his Divine Nature, but that as he was man he was like us: And for their ſaying that Chriſt was not to be impriſoned in Heaven, he left to all men to judge whether that was a good anſwer or not. Much diſcourſe following upon this, the Prolocutor commanded him to come no more into the Houſe. He anſwered, he thought himſelf happy to be out of their Company. Others ſuggeſting to the Prolocutor, that it would be ſaid the meeting was not free, if men were put out of the Houſe for ſpeaking their minds: He ſaid to him he might come, ſo he were decently Habited, and did not ſpeak but when he commanded him. To this he anſwered, that he had rather be abſent altogether. *Weſton* concluded all, by ſaying, you have the *Word*, but we have the *Sword*: Truly pointing out wherein the ſtrength of both Cauſes lay.

This was the Iſſue of that Diſputation, which was ſoon after Printed in *Engliſh*: and in *Latin* by *Volcrandus Polanus*, and is inſerted at large in *Fox's Acts and Monuments*. What account the other ſide gave of it, I do not find. But upon all ſuch occaſions, the prevailing party, when the inequality was ſo diſproportioned, uſed to carry things with ſo much noiſe and diſorder, that it was no wonder the Reformers had no mind to engage in this Diſpute. And thoſe who reflected on the way of proceeding in King *Edwards* time, could not but confeſs things had been managed with much more Candor and Equality. For in this very Point, there had been, as was formerly ſhewn, Diſputes for a Year together, before there was any Determination made: ſo that all men were free at that time to deliver their Opinions without any fear, and then the Diſputes were in the Univerſities, where, as there were a great Silence, and Collection of Books, ſo the Auditors were more capable of being inſtructed by them: But here the Point was firſt determined, and then diſputed: And this was in the midſt of the diſorder of the Town, where the Privy Council gave all poſſible encouragement to the prevailing Party. Cenſures paſt upon it.

The laſt thing I find done this year, was, the reſtoring *Veiſey* to be Biſhop of *Exeter*, which was done on the 28*th* of *December*. In his Warrant for it under the great Seal, it is ſaid, that he, for ſome juſt troubles both in Body and Mind, had reſign'd his Biſhoprick to King *Edward*, to which the Queen now reſtored him. And thus ended this year. Forreign Affairs did not ſo much concern Religion, as they had done in the former Reign, which as it made me give ſome account of them then, ſo it cauſes me now not to proſecute them ſo fully.

1554.

In the beginning of the next year, the Emperour ſent over the Count of *Egmont* and ſome other Ambaſſadours to make the Propoſition and Treaty of Marriage, betwixt his Son and the Queen. In the managing of this Treaty, *Gardiner* had the chief hand: for he was now the Oracle at the Council-board: He had thirty years Experience in Affairs, a great Knowledge of the Courts of Chriſtendome, and of the State of *England*, and had great Sagacity, with a marvelous Cunning, which was not always regulated by the Rules of Candor and Honeſty. He in drawing the Articles of the Marriage had a double deſign: the one was, to have them ſo framed that they might eaſily paſs in Parliament; And the other was, to exclude the *Spaniards* from having any ſhare in the Government of *England*, which he intended to hold in his own hands. So the Terms on which it was agreed were theſe. Ambaſſadors ſent from the Emperour for the marriage. The Articles agreed.

The Queen ſhould have the whole Government of *England*, with the giving of Offices and Benefices, in her own hands: ſo that tho *Philip* was to be called King, and his Name was to be on the Coin, and the Seals, and in Writts, yet her hand was to give force to every thing without his. *Spaniards* ſhould not be admitted into the Government,

nor

1553. nor to any Offices at Court. The Laws ſhould not be altered, nor the Pleadings put into any other Tongue. The Queen ſhould not be made to go out of *England*, but upon her own deſire. The Children born in the Marriage ſhould not go out of *England*, but by the conſent of the Nobility. If the Queen out-lived the Prince, She ſhould have 60000 *l.* a year out of his Eſtate, 40000 out of *Spain*, and 20000 of it out of the *Netherlands*. If the Queen had Sons by him, they ſhould ſucceed, both to her own Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, and *Burgundy*: And if the Arch-duke *Charles*, *Philip's* only Son died, they ſhould ſucceed to all Her and His Dominions: If ſhe had only Daughters, they ſhould ſucceed to her Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, if they married by their Brothers conſent: or otherwiſe, they ſhould have ſuch Portions, as was ordinarily given to thoſe of their Rank: But if the Queen had no Iſſue, the King vvas not to pretend to any part of the Government after her death; but the Crown vvas to deſcend according to the Laws of *England* to her Heirs. There vvas to be a perpetual League betwixt *England* and *Spain*; but this was not to be in prejudice of their League with *France*, vvhich vvas ſtill to continue in force.

Theſe were the Conditions agreed on, and afterwards confirmed in Parliament; by vvhich it appears the *Spaniards* vvere reſolved to have the Marriage on any Terms; reckoning that if Prince *Philip* vvere once in *England*, he could eaſily enlarge his Authority, vvhich vvas hereby ſo much reſtrained.

The Match generally diſliked.

It was now apparent, the Queen vvas to Marry the Prince of *Spain*; vvhich gave an univerſal diſcontent to the vvhole Nation. All that loved the Reformation ſaw, that not only their Religion vvould be changed, but a Spaniſh Government and Inquiſition vvould be ſet up in its ſtead. Thoſe vvho conſidered the Civil Liberties of the Kingdom, vvithout great regard to Religion, concluded that *England* would become a Province to *Spain*; and they ſaw how they governed the *Netherlands*, and heard how they ruled *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*: but above all, they heard the moſt Inhumane things that ever any Age produced, had been Acted by them in their new conqueſt in the *Weſt-Indies*.

It was ſaid, what might they expect, but to lye at the mercy of ſuch Tyrannical Maſters, who would not be long kept within the Limits, that were now preſcribed? All the great conditions now talked of, were but the guilding the Pill, but its operation would be fatal, if they once ſwallowed it down. Theſe things had Iufluence on many; But the chief Conſpirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*: The one was to raiſe the Mid-land Counties, the other to raiſe *Cornwal*, and *Wiat* was to raiſe *Kent*: Hoping by riſing in ſuch remote places, ſo to diſtract the Government, that they ſhould be able to engage the Commons, who were now as much diſtaſted with the Queen, as they had been formerly fond of her.

Plots to oppoſe it

Are diſcovered.

But as *Carew* was carrying on his Deſign in the Weſt, it came to be diſcovered; and one that he had truſted much in it, was taken: upon that *Carew* fled over into *France*. *Wiat* was in *Kent* when he heard this; but had not yet laid his Buſineſs as he intended. Therefore fearing to be undone by the Diſcovery that was made, he gathered ſome Men about him, and on the 25th of *January*, went to *Maidſton*. There he made Proclamation, that he intended nothing, but to pre-

Wiat breaks out.

ſerve

1554.

ſerve the Liberty of the Nation, and keep it from coming under the Yoke of Strangers; which, he ſaid, all the Council, one or two excepted, were againſt: and aſſured the People, that all the Nobility, and chief Men of *England*, would concur with them. He ſaid nothing of Religion, but in private aſſured thoſe that were for the Reformation, that he would declare for them. One *Roper* came and declared him and his Company Traitors; but he took him, with ſome Gentlemen that were gathering to oppoſe him. From thence he went to *Rocheſter*, and writ to the Sheriff of *Kent*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt the Strangers, for there were already, as he ſaid, an hundred Armed *Spaniards* landed at *Dover*. The Sheriff ſent him word, That if he, and thoſe with him, had any Suits, they were to make them to the Queen on their knees,but not with Swords in their hands; and required them to diſperſe, under pain of Treaſon. *Wiat* kept his Men in good order, ſo that they did no hurt, but only took all the Arms they could find.

At the ſame time, one *Iſley* and *Knevet* gathered People together about *Tunbridg*, and went to join with *Wiat*. The Queen ſent down a Herald to him with a Pardon,if he would diſperſe his Company in 24 hours; but *Wiat* made him deliver his Meſſage at the end of *Rocheſter* Bridg,and ſo ſent him away.The High Sheriff gathered together as many as he could, and ſhewed them how they were abuſed by Lyes; there was no *Spaniards* landed at all: and thoſe that were to come, were to be their Friends and Confederates againſt their Enemies. Thoſe that he brought together, went to *Graveſend* to meet the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Hen. Jerningham*, who were come thither with 600 Men from *London*; and they hearing that *Knevet* was in his way to *Rocheſter*, went, and intercepted, and routed him; ſixty of his Men were killed, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the Woods.

The News of this diſheartned *Wiat* much; who was ſeen to weep, and called for a Coat, which he ſtuffed with Angels, deſigning to have eſcaped. But the Duke of *Norfolk* marching to *Rocheſter* with 200 Horſe, and 600 Foot, commanded by one *Bret*; they were wrought on, by a pretended Deſertor, *Harper*, who ſeemed to come over from *Wiat*:he perſuaded the *Londoners*,that it was only the preſervation of the Nation from the *Spaniards* that they deſigned; and it was certain none would ſuffer under that Yoke more than they.This had ſuch an effect on them, that they all cried out, *We are all Engliſh Men*; and went over to *Wiat*. So the Duke of *Norfolk* was forced to march back. And now *Kent* was all open to *Wiat*, who thereupon ſent one to the Duke of *Suffolk*, preſſing him to make haſte and raiſe his Country: but the Bearer was intercepted. Upon that, the Earl of *Huntington* was ſent down with ſome Horſe to ſeize on him. The Duke was at all times a mean-ſpirited Man, but it never appeared more than now: For after a faint endeavour to raiſe the Country, he gave it over, and concealed himſelf in a privat Houſe; but was betrayed by him to whom he had truſted himſelf, into the hands of the Earl of *Huntington*, and ſo was brought to the *Tower*.

The *Londoners* revolt.

Wiat's Party increaſing, they turned towards *London*. As they came to *Debtford*, Sir *Edward Haſtings*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, came to them, in the Queen's Name, to ask what vvould content them? *Wiat*

deſired

1554.

Wiat's Demands.

He came to Southwark.

deſired that he might have the Command of the *Tower*, that the Queen might ſtay under his Guard; and that the Council might be changed. Upon theſe extravagant Propoſitions, there paſſed high words, and the Privy Counſellors returned to the Queen. After this ſhe vvent into *Guild-hall*, and there gave an account of her Meſſage to *Wiat*, and his Anſwer. And for her Marriage, ſhe ſaid, ſhe did nothing in it but by advice of her Council, and ſpoke very tenderly of the love ſhe bore to her People,and to that City.On the 31,*Wiat* wasbecome 4000 ſtrong, and came near *Southwark*. On the 2*d* of *February* he fell into *Southwark*. Some of his Company had a mind to have broken into *Wincheſter-Houſe*, and rob'd it; but he threatned to hang any that ſhould do it. He was put in hope, that upon his coming to *Southwark*, *London* would have declared for him; but in that he was deceived. The Bridg was fortified, ſo that he found it was not poſſible to force it. Here he held a Council of War with his Officers; ſome were for turning back into *Kent*, to diſperſe a Body of Men that the Lord *Abergaveny* had gathered together: but he ſaid, That was a ſmall Game. The ſtrength of their Party was in *London*, and therefore it was neceſſary for him to be there as ſoon as he could: for though they could not open the Bridg to him, yet he was aſſured, if he were on the other ſide, many would come out to him. Some were for croſſing over to *Eſſex*, where they heard the People were well-affected to them; but they had not Boats enough, ſo he marched to get over at *Kingſton*-Bridg.

He croſſed the *Thames* at *Kingſton*.

On the 4*th* they came to *Kingſton*, where the Queen had ordered the Bridg to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he croſſed the River that Night; and though he loſt much time, by the mending of one of his Carriages that broke by the way, he was at *Hide-Park* by nine of the Clock next Morning, it being *Aſh-wedneſday*.

But is defeated.

And taken.

The Earl of *Pembroke* had gathered a good Body of Men to have fallen on him, for his Men were now in great diſorder; but they look'd on, to let him caſt himſelf into their hands. He did not march by *Holborn*, as ſome adviſed, but came down to *Charing-croſs*. There the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the ſeveral Bodies of his Men, and diſperſed them ſo, that he had not 500 left about him: But with thoſe that remained, he paſſed through the *Strand*, and *Fleetſtreet*, to *Ludgate*, where he ſtopped, in hope to have found the Gates opened to him. That hope failing, he returned back; and being now out of all heart, was taken at *Temple-Bar* by a Herald. All this while the Queen ſhewed great courage, ſhe would not ſtir out of *Whitehall*, nor go by Water to the *Tower*, as ſome adviſed her, but went with her Women and Prieſts to her Devotions.

Poinet was not in that Rebellion.

This was a Rebellion, both raiſed and diſperſed, in as ſtrange a manner as could have been imagined. *Wiat* was a popular and ſtout Man, but had not a Head for ſuch an Undertaking, otherwiſe the Government was ſo feeble, that it had not been a difficult thing to have driven the Queen to great ſtraits. It was not at all raiſed upon pretence of Religion; which, according to the printed Account ſet out by the Queen's Order, was not ſo much as once named. And yet ſome of our own Writers ſay, That *Poinet*, the late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was in it. But this is certainly falſe, for ſo many Priſoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out, and publiſhed, to make that Religion more odious: and we cannot think but *Gardiner* would have taken care that he ſhould have been attainted in the following Parliament.

Chriſtophorſon ſoon after writ a Book againſt Rebellion, in which he ſtudies to faſten this Riſing on the Preachers, of the New Religion, as he calls it; and gives ſome preſumptions,that amount to no more, but little flouriſhes of his Wit, but never names this, which had been a deciſive proof. So that it is but a groundleſs Fiction, made by thoſe who have either been the Authors, or at leaſt have laid down the Principles of all the Rebellions in the Chriſtian World, and yet would caſt that blame on others, and exempt themſelves from it; as if they were the ſureſt Friends of Princes, while they deſign to enſlave them to a Forreign Power, and will neither allow them to Reign, nor to Live, but at the mercy of the Head of that Principality, to which all other Powers muſt bend; or break, if they meet with an Age that is ſo credulous and ſuperſtitious, as to receive their Dictates.

This raw, and ſoon-broken Rebellion, was as lucky to *Gardiner*, and thoſe who ſet on the Marriage, as if they had projected it; for now,the People were much diſheartned,and their own Deſigns as much fortified: ſince, as ſome Fevers are Critical, and caſt out thoſe Latent Diſtempers, which no Medicines could effectually purge away; and yet if they were not removed, muſt in the end corrupt the whole Maſs of Blood; ſo in a weak Government, to which the People are ill-affected, ill-digeſted, Rebellions raiſe the Prince higher, and add as much Spirit to his Friends, as they take from the Faction againſt him,and give a Handle to do ſome things, for which otherwiſe it were not eaſy, either to find Colours or Inſtruments.

The L. *Jane* and her Huſband executed.

One effect of this was, the proceeding ſeverely againſt the Lady *Jane*, and her Huſband, the Lord *Guilford*, who both ſuffered on the 12*th* of *Feburary*. The Lady *Jane* was not much diſordered at it; for ſhe knew, upon the firſt Jealouſie, ſhe muſt be the Sacrifice; and therefore had now lived ſix months in the continual meditations of Death. *Fecknam*, afterwards Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent to her by the Queen, three days before, to prepare her to Die. He had a long converſation with her: But ſhe anſwered him with that calmneſs of Mind, and clearneſs of Reaſon, that it was an aſtoniſhing thing to hear ſo young a Perſon, of her Sex and Quality, look ou Death, ſo near her, with ſo little diſorder, and talk ſo ſenſibly, both of Faith, and Holineſs, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church. *Fecknam* left her, ſeeing he could work nothing on her: But procured, as is ſaid, the continuance of her Life three days longer, and waited on her on the Scaffold. She writ to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death,(which muſt needs have been great,ſince his Folly had occaſioned it). She expreſſed her ſenſe of her Sin, in aſſuming the Royal Dignity, though he knew how unwillingly ſhe was drawn to it; and that in her Royal Eſtate, her enforced Honour had never defiled her innocent Heart. She rejoiced at her approaching End,ſince nothing could be to her more welcome, than to be delivered from that Valley of Miſery, into that Heavenly Throne, to which ſhe was to be advanced, where ſhe prayed that they might meet at laſt.

Her preparation for Death.

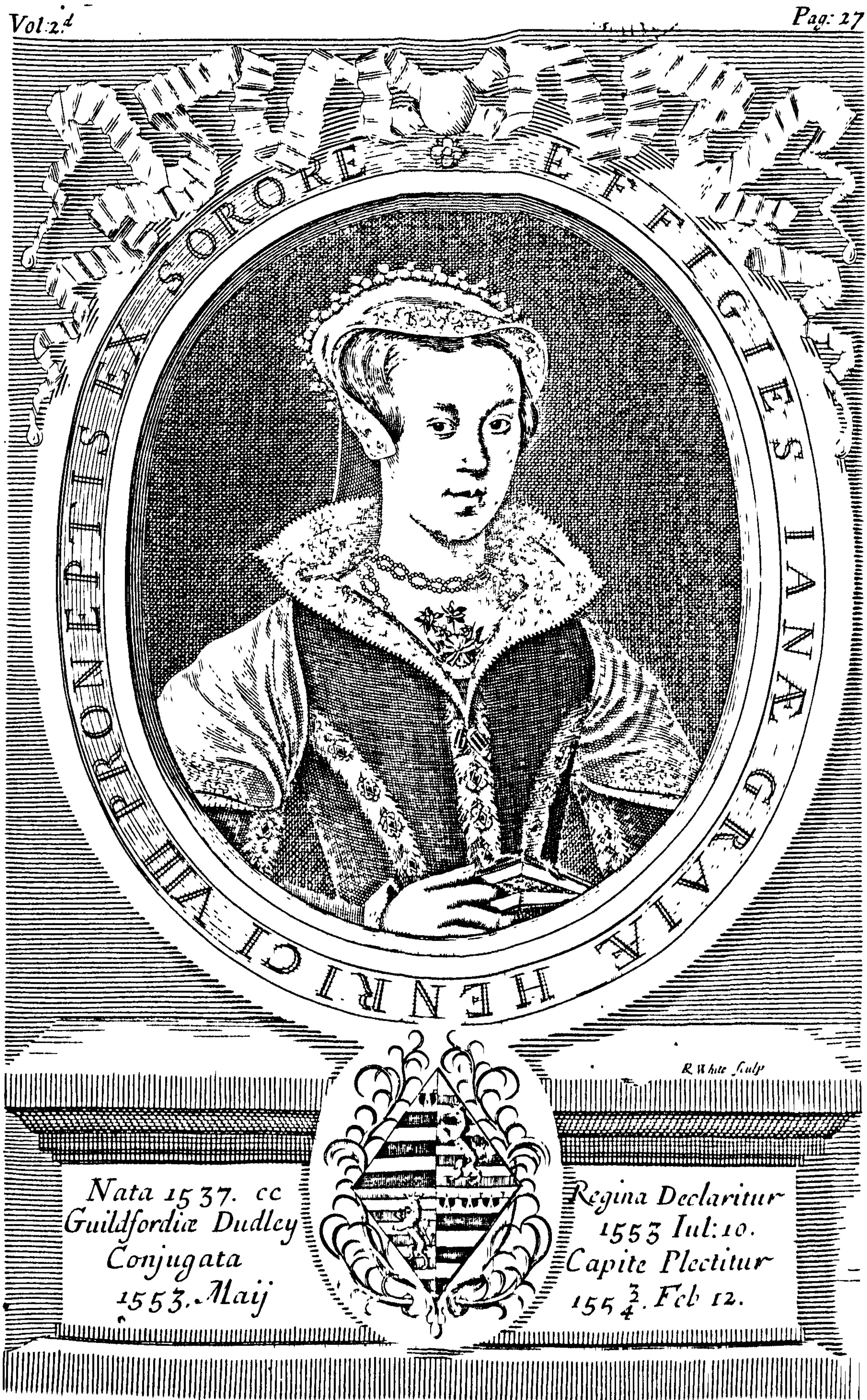
There

1554.

There was one *Harding*, that had been her Father's Chaplain, and that was a zealous Preacher in King *Edward*'s Days; before whoſe Death, he had animated the People much to prepare for Perſecution, and never to depart from the Truth of the Goſpel; but he had now fallen away himſelf. * To him ſhe writ a Letter full of ſevere expoſtulations, and threatnings, for his Apoſtacy; but it had no effect on him. It is of an extraordinary ſtrain, full of Life in the Thoughts, and of Zeal, if there is not too much, in the expreſſions. The Night before her Execution, ſhe ſent her *Greek Teſtament*, which ſhe had always uſed, to her Siſter; with a Letter in the ſame Language, in which, in moſt pathetick Expreſſions, ſhe ſets out the value that ſhe had of it, and recommended the ſtudy and practice of it earneſtly to her. She had alſo compoſed a very devout Prayer for her Retirements; and thus had ſhe ſpent the laſt moments of her Life. She expreſſed great tenderneſs, when ſhe ſaw her Huſband led out firſt; but ſoon overcame it, when ſhe conſidered how cloſely ſhe was to follow him. He had deſired to take leave of her before he died, but ſhe declined it, ſince it would be rather an encreaſe of Grief, than any addition of Comfort to them. She ſaid, ſhe hoped they would ſhortly meet, and be united in a happier State; and with a ſetled Countenance, ſhe ſaw them bring back the beheaded Body to the Chappel, where it was to be buried. When ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, which was raiſed for her within the *Tower*, to prevent the compaſſion, which her dying more publickly might have raiſed; ſhe confeſſed, ſhe had ſinned in taking the Queen's Honour, when it was given her; ſhe acknowledged the Act was unlawful, as was alſo her conſenting to it; but, ſhe ſaid, it was neither procured nor deſired by her. She declared, that ſhe died a true Chriſtian, and hoped to be ſaved only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of Chriſt. She acknowledged that ſhe had too much neglected the Word of God, and had loved her ſelf and the World too much, for which that puniſhment had come juſtly to her from God: but ſhe bleſſed him that had made it a means to lead her to Repentance. Then, having deſired the Peoples Prayers, ſhe kneeled down, and repeated the 51 *Pſalm*; Then ſhe undreſſed her ſelf, and ſtretched out her Head on the Block, and cried out, *Lord, into thy hands I recommend my Spirit*; and ſo her Head was cut off.

All People lamented her ſad and untimely end, which was not eaſily conſented to, even by the Queen her ſelf. Her Death had a moſt violent operation on Judg *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence: ſoon after he fell mad, and in all his ravings, ſtill called to take away the Lady *Jane* from him. Indeed the blame of her Death was generally caſt on her Father, rather than on the Queen, ſince the Rivalry of a Crown is a point of ſuch niceneſs, that even thoſe who bemoaned her Death moſt, could not but excuſe the Queen, who ſeemed to be driven to it, rather from Conſiderations of ſtate, then any Reſentment of her own. On the 17 of *February*, was the Duke of *Suffolk* tried by his Peers, and condemned: He ſuffered on the 21. He would have died more pitied for his Weakneſs, if his Practices had not brought his Daughter to her end. Next, *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, where in moſt abject words he beg'd his Life, and offered to promote the Queen's Marriage, if they would ſpare him; but for all that he was

Her Father's Execution.


EFFIGIES IANÆ GRAIÆ HENRICI VIII PRONEPTIS EX SORORE
R White sculp
Nata 1537. cc
Guildfordiæ Dudley
Conjugata
1553. Maij
Regina Declaritur
1553 Iul:10.
Capite Plectitur
155¾. Feb 12.

Printed for Richd. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard

1554.

Beheaded. *Bret* was Hanged in Chains at *Rocheſter*. In all fifty eight vvere Executed in ſeveral places, vvhoſe Attainders vvere confirmed by an Act of the following Parliament, 600 of the Rabble vvere appointed to come before the Queen vvith Halters about their Necks, and to beg their Lives,vvhich ſhe granted them; aud ſo vvas this Storm diſſipated; only the Effuſion of Blood after it, vvas thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment vvas generally caſt on *Gardiner*, and made him become very hateful to the Nation; vvhich has been always much moved at a Repetition of ſuch ſad Spectacles.

The Lady *Elizabeth* unjuſtly ſuſpected for Plotting.

Many ſevere proceedings.

The Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, came to be ſuſpected of the Plot, as if the riſing in the Weſt had been ſet on by the Earl, with deſign, if it had ſucceeded, to have married the Lady *Elizabeth*, and put her in the Queen's Room. *Wiat* did at his death clear them of any occaſion to his Confederacies. Yet the Queen who was much alienated from her Siſter upon old Scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for uſing her ill; ſo ſhe was made a Priſoner. And the Earl of *Devonſhire* had, upon the account formerly mentioned, offended the Queen, who thought her kindneſs ill requited, when ſhe ſaw he neglected her, and preferred her Siſter; ſo he was again put into Priſon. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was alſo charged with that ſame Guilt, and broughr to his Trial, which laſted Ten hours; But was acquitted by the Jury: Upon which they were caſt into Priſon, and ſeverely Fined,ſome in 2000 *l.* and ſome in a 1000 Marks. This was fatal to his Brother Sir *John*, who was caſt by the Jury, upon the ſame Evidence that his Brother had been acquitted: But he proteſted his innocence to the laſt. Sir *John Cheek* had got beyond Sea, finding he was alſo ſuſpected and ſought after; and both Sir *Peter Carew*, and he, hoping that *Philip* would be glad, at his firſt admiſſion to the Crown of *England*,to ſhew Acts of Favour, went into *Flanders*; where, upon aſſurances given of Pardon and Mercy, they rendered themſelves. But upon their coming into *England*, they were both put into the Tower. *Carew* made his eſcape, and was afterwards employed by Queen *Elizabeth* in her Affairs in *Ireland*. *Cheek* was at this time diſcharged, but upon ſome new Offence, he was again taken in *Flanders*, in *May* 1556. and was prevailed upon to renounce his Religion, and then he was ſet at liberty; but was ſo ſadly affected at the unworthineſs of that Action, that it was believed to have caſt him into a Languiſhing, of which he ſoon after died. There was a baſe Impoſture ſet up at this time, of one that ſeemed to ſpeak from a Wall with a ſtrange ſort of voice. Many ſeditious things were uttered by that voice, which was judged of variouſly. Some called it the *Spirit of the Wall.* Some ſaid it was an Angel that ſpake:And many marvellous things were reported of it; But the matter being narrowly enquired into, it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, a Girle, who from a private hole in the Wall, with the help of a Whiſtle, had uttered thoſe words. She was made to doe Pennance openly at *Pauls* for it: But by the account then Printed of it, I do not find any Complices were found; except one *Drake*, to whom no particular Character is added. So it ſeems it was a Trick laid Betwixt theſe two; for what purpoſe I cannot find. Sure enough in thoſe Times, it was not laid to the charge of the Preachers of the Reformation. Which I the rather take notice of, becauſe of the Malignity of one of our Hiſtorians, who has laid this to the charge

The Impoſture of the Spirit in the Wall.

1554. of the *Zuinglian Goſpellers*, tho all the proof he offers for caſting it on them, is in theſe words; *For I cannot conſider this but as a Plot of theirs*; And ſets it up in oppoſition to the notorious Impoſture of the *Maid of Kent*, mentioned in the former Volume, and ſayes, *Let not the Papiſts be more charged with that, ſince theſe were now as faulty.*

The two Inſtructions to the Biſhops. Col. Number 10.

The Nation being now ſettled, the Queen did next give Inſtructions to the Biſhops to proceed to viſit the Clergy, according to ſome Articles which ſhe ſent them, which will be found in the *Collections*. In thoſe, after a long and invidious Preamble of the diſorders that had been in the time of King *Edward*, ſhe commanded them, to execute all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Laws as had been in force in her Father's Reign: That the Biſhops ſhould in their Courts proceed no more in the Queen's Name: That the Oath of Supremacy ſhould be no more Exacted of any of the Clergy: That none ſuſpect of Hereſie ſhould be admitted to Orders: That they ſhould endeavour to repreſs Hereſie, and puniſh Hereticks: That they ſhould ſuppreſs all naughty Books, and Ballads: That they ſhould remove all married Clergy men, and ſeparate them from their Wives; but for thoſe that renounced their Wives, they might put them into ſome other Cure, or reſerve a Penſion out of their Benefice for them: That no religious Man who had profeſſed Chaſtity, ſhould be ſuffered to live with his Wife: That care ſhould be taken of vacant Churches: That till they were provided, the people ſhould go to the Neighbouring Churches: That all the Ceremonies, Holy-days, and Faſts, uſed in King *Henry's* time, ſhould be again obſerved: That thoſe who were ordained by the new Book in King *Edwards* time, not being ordained in very deed, The Biſhop, if they were otherwiſe ſufficient, ſhould ſupply vvhat vvas vvanting before, and ſo admit them to Miniſter: That the Biſhops ſhould ſet forth an uniform Doctrine of Homilies; and compel the people to come to Church, and hear Divine Service: That they ſhould carefully look to all School-maſters and Teachers of Children: And that the Biſhops ſhould take care to ſet forth the Premiſes, vvith all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example; and endeavour to keep down all ſort of Vice.

Proceedings againſt the Biſhops that adhered to the Reformation.

Theſe vvere Sign'd on the 4 of *March*, and Printed, and ſent over the Kingdom. But to make the Married Biſhops Examples of the ſeverity of their proceedings; the Queen gave a ſpecial Commiſſion to *Gardiner*, *Tonſtall*, *Bonner*, *Parfew* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *Day*, and *Kitchin* of *Landaffe*, making mention, that vvith great grief of heart 'ſhe had heard, that the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of St. *Davids*, '*Cheſter* and *Briſtol*, had broken their Vows, and defiled their Function, by contracting Marriage; therefore thoſe, or any three of them, 'are empowered to call them before them; and if the Premiſes be found 'to be true, to deprive, and turn them out of their Biſhopricks. This I have put into the Collection, with another Comiſſion to the ſame 'Perſons, to call the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, before 'them; in whoſe Patents it was provided that they ſhould hold their 'Biſhopricks ſo long as they behaved themſelves well: and ſince they, 'by preaching Erroneous Doctrine, and by inordinate Life and Converſation, as ſhe credibly underſtood, had carried themſelves contrary to 'the Laws of God, and the Practice of the univerſal Church, theſe or 'any two of them, ſhould proceed againſt them, either according to 'Eccleſiaſtical Canons, or the Laws of the Land, and declare their Biſho-

Col. Number 11. 12.

1554. pricks void, as they vvere indeed already void; Thus vvere Seven Biſhops all at a daſh turned out. It was much cenſured, that there having been Laws made, allowing Marriage to the Clergy, the Queen ſhould by her own Authority, upon the repealing theſe Laws, turn out Biſhops for things that had been ſo well warranted by Law: for the Repeal was only an Annulling of the Law for the Future, but did not void it from the beginning: ſo that, however it might have juſtified proceedings againſt them for the Future, if they had lived with their Wives; yet it could not warrant the puniſhing them for what was paſt: And even the ſevereſt Popes, or their Legates, who had preſſed the Cœlibate moſt, had always before they proceeded to deprive any Prieſts for Marriage, left it to their choice, whether they would quit their Wives, or their Benefices: but had never ſummarily turned them out for being married: And for the other Biſhops, it was an unheard of way of procedure, for the Queen before any proceſs was made, to empower Delegates to declare their Sees void, as they were indeed already void. This was to give Sentence before hearing. And all this was done by vertue of the Queens Supremacy; for tho ſhe thought that, a ſinful and Schiſmatical Power, yet ſhe was eaſily perſwaded to uſe it againſt the Reformed Clergy, and to turn them out of their Benefices upon ſuch unjuſt and Illegal pretences. So that now the proceedings againſt *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, in which were the greateſt Stretches made that had been in the laſt Reign, were far outdone by thoſe new Delegates. For the Archbiſhop of *York*, tho he was now turned out, yet he was ſtill kept Priſoner; till King *Philip*, among the Acts of Grace he did at his coming over, procured his Liberty. But his See was not filled till *February* next; for then *Heath* had his *Conge d'elire.* On or before the 18*th* of *March* this Year, were thoſe other Sees declared Vacant. For that day did the *Conge d'elire* go out to the Deans and Chapters of St. *Davids*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter*, and *Briſtol:* for *Morgan*, *White*, *Parſew*, *Coates*, *Brookes* and *Holyman.* *Goodrick* of *Ely* died in *April* this Year. He ſeems to have complied with the time, as he had done often before: for he was not at all caſt into any trouble, which it cannot be imagined he could have eſcaped; ſince he had put the great Seal to the Patents for the Lady *Jane*, if he had not Redeemed it by a ready conſenting to the changes that were to be made. He was a buſie ſecular ſpirited Man, and had given himſelf up wholly to Factions and Intrigues of State: ſo that, tho his opinion had always leaned to the Reformation, it is no wonder if a man ſo tempered would prefer the keeping of his Biſhoprick before the Diſcharge of his Conſcience. *Thirleby* of *Norwich* was Tranſlated to *Ely*, and *Hopton* was made Biſhop of *Norwich.* But *Scory*, that had been Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, tho upon *Day*'s being reſtored, he was turned out of his Biſhoprick, did comply meerly: He came before *Bonner*, and Renounced his Wife, and did Penance for it, and had his Abſolution under his Seal, the 14*th* of *July* this Year: which is in the Collection. But it ſeems this was out of fear; for he ſoon after fled out of *England*, and lived beyond Sea untill Queen *Elizabeth*'s days: and then he came over; But it was judged indecent to reſtore him to his former See, where it is likely this Scandal he had given, was known; and ſo he was made Biſhop of *Hereford.* The Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wales*, *Barlow*, was alſo Number 11.

1554 made to Reſign, as appears by the *Conge d'elire* for *Bcurn* to ſucceed him, dated the 19*th* of *March.* Therein it is ſaid that the See wss Vacant by the Reſignation of the former Biſhop; tho in the Election, that was made on the 28*th* of *March*, it is ſaid the See was vacant by the Removal or Deprivation of their former Biſhop. But I incline to believe it truer, that he did reſign; ſince he is not mentioned in the Commiſſions formerly ſpoken of. But that was not all; for at this time a Book was ſet out in his Name, whether written by him, or Forged and laid on his Name, I cannot judge: in which he retracts his former errours, and ſpeaks of *Luther* and *Oecolampadius*, and many others, with whom he ſays he had familiarly converſed: with great bitterneſs. He alſo accuſes the Goſpellers in *England*, of Gluttony, Hypocriſie, Pride, and ill Nature: And indeed it is one of the moſt Virulent Invectives againſt the Reformation, that was written at that time: But it is not likely, if he had turned ſo heartily as the Strain of that Book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; eſpecially, ſince he had never Married; ſo I rather look on it as a Forgerie caſt on his Name, to diſgrace the Reformation. He fled beyond Sea, where he lived till the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's Reign*; and then it ſeems there was ſome offence taken at his former behaviour; for he was not reſtored to *Bath* and *Wales*, but put into *Chicheſter*, that was a much meaner Biſhoprick. Thus I have given a clear account, and free of all Partiality or Reſervation, of the changes made iu the moſt of the Sees in *England.* The two Arch-Biſhops, *Cranmer* and *Holgate*; the Biſhops, *Ridley*, *Poinet*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, *Taylor*, *Harvey*, *Bird*, *Buſh*, *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, and *Barlow*, were all removed; *Rocheſter* was void, and *Griffins* was put into it this *April.* *Goddrick* dying now, *Thirleby* ſucceeded him; and *Sampſon* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* dying ſoon after, *Bayn* ſucceeded him. So here were ſixteen new Biſhops brought in, which made no ſmall change in the Church.

The Maſs every where ſet up.

When this done, the Biſhops went about the executing of the Queen's Injunctions. The New Service was every-where caſt out, and the Old Ceremonies and Service were again ſet up. In this Buſineſs, none was ſo hot as *Bonner*; for the Act that repealed King *Edward's* Laws, being agreed to by the Commons, to whom the Lords had ſent it; he, without ſtaying for the Royal Aſſent, did that very Night ſet up the Old Worſhip at *Pauls*, on St. *Katherines* day; and it being the cuſtom, that on ſome Holy Days, the Quire went up to the Steeple to ſing the Anthems, that fell to be on that Night; which was an antick way of beginning a form of Worſhip, to which the People had been long diſuſed: And the next Day, being St. *Andrew's*, he did officiate himſelf, and had a ſolemn Proceſſion.

The moſt eminent Preachers in *London*, were either put in Priſon, or under Confinement; and as all their Mouths had been ſtopt, by the prohibiting of Sermons, unleſs a Licenſe were obtained; ſo they were now to be fallen on for their Marriages. *Parker* eſtimates it, that there were now about 16000 Clergy-Men in *England:* and of theſe, 12000 were turned out upon this account; ſome, he ſays, were deprived without Conviction, upon common Fame; ſome were never cited to appear, and yet turned out: Many that were in Priſon, were cited, and turned out for not appearing; though it was not in their Power:

Some were induced to ſubmit, and quit their Wives for their Livings: They were all ſummarily deprived. Nor was this all; but after they were deprived, they were alſo forced to leave their Wives; which piece of ſeverity was grounded on the Vow, that (as was pretended) they had made: though the falſhood of this Charge was formerly demonſtrated.

Books againſt the marriage of the Clergy.

To juſtify this ſeverity of Procedure, many were ſet to write againſt the Marriage of the Clergy. *Smith*, of whom I made mention in the former Book, that had then ſo humbly recanted and ſubmitted, did now appear very boldly, and reprinted his Book, with many Additions. But the moſt ſtudied Work was ſet out by *Martin*, a Doctor of the Laws. It was certainly, for moſt part *Gardiner's* Work, and I have ſeen the Proof-Sheets of a great part of it, daſht and altered in many places, by *Gardiner's* hand. This *Martin* had made his Court to *Cranmer* in former times. He had ſtudied the Law at *Bourges*, where *Francis Balduin*, one of the celebrated Lawyers of that time, had publickly noted him for his lewdneſs, as being not only over-run himſelf with the French Pox; but as being a Corrupter of all the Univerſity, which *Balduin* certified in a Letter to one in *England*, that took care to print it.

It was alſo printed, that *Bonner* had many Baſtards: and himſelf was believed to be the Baſtard of one *Savage*, a Prieſt in *Leiceſterſhire*, that had been Baſtard to Sir *John Savage* of *Cheſhire*. Which Prieſt, by *Elizabeth Frodſham*, the Wife of one *Edmond Bonner*, had this *Edmond* now Biſhop of *London*; and it ſeems his Mother did not ſoon give over thoſe her lewd Courſes, for *Wymſly*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, was another of her Baſtards. That Kennel of the uncleanneſs of the Prieſts and Religious Houſes, was again, on this occaſion, racked, and expoſed, with too much indecency: for the married Prieſts; being openly accuſed, for the impurity and ſenſuality of their Lives, thought it was a juſt piece of ſelf-defence, to turn theſe Imputations back on thoſe who pretended to Chaſtity, and yet led moſt irregular Lives, under that appearance of greater ſtrictneſs.

A New Parliament.

The Regal Power aſſerted to be in a Queen, as well as a King.

This was the ſtate in which things were, when the New Parliament met on the 2*d* of *April*. *Gardiner* had before-hand prepared the Commons, by giving the moſt conſiderable of them Penſions; ſome had 200, and ſome a 100 *l.* a Year, for giving their Voices to the Marriage. The firſt Act that paſſed, ſeemed of an odd nature, and has a great Secret under it. The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons brought in a Bill, declaring, That whereas the Queen had of right ſucceeded to the Crown; but, becauſe all the Laws of *England* had been made by Kings, and declared the Prerogatives to be in the King's Perſon; from thence ſome might pretend that the Queen had no right to them; it was therefore declared to have been the Law, that theſe Prerogatives did belong to the Crown, whether it were in the hands of Male or Female: and whatſoever the Law did limit and appoint for the King, was of right alſo due to the Queen, who is declared to have as much Authority as any other her Progenitors.

The Secret Reaſons for that Act.

Many in the Houſe of Commons wondered what was the intention of ſuch a Law; and as People were at this time full of jealouſie, one *Skinner*, a Member of the Houſe, (who in Queen *Elizabeth's* time took

1554.

Ex M. SS. D. Gul. Petyt.

Orders, and was made Dean of *Dureſm*) ſaid, he could not imagine why ſuch a frivolous Law was deſired, ſince the thing was without diſpute: and that, that which was pretended, of ſatisfying the People, was too ſlight: he was affraid there was a trick in theſe words, That the Queen had as great Authority as any of her Progenitors; on which perhaps it might be afterwards ſaid, She had the ſame Power that *William* the Conqueror exerciſed, in ſeizing the Lands of the *Engliſh*, and giving them to Strangers; which alſo *Edward* the Firſt did upon the conqueſt of *Wales*. He did not know what relation this might have to the intended Marriage, therefore he warned the Houſe to look well to it; ſo a Committee being appointed to correct it, ſuch words were added, as brought the Queen's Prerogative under the ſame Limitations, as well as it exalted it to the height of her Progenitors. But one *Fleetwood*, afterwards Recorder of *London*, told the Earl of *Leiceſter* the ſecret of this, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, who writ down his Diſcourſe, and from thence I have copied it. There was one that had been *Cromwell's* Servant, and much employed by him in the ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries: he was a Man of great Notions, but very buſy and factious; ſo having been a great ſtickler for the Lady *Jane*, he was put in the *Fleet*, upon the Queen's firſt coming to the Crown: yet within a month he was diſcharged; but upon the laſt Riſing, was again put up, and indicted of High Treaſon: He had great Friends, and made application to one of the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, that was then the Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by his means he obtained his Liberty. Being brought to him, he ſhewed him a new Plat-form of Government, which he had contrived for the Queen. She was to declare her ſelf a Conqueror; or that ſhe having ſucceeded to the Crown by Common Law, was not at all to be limited by the Statute Laws, ſince thoſe were only reſtrictions upon the Kings, but not on the Queens of *England*; and that therefore all thoſe Limitations of the Prerogative; were only binding in the Perſons of Kings, but ſhe was free from them: Upon this, he ſhewed how ſhe might eſtabliſh Religion, ſet up the Monaſteries, raiſe her Friends, and ruin her Enemies, and Rule according to her Pleaſure. The Ambaſſador carried this to the Queen, and ſeemed much pleaſed with it, but deſired her to read it carefully, and keep it as a great Secret.

As ſhe read it, ſhe diſliked it, and judged it contrary to the Oath ſhe had made at her Coronation: and thereupon ſent for *Gardiner*, and charged him, as he would anſwer before the Judgment-Seat of God, at the general Day of the Holy Doom, that he would conſider the Book carefully, and bring her his Opinion of it next day, which fell to be *Maundy Thurſday*. So, as the Qneen came from her *Maundy*, he waited on her into her Cloſet, and ſaid theſe words; *My good and moſt gracious Lady, I intend not to pray your Highneſs, with any humble Petitions, to name the Deviſers of this new invented Plat-form: but here, I ſay, That it is pity that ſo noble and vertuous a Lady, ſhould be endangered with the pernicious Devices of ſuch lewd and ſubtil Sycophants; for the Book is naught, and moſt horrible to be thought on.* Upon this the Queen thanked him, and threw the Book into the Fire; and charged the Ambaſſador, that neither he, nor any of his Company, ſhould receive more ſuch Projects from any of her People. This made *Gardi-*

ner apprehended,that if the *Spaniards* began ſo ſoon to put ſuch Notions into the Queen's Head, they might afterwards, when ſhe was in their Hands, make ſomewhat of them; and therefore, to prevent ſuch Deſigns for the future, he drew the Act; in which, though he ſeemed to do it as an Advantage to the Queen, for the putting of her Title beyond diſpute; yet he really intended nothing by it, but that ſhe ſhould be reſtrained by all thoſe Laws, that the former Kings of *England* had conſented to: And becauſe King *Henry* the Seventh, though his beſt right to the Crown flowed from his Marriage to the Heir of the Houſe of *York*, had yet taken the Government wholly into his own hands; he, fearing leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould pretend to ſuch a Power by the Authority, which Marriage gives the Huſband over the Wife, got the Articles of the Marriage to be ratified in Parliament; by which they not only confirmed thoſe agreed on, but made a more full explanation of that part of them, which declared the entire Government of the Kingdom to belong only to the Queen.

Great Jealouſies of the Spaniſh Power.

To this the *Spaniards* gave too great an occaſion, by publiſhing King *Philip*'s Pedigree, whom they derived from *John of Gaunt*. They ſaid, this was only done to conciliate the favour of the Nation, by repreſenting him not a ſtranger, but a Native: But this gave great offence; concerning which I have ſeen a little Book that vvas then printed; It was there ſaid, That King *Henry* the Seventh came in, pretending only to marry the Heir of the Houſe of *York*: But he was no ſooner on the Throne, than he declared his own Title,and kept it his whole Life. So it vvas ſaid, the *Spaniard* vvould call himſelf Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and upon that Pretenſion, would eaſily wreſt the Power out of the Queen's hands, who ſeemed to mind nothing but her Devotions. This made *Gardiner* look the better to the ſecuring of the Liberties of the Crown and Nation; ſo that it muſt be acknowledged, that the preſerving of *England* out of the hands of the *Spaniards* at that time, ſeems to be almoſt vvholly owing to him.

The Biſhoprick of *Dureſm* reſtored.

In this Parliament, the Marqueſs of *Northampton* vvas reſtored in Blood. And the Act for reſtoring the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm* not having gone through the laſt Parliament vvhen it vvas diſſolved, vvas now brought in again. The Town of *Newcaſtle* oppoſed it much, vvhen it came down to the Commons. But the Biſhop of *Dureſm* came to them on the 18*th* of *April*, and gave them a long account of all his Troubles, from the Duke of *Northumberland*, and deſired that they would diſpatch his Bill. There vvere many Proviſo's put into it, for ſome that vvere concerned in *Gateſide*; but it vvas carried in the Houſe, That, inſtead of theſe Proviſo's, they ſhould ſend a Deſire to him, recommending thoſe Perſons to his Favour: So upon a Diviſion, there vvere 120 againſt it, and 201 for it. After this, came the Bill confirming the Attainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and fifty eight more, vvho vvere attainted for the late Rebellion. The Lords put in a Proviſo, excepting Entailed Lands out of their Forfeitures; but the Commons rejected the Proviſo, and paſſed the Bill. Then did the Commons ſend up a Bill for reviving the Statutes made againſt *Lollardy*: vvhich being read twice by the Lords, vvas laid aſide. The Commons intended next to have revived the Statute of the Six Articles: but it did not agree vvith the Deſign at Court, to take any notice of King

1554 *Henry*'s Acts; ſo this vvas let fall. Then they brought in another Bill to extirpate Erroneous Opinions and Books; but that vvas at the third reading laid aſide. After that they paſſed a particular Bill againſt *Lollardy* in ſome Points, as the eating of fleſh in Lent; but that alſo being ſent up to the Lords, was at the third reading laid aſide, by the major part of the Houſe; ſo forward were the Commons to pleaſe the Queen, or ſuch Operation had the Spaniſh Gold on them, that they contrived four Bills in one Seſſion, for the proſecution of thoſe they called Hereticks. But to give ſome content on the other hand, they paſſed a Bill, that neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any other, ſhould have any Power to Convene, or trouble any, for poſſeſſing Abbey Lands: This was ſent up to the Lords, but laid aſide at that time, aſſurance being given, that the Owners of thoſe Lands ſhould be fully ſecured. The Reaſon of laying it aſide, was, that ſince by Law the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Authority at all in *England*, it was needleſs to paſs an Act againſt his Power in that particular, for that ſeemed to aſſert his Power in other things: and ſince they were reſolved to reconcile the Nation to him, it was ſaid, that it would be indecent to paſs an Act that ſhould call him only Biſhop of *Rome*, which was the Compellation given him during the Schiſm; and it was prepoſterous to begin with a Limitation of his Power, before they had acknowledged his Authority: So this was laid aſide, and the Parliament ended on the 25*th* of *May*.

But the Matters of the Convocation are next to be related. Thoſe of the Reformation complained every-where, that the Diſputes of the laſt Convocation had not been fairly carried; that the moſt eminent Men of their Perſuaſion were detained in Priſon, and not admitted to it: that only a few of them, that had a right to be in the Houſe, were admitted to ſpeak, and that theſe were much interrupted. So that it was now reſolved to adjourn the Convocation for ſome time, and to ſend the Prolocutor with ſome of their number to *Oxford*, that the Diſputations might be, in the preſence of that whole Univerſity. And ſince *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were eſteemed the moſt Learned Men of that Perſuaſion, they were, by a Warrant from the Queen, removed from the *Tower* of *London*, to the Priſons at *Oxford*. And though *Latimer* was never accounted very Learned, and was then about eighty Years of Age, yet he having been a celebrated Preacher, who had done the Reformation no leſs Service by his Labours in the Pulpit, than others had done by their abler Pens; he was alſo ſent thither to bear his ſhare in the Debates.

Some ſent to *Oxford* to diſput with Reformeed Biſhops.

Thoſe who were ſent from the Convocation, came to *Oxford* on the 13*th* of *April*, being *Friday*. They ſent for thoſe Biſhops on *Saturday*, and aſſigned them *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday*, every one of them his day, for the defending of their Doctrine: but ordered them to be kept apart. And that all Books and Notes ſhould be taken from them. Three Queſtions were to be diſputed.

1. *Whether the natural Body of Chriſt was really in the Sacrament?*

2. *Whether any other Subſtance did remain, but the Body and Blood of Chriſt?*

3. *Whether in the Maſs there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Dead and Living?*

When *Cranmer* was firſt brought before them, the Prolocutor made an Exhortation to him, to return to the Unity of the Church. To which he anſwered, with ſuch gravity and modeſty, that many were obſerved to weep: He ſaid, He was as much for Unity as any, but it muſt be an Unity in Chriſt, and according to the Truth. The Articles being ſhewed him, he asked, Whether by the Body of Chriſt they meant an *Organical Body:* They anſwering, It was the Body that was born of the Virgin; Then, he ſaid, he would maintain the *Negative* of theſe Queſtions.

Cranmer Diſputes.

On the 16*th*, when the Diſpute with *Cranmer* was to begin, *Weſton*, that was Prolocutor, made a ſtumble in the beginning of his Speech; for, he ſaid, *Ye are this day aſſembled to confound the deteſtable Hereſie of the Verity of the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament.* This Miſtake ſet the whole Aſſembly a laughing; but he recovered himſelf, and went on: he ſaid, It was not lawful to call theſe things in doubt, ſince Chriſt had ſo expreſly affirmed them, that to doubt of them, vvas to deny the Truth and Power of God. Then *Chedſey* urged *Cranmer* with the words, *This is my Body;* To vvhich he anſwered, That the Sacrament vvas effectually Chriſt's Body, as broken on the Croſs; that is, His Paſſion effectually applyed. For the explanation of this, he offered a large Paper containing his Opinion: of which I need ſay nothing, ſince it is a ſhort abſtract of what he writ on that Head formerly; and of that a full account was given in the former Book. There followed a long Debate about theſe words. *Oglethorp*, *Weſton*, and others, urged him much, that Chriſt making his Teſtament, muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak Truth, and plain Truth; and they run out largely on that. *Cranmer* anſwered, That figurative Speeches are true; and when the Figures are clearly underſtood, they are then plain likewiſe. Many of *Chryſoſtom's* high Expreſſions about the Sacrament were alſo cited; vvhich *Cranmer* ſaid, vvere to be underſtood of the Spiritual Preſence received by Faith. Upon this much time was ſpent, the Prolocutor carrying himſelf very undecently towards him, calling him, an *unlearned, unskilful*, and *impudent Man:* There were alſo many in the Aſſembly that often hiſſed him down, ſo that he could not be heard at all; which he ſeemed to take no notice of, but went on as often as the noiſe ceaſed. Then they cited *Tertullian's* words, *The Fleſh is fed by the Body and Blood of Chriſt, that ſo the Soul may be nouriſhed by God.* But he turned this againſt them, and ſaid, hereby it was plain, the Body as well as the Soul received Food in the Sacrament; therefore the Subſtance of Bread and Wine muſt remain, ſince the Body could not be fed by that Spiritual Preſence of the Body of Chriſt. *Treſham* put this Argument to him, Chriſt ſaid, as he lived by the Father, ſo they that eat his Fleſh ſhould live by him; but he is by his Subſtance united to his Father, therefore Chriſtians muſt be united to his Subſtance: To this *Cranmer* anſwered, That the Similitude did not import an equality, but a likeneſs of ſome ſort; Chriſt is eſſentially united to his Father; but Believers are united to him by Grace; and that in Baptiſm, as well as in the Euchariſt. Then they talked long of ſome words of *Hilary's*, *Ambroſe's*, and *Juſtin's*. Then they charged him, as having miſtranſlated ſome of the Paſſages of the Fathers in his Book; from which he vindicated himſelf, ſaying, that he had all his Life, in all manner of things, hated falſhood.

1554. After the Diſpute had laſted from the Morning till two of the Clock, it was broke up: and there was no ſmall Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been confounded in the Opinion of all the Hearers, which they had expreſſed by their Laughter and Hiſſing. There were Notaries that took every thing that was ſaid; from whoſe Books *Fox* did afterwards print the account of it, that is in his great Volume.

And *Ridley*.

The next day *Ridley* was brought out; and *Smith*, who was ſpoke of in the former Book, was now very zealous to redeem the prejudice which that compliance vvas like to be to him in his Preferment: So he undertook to diſpute this day. *Ridley* began with a Proteſtation, declaring, That vvhereas he had been formerly of another mind from vvhat he vvas then to maintain, he had changed upon no worldly conſideration, but meerly for love of the Truth, which he had gathered out of the Word of God, and the Holy Fathers: but becauſe it vvas God's Cauſe he vvas then to maintain, he proteſted that he might have leave afterwards to add, or to change, as upon better conſideration he ſhould ſee cauſe for it. He alſo deſired he might have leave to ſpeak his mind without interruption; which though it was promiſed him, yet he vvas often ſtopt, as he went on explaining his Doctrine. He argued againſt the Corporal Preſence, as being contrary to the Scriptures that ſpoke of Chriſt's leaving the World; as being againſt the Article of his ſitting at the right hand of God; and againſt the nature of the Sacrament, which is a Remembrance; he ſhewed, that by it the Wicked receive Chriſt no leſs than the Godly; that it is againſt nature to ſwallow down a living Man; that this Doctrine introduced many extraordinary Miracles, vvithout any neceſſity; and muſt have given advantage to the Hereticks, who denied Chriſt had a real Body, or a true humane Nature; and that it vvas contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers: He acknowledged that it vvas truly the Communion of his Body, that is, of Chriſt's Death, and of the Heavenly Life given by him: and did, in a ſtrong nervous Diſcourſe, as any I ever ſaw on that Subject, gather together the chief Arguments for his Opinion.

Smith argued, That notwithſtanding Chriſt's being at the right Hand of God, he was ſeen on Earth: *Ridley* ſaid, he did not deny but he might come and appear on Earth, but that was for a moment, to convince ſome, and comfort others, as St. *Paul*, and St. *Stephen*; though, he ſaid, it might be they ſaw him in Heaven; but he could not be, at the ſame time, both in Heaven and on Earth. They returned oft to *Chryſoſtom*'s words, and preſſed him with ſome of *Bernard's*: but as he anſwered the Sayings of the former, that they were Rhetorical and Figurative; ſo he excepted againſt the judgment of the latter, as living in an Age when their Opinion was generally received. The Diſpute held till *Weſton* grew weary, and ſtopt all; ſaying, *You ſee the obſtinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconſtant mind of this Man; but you ſee alſo the force of Truth cannot be ſhaken; therefore cry out with me, Truth has the Victory.* This being ecchoed again by the Audience, they went away with great Triumph; and now they reckoned the hardeſt part of their Work was over, ſince *Latimer* only remained.

1554.

And *Latimer.*

Latimer being next day brought forth, told them, He had not uſed *Latin* much theſe twenty Years, and was not able to Diſpute, but he would declare his Faith, and then they might do as they pleaſed. He declared, That he thought the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be only Spiritual, ſince it is that by which we obtain Eternal Life, which flows only from Chriſt's abiding in us by Faith; therefore it is not a bare naked ſign: but for the Corporal Preſence, he looked on it as the Root of all the other Errors in their Church: He enlarged much againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs: And lamented that they had changed the Communion into a private Maſs; that they had taken the Cup away from the People; and inſtead of Service in a known Tongue, were bringing the Nation to a Worſhip that they did not underſtand. He perceived they laughed at him; but he told them, they were to conſider his great Age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They preſſed him much to anſwer their Arguments: He ſaid, his Memory was gone, but his Faith was grounded on the Word of God; he was fully convinced by the Book which Dr. *Cranmer* had written on that Subject.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

In this whole Diſputation, as *Ridley* wrote of it, there was great diſorder, perpetual Shoutings, Tauntings, and Reproaches; ſo that it looked liker a Stage, than a School of Divines; and the Noiſe and Confuſions, with which he had been much offended when he was in the *Sorbone*, were modeſt, compared to this.

On *April* 28, they were again brought to St. *Maries*; where *Weſton* told them, They were over-come in the Diſputation, therefore he required them to ſubſcribe with the reſt. *Cranmer* objected againſt their way of Diſputing; he ſaid, they would not hear any one argue againſt their Errors, or defend the Truth; that often-times four or five of them were ſpeaking at once, ſo that it was impoſſible for any to hear, or to anſwer all theſe: In concluſion, he refuſed to ſubſcribe. *Ridley* and *Latimer* made the ſame Anſwers. So they were all judged Hereticks, and the Fautors of Hereſy. Then they were asked, Whether they intended to turn? They anſwered, That they would not turn; ſo they were judged Obſtinate Hereticks, and declared to be no more Members of the Church.

Upon which *Cramer* anſwered; 'From this your Judgment and Sen-'tence, I appeal to the juſt judgment of Almighty God, truſting to be 'preſent with him in Heaven, for whoſe Preſence on the Altar I am 'thus condemned.

Ridley anſwered; 'Although I be not of your Company, yet I 'doubt not but my Name is written in another Place, whither this 'Sentence will ſend us ſooner than we ſhould by the courſe of Nature 'have come.

Latimer anſwered; I thank God moſt heartily that he hath prolong-'ed my Life to this end, that I may in this caſe glorify God with this 'kind of Death.

To them *Weſton* anſwered; If you go to Heaven with this Faith, 'then I will never come thither, as I am thus perſuaded.

After this, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion in *Oxford*, the Hoſt being carried by *Weſton* the Prolocutor; who had been (as himſelf ſaid in this Diſputation) ſix Years in Priſon in King *Edward's* Time. This

1554. gave him now great repute, though he was known to be a conſtant Drunkard. *Ridley* wrote to him, deſiring to ſee what the Notaries had written, and that he might have leave to add in any part, as had been promiſed him; but he had no Anſwer. On the 23*d* of *April*, the Commiſſioners, ſent from the Convocation, returned to *London*. *Cranmer* ſent a Petition ſealed, by *Weſton*, to be delivered to the Council; in which he earneſtly begged their favour with the Queen, that he might be pardoned for his Treaſon, ſince they knew how unwillingly he conſented to the Patents for excluding her. He alſo complained of the diſorder in the Diſputes lately had; ſaying, that he was not heard, nor ſuffered to propoſe his Arguments; but all was ſhufled up in a day, though he had Matter on that Subject for twenty days work; that it look'd like a Deſign to ſhut up all things in haſte, and make a Triumph, and ſo to condemn them of Hereſy: He left it to their Wiſdom to conſider, if this was an indifferent way of handling ſuch a Matter. *Weſton* carried this Petition half way, and then opening it, and finding what it contained, he ſent it back, and ſaid, he would deliver no ſuch Petition. *Cranmer* was ſo kept, that though *Ridley* and *Latimer* could ſend to one another, yet it was not eaſy for them to ſend to him, without giving Mony to their Keepers. In one of *Ridley's* Letters to *Cranmer*, he ſaid, he heard they intended to carry down *Rogers*, *Crome*, and *Bradford*, to *Cambridg*, and to make ſuch a Triumph there, as he had lately made of them at *Oxford*: He truſted, the day of their deliverance out of all their Miſeries, and of their entrance into perpetual Reſt, and perpetual Joy and Felicity, drew nigh: He prayed God to ſtrengthen them with the mighty Spirit of his Grace: He deſired *Cranmer* to pray for him, as he alſo did for *Cranmer*. As for the Letters which theſe and the other Priſoners writ in their Impriſonment, *Fox* gathered the Originals from all People that had them: and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, the Founder of *Emanuel* College, procured them from him, and put them into the Library of that College, where I ſaw them: but they are all printed by *Fox*, ſo that the Reader, who deſires to ſee them, may find them in his *Acts and Monuments*. Of them all, *Ridley* writ with the greateſt connexion and force, both in the Matter, and in the way of Expreſſion.

The Priſoners in *London* ſet out in writing their Reaſons againſt diſputing by word of mouth.

This being now over, there was great boaſting among all the Popiſh Party, as if the Champions of the Reformation had been foiled. The Priſoners in *London* hearing they intended to inſult over them, as they had done over thoſe at *Oxford*, ſet out a Paper, to which the late Biſhops of *Exeter*, St. *Davids*, and *Glouceſter*, with *Taylor*, *Philpot*, *Bradford*, *Crome*, *Sanders*, *Rogers*, and *Lawrence*, ſet their Hands, on the 8*th* of *May*.

The ſubſtance of it was; 'That they, being Priſoners, neither as 'Rebels, Traitors, nor Tranſgreſſors of any Law, but meerly for their 'Conſcience to God and his Truth, hearing it was intended to carry 'them to *Cambridg* to diſpute, declared they would not diſpute, but 'in Writing, except it were before the Queen and her Council, or before either of the Houſes of Parliament: and that for theſe Reaſons.

1. 'It was clear, that the Determinations of the Univerſities were 'already made; they were their open Enemies, and had already con-

1554.

demned their Cauſe before they had heard it, which was contrary both to the Word of God, and the Determinations they had made in King *Edward*'s Time.

2. ‘They ſaw the Prelats and Clergy were ſeeking neither to find out the Truth, nor to do them good, otherwiſe they would have heard them, when they might have declared their Conſciences without hazard; but that they ſought only their deſtruction, and their own glory.

3. ‘They ſaw that thoſe who were to be the Judges of theſe Diſputes, were their inveterate Enemies; and by what paſſed in the Convocation Houſe laſt Year, and lately at *Oxford*, they ſaw how they muſt expect to be uſed.

4. ‘They had been kept long Priſoners, ſome nine or ten months, without Books, or Papers, or convenient places of ſtudy.

5. ‘They knew they ſhould not be heard to ſpeak their minds fully, but ſhould be ſtopt, as their Judges pleaſed.

6. ‘They could not have the nomination of their Notaries, who would be ſo choſen, that they would write and publiſh what their Enemies had a mind to. Therefore they would not engage in publick Diſputes, except by Writing: but they would give a Summary of their Faith, for which they would be ready to offer up their Lives to the Halter, or the Fire, as God ſhould appoint.

‘They declared, That they believed the Scriptures to be the true Word of God, and the Judg of all Controverſies in the Matters of Religion; and that the Church is to be obeyed, as long as ſhe follows this Word. That they believed the Apoſtles Creed; and thoſe Creeds ſet out by the Councils of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcedon*, and by the firſt and fourth Councils of *Toledo*; and the Symboles of *Athanaſius*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, and *Damaſus*. That they believed Juſtication by Faith; which Faith was not only an Opinion, but a certain perſuaſion wrought by the Holy Ghoſt, which did illuminate the Mind, and ſuppled the Heart to ſubmit it ſelf unfeignedly to God. That they acknowledged an Inherent Righteouſneſs, yet Juſtification, and the Pardon of Sins, they believed came only by Chriſt's Righteouſneſs imputed to them. They thought the Worſhip of God ought to be in a Tongue underſtood by the People; that Chriſt only, and not the Saints, were to be prayed to; that immediately after Death, the Souls paſs either to the State of the Bleſſed, or of the Damned, without any Purgatory between; that Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper are the Sacraments of Chriſt, which ought to be adminiſtred according to his Inſtitution: and therefore they condemned the denying the Chalice, Tranſubſtantiation, the Adoration, or the Sacrifice of the Maſs; and aſſerted the lawfulneſs of Marriage to every Rank of Men. Theſe things they declared they were ready to defend, as they often had before offered: and concluded, charging all People to enter into no Rebellion againſt the Queen, but to obey her in all Points, except where her Commands were contrary to the Law of God.

In the end of this Month, the Lady *Elizabeth* was taken out of the *Tower*, and put into the Cuſtody of the Lord *Williams*; who waited on her to *Woodſtock*, and treated her with great civility, and all the

1554.

reſpect due to her Quality: but this not being ſo acceptable to thoſe who governed, ſhe was put under the Charge of Sir *Hen. Benefield*, by whom ſhe was more roughly handled.

Prince *Philip* Lands.

On the 20*th* of *July*, Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton*. When he ſet foot to Land firſt, he preſently drew his Sword, and carried it a good way naked in his Hand. Whether this was one of the Forms of his Country, I know not: but it was interpreted as an Omen, that he intended to Rule *England* with the Sword: though others ſaid, It ſhewed, he intended to draw his Sword in defence of the Nation. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, an expreſſion of Duty always paid to our Princes; he took them from him, and gave them back without ſpeaking a word, or expreſſing by any ſign that he was pleaſed with it. His ſtiffneſs amazed the Engliſh, who uſe to be treated by their Kings with great ſweetneſs on ſuch occaſions: and ſo much gravity in ſo young a Man was not underſtood, but was look'd on as a ſign of vaſt pride and moroſeneſs. The Queen met him at *Wincheſter*; where, on the 25*th* of *July*, *Gardiner* married them in the Cathedral, the King being then in the 27*th*, and the Queen in the 38*th* Year of her Age. They were preſented from the Emperor by his Ambaſſador, with a reſignation of his Titular Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*, which were Pledges of that total reſignation that followed not long after.

And is married to the Queen.

So on the 27*th* of *July* they were proclaimed by their new Titles; '*Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Je*' '*ruſalem*, and *Ireland*; Princes of *Spain* and *Sicily*, Defendors of the ' Faith; Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*; Dukes of *Milan*, *Burgundy*, and ' *Brabant*; Counts of *Habſpurg*, *Flanders*, and *Tirol*: *Spain* having always delighted in a long enumeration of pompous Titles.

It was obſerved, how happy Marriages had been to the *Auſtrian* Family; who, from no extraordinary Beginnings, had now, in eighty Years time, been raiſed by two Marriages; firſt, with the Heir of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, and then with the Heir of *Spain*, to be the greateſt Family in Chriſtendom: and the Collateral Family, by the Marriage of the Heir of *Bohem* and *Hungary*, was now the greateſt in the Empire. And ſurely if Iſſue had followed this Marriage, the moſt extraordinary ſucceſs poſſible would have ſeemed to be entailed on them. But there was no great appearance of that; for as the Queen was now far advanced in Years, ſo ſhe was in no good ſtate of Health; a long courſe of Diſcontent, had corrupted both the health of her Body, and the temper of her Mind: Nor did the Matter alter much by her Marriage, except for the worſe. The King's wonderful Gravity and Silence, gained nothing upon the Engliſh; but his Magnificence and Bounty was very acceptable. He brought after him a vaſt Maſs of Wealth; ſeven and twenty Cheſts of Bullion, every Cheſt being a Yard and ſome Inches long; which were drawn in twenty Carts to the *Tower*; after which came ninety nine Horſe, and two Carts, loaded with coined Gold and Silver. This great Wealth was perhaps the Sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be diſtributed among the Engliſh; for it is not improbable, that though he empowred his Ambaſſadors, and *Gardiner*, to promiſe great Sums to ſuch as ſhould promote his Marriage, yet that he would not part with ſo much Mony till

He brings a great Treaſure with him to *England*.

it was made ſure; and therefore he ordered this Treaſure to be brought after him; (I mention it here, yet it came not into *England* till *October* and *January* following) He made his entry into *London* with great ſtate. 1554.

Act of Favour done by him. At his firſt ſetling in *England*, he obtained of the Queen, that many Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty; among whom the chief were, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and ten Knights, with many other Perſons of Quality. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, had been committed, either for *Wiat*'s Rebellion, or the Buſineſs of the Lady *Jane*; for I do not believe, any were diſcharged that were impriſoned on the account of Religion. As for this Arch-Biſhop, though he went along in the Reformation, yet I find nothing that gives any great Character of him. I never ſaw any Letter of his, nor do I remember to have ſeen any honourable mention made of him any where; ſo that he ſeems to have been a ſoft and weak Man; and except thoſe little Fragments of his Opinions in ſome Points about the Maſs, (which are in the *Collection*) I know no remains of his Pen. It ſeems he did at this time comply in Matters of Religion, for without that, it is not probable that either *Philip* would have moved for him, or that the Queen would have been eaſily entreated.

He preſerves the Lady Eliʒabeth. The Interceſſions that *Philip* made for the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, did gain him the Hearts of the Nation, more than any thing elſe that he ever did. *Gardiner* was much ſet againſt them, and ſtudied to bear down the declaration that *Wiat* had made of their Innocency all that he could; but it was made ſo openly on the Scaffold, that it was not poſſible to ſuppreſs it. Before, in his Examinations, *Wiat* had accuſed them, hoping to have ſaved himſelf by ſo baſe an Action; but he redeemed it all he could at his Death. This had broken *Gardiner*'s Deſign, who thought all they did about Religion, was but half work, unleſs the Lady *Elizabeth* were deſtroyed. For he knew, that though ſhe complied in many things, yet her Education had been wholly under the Reformed: and which was more to him, who judged all People by their Intereſt, he reckoned that Intereſt muſt make her declare againſt the Papacy, (ſince otherwiſe ſhe was a Baſtard) if ever ſhe ſhould out-live her Siſter.

Philip oppoſed this, at firſt, upon a generous Account, to recommend himſelf, by obtaining ſuch Acts of Favour to be done by the Queen. But afterwards, when the hopes of Iſſue failed him by his Marriage, he preſerved her, out of Intereſt of State: for if ſhe had been put out of the way, the Queen of *Scotland* (that was to be married to the *Dolphin*) was to ſucceed; which would have made too great an Acceſſion to the French Crown: and beſides, as it afterwards appeared, he was not without hopes of perſuading her to marry himſelf, if her Siſter ſhould die without Iſſue. For the Earl of *Devonſhire*, he more eaſily obtained his freedom, though not till ſome months had paſſed. That Earl being ſet at liberty, finding he was to lie under perpetual Diſtruſts, and that he might be, perhaps upon the firſt Diſorder, again put into the *Tower*, to which his Stars ſeemed to condemn him, reſolved to go beyond Sea; but died within a Year after, as ſome ſay, of Poiſon.

All

1554

He was little beloved by the Engliſh.

All this I have laid together, (though it fell not out all at once) that I might give a full account of all the Acts of Grace that *Philip* did in *England*; But for the reſt of his Behaviour, it was no way acceptable to the People, for as he engaged the Nation in all his Intereſts, ſo that henceforth, during this Reign, *England* had no ſhare in the Conſultations of *Europe*, but was blindly led by him, which proved fatal to them in the concluſion, by the ignominious loſs of *Calais*; So his temper and way of deportment ſeemed moſt ridiculous, and extravagantly formal, to the Engliſh Genius, which naturally loves the mean, between the exceſſive jollity and talkativeneſs of the French, and the ſullen ſtaiedneſs of the Spaniard; rather enclining more to the briskneſs of the one, than the ſuperciliouſneſs of the other: And indeed his Carriage was ſuch here, that the acting him and his Spaniards, was one of the great Diverſions of Queen *Elizabeth's* Court. The Hall of the Court was almoſt continually ſhut all his Time, and none could have acceſs, unleſs it were firſt demanded, with as much formality as Ambaſſadors uſe in asking Audience: So that moſt of the Nobility left the Court, few ſtaying but the Officers of the Houſhold.

Gardiner magnifies him much in a Sermon.

Gardiner had now the Government put entirely in his Hands; And he, to make his Court the better with the new King, preached at St. *Paul's* the 30*th* of *September*, where, after he had inveighed long againſt the Preachers in King *Edward's* Time, which was the common Subject of all their Sermons, he run out much in commendation of the King; affirming him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle, and temperate, as any Prince that ever was in *England*; and if he did not prove ſo, he was content that all his Hearers ſhould eſteem him an impudent Lyar. The State of the Court continued in this poſture till the next Parliament.

But great Diſcontents did now appear every-where. The ſevere Executions after the laſt riſing, the Marriage with *Spain*, and the overturning of Religion, concurred to alienate the Nation from the Government. This appeared no where more confidently than in *Norfolk*, where the People, reflecting on their Services, thought they might have the more leave to ſpeak.

There were ſome malicious Rumours ſpread, that the Queen was with Child before the King came over. This was ſo much reſented at Court, that the Queen writ a Letter to the Juſtices there, (which is in the *Collection*) to enquire into thoſe falſe Reports, and to look to all that ſpread falſe News in the County. The Earl of *Suſſex*, upon this, examined a great many, but could make nothing out of it. It flowed from the officiouſneſs of *Hopton*, the new Biſhop of *Norwich*; who thought to expreſs his Zeal to the Queen, whoſe Chaplain he had long been, by ſending up the Tales of the Country to the Council Table; not conſidering how much it was below the Dignity of the Government, to look after all vain Reports.

Coll. Numb. 14.

Bonner's Carriage in his Viſitation.

This Summer the Biſhops went their Viſitations, to ſee every thing executed according to the Queen's Injunctions. *Bonner* went his with the reſt. He had ordered his Chaplains to draw a Book of *Homilies*, with an Expoſition of the Chriſtian Religion. He ſays, in his Preface to it, that he and his Chaplains had compiled it; but it is likely he had only the Name of it, and that his Chaplains compoſed it. Yet the greateſt, and indeed, the beſt part of it was made to their hands, for

1554. it was taken out of *the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, ſet out by King *Henry*; only varied in thoſe Points, in which it differed from what they were now about to ſet up: So that concerning the Pope's Power, ſince it was not yet eſtabliſhed, he ſays nothing, for, or againſt it.

Coll. Numb. 15. The Articles upon which he made his Viſitation, will be found in the *Collection*, and by theſe we may judg of all the other Viſitations over *England*. ‘In the Preface, he proteſts he had not made his Articles out of any ſecret grudg or diſpleaſure to any; but meerly for the diſcharge of his Conſcience towards God and the World. The Articles were; Whether the Clergy did ſo behave themſelves in Living, Teaching, and Doing, that in the judgment of indifferent Men, they ſeemed to ſeek the Honour of God, of the Church, and of the King and Queen? Whether they had been Married, or were taken for Married? and whether they were Divorced, and did no more come at their Wives? or whether they did defend their Marriages? Whether they did reſide, keep Hoſpitality, provide a Curat in their abſence? And whether they did devoutly celebrate the Service, and uſe Proceſſions? Whether they were ſuſpect of Hereſy? Whether they did haunt Ale-houſes and Taverns, Bowling-Allies, or ſuſpect Houſes? Whether they favoured, or kept company with any ſuſpect of Hereſy? Whether any Prieſt lived in the Pariſh, that abſented himſelf from Church? Whether theſe kept any privat Conventicles? Whether any of the Clergy was Vicious, blaſphemed God or his Saints, or was guilty of Simony? Whether they exhorted the People to Peace and Obedience? Whether they admited any to the Sacrament, that was ſuſpect of Hereſy, or was of an ill Converſation, an Oppreſſor, or Evil-Doer? Whether they admitted any to preach that were not licenſed, or refuſed ſuch as were? Whether they did officiate in Engliſh? Whether they did uſe the Sacraments aright? Whether they viſited the Sick, and adminiſtred the Sacraments to them? Whether they did marry any, without asking the Banes three *Sundays*? Whether they obſerved the Faſts and Holy-Days? Whether they went in their Habits and Tonſures? Whether thoſe that were ordained ſchiſmatically, did officiate without being admitted by the Ordinary? Whether they ſet Leaſes, for many Years, of their Benefices? Whether they followed Merchandiſe or Uſury? Whether they carried Swords or Daggers, in Times or Places not convenient? Whether they did once every quarter expound to the People in the Vulgar Tongue, the Apoſtles Creed, Ten Commandments; the Two Commandments of Chriſt for loving God and our Neighbour, the Seven Works of Mercy, Seven deadly Sins, Seven principal Vertues, and the Seven Sacraments? Theſe were the moſt conſiderable Heads on which he viſited.

No Reordination of thoſe ordained in King *Edward's* Time. One thing is remarkable, that it appears, both by theſe, and the Queen's Injunctions, that they did not pretend to re-ordain thoſe that had been ordained by the New Book in King *Edward*'s Time; but to reconcile them, and add thoſe things that were wanting; which were, the Anointing, and giving the Prieſtly Veſtments, with other Rites of the Roman Pontifical. In this Point of re-ordaining ſuch as were ordained in Hereſy or Schiſm, the Church of *Rome* has not gone by any

1554 ſteady Rule: For though they account the Greek Church to be guilty, both of Hereſy and Schiſm, they receive their Prieſts without a New Ordination. Yet after the time of the Conteſts between Pope *Nicolaus* and *Photius*, and much more after the outragious heats at *Rome*, between *Sergius* and *Formoſus*, in which the dead Bodies of the former Popes were raiſed and dragged about the Streets by their Succeſſors, they annulled the Ordinations, which they pretended were made irregularly.

Afterwards again, upon the great Schiſm between the Popes of *Rome* and *Avignon*, they did neither annul nor renew the Orders that had been given: But now, in *England*, though they only ſupplied at this time the Defects, which they ſaid were in their former Ordination: yet afterwards, when they proceeded to burn them that were in Orders, they went upon the old Maxim; That Orders given in Schiſm were not valid; ſo they did not eſteem *Hooper* nor *Ridley* Biſhops, and therefore only degraded them from Prieſthood; though they had been ordained by their own Forms, ſaving only the Oath to the Pope; but for thoſe who were ordained by the new Book, they did not at all degrade them, ſuppoſing now they had no true Orders by it.

Bonner, in his Viſitation, took great care to ſee all things were every where done according to the old Rules, which was the main thing intended; other Points being put in for form. When he came to *Hadham*, he prevented the Doctor, who did not expect him ſo ſoon by two hours, ſo that there was no ringing of Bells, which put him in no ſmall diſorder: And that was much encreaſed, when he went into the Church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up, nor a Rood ſet up: thereupon he fell a railing, ſwearing moſt intemperately, calling the Prieſt an Heretick, a Knave, with many other ſuch goodly words. The Prieſt ſaid, all theſe things ſhould be amended ſpeedily; and knowing that a good Dinner was the beſt way to temper Biſhop *Bonner*, he deſired him to go and dine at his Houſe: but *Bonner* took it ſo ill, that *Hadham*, which was one of his own Churches, was an ill Example to thoſe about it, that he loſt all patience; and reaching at Dr. *Bricket* (that was the Parſon's Name) to beat him, he miſguided the ſtroke, which fell on Sir *Thomas Joſſelin*'s Ear with great force. *Fecknam*, then Dean of *Pauls* in Dr. *May*'s room, ſtudied to appeaſe *Joſſelin*, and ſaid to him, That the Biſhop's being ſo long in the *Marſhalſea*, had ſo diſordered him, that in his Paſſion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himſelf, he would be ſorry for what he had done. *Joſſelin* anſwered, he thought, now that he was taken out of the *Marſhalſea*, he ſhould be carried to *Bedlam*. But *Bonner* continued in his Fury; and though he had purpoſed to ſtay at his Houſe there ſome days, and had ordered Proviſions to be made; yet he would needs be gone, though it diſordered the reſt of his Viſitation, for he came to every place ſooner than he intended, or had given notice.

Bonner's rage.

The Carvers, and makers of Statues, had now a quick Trade, for Roods and other Images, which were to be provided for all Places. *Bonner* had obſerved, that in moſt Churches the Walls were painted with places of Scripture; and in many places there were Paſſages written, that either favoured the Marriage of the Clergy, or were againſt the Corporal Preſence, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and the multiplicity of the Ceremonies of the Church: So he did, at his return, ſend out Epiſcopal Letters on the 24*th* of *October*, to raze all thoſe Paintings. Upon this it was generally ſaid, That the Scriptures muſt be daſht out to make way for the Images, ſince they were ſo contrary one to another, that they could not decently ſtand together. There were many ludicrous things every where done in deriſion of the old Forms, and of the Images: Many Poems were printed, with other ridiculous Repreſentations of the Latin Service, and the Pageantry of their Worſhip. But none occaſioned more laughter, than what fell out at *Pauls* the *Eaſter* before; the cuſtom being to lay the Sacrament into the Sepulchre, at the Even Song on *Good-Friday*, and to take it out by break of day on *Eaſter* Morning: At the time of the taking of it out, the Quire ſung theſe words, *Surrexit, non eſt hic, He is riſen, he is not here:* But then the Prieſt looking for the Hoſt, found it was not there indeed, for one had ſtollen it out; which put them all in no ſmall diſorder, but another was preſently brought in its ſtead. Upon this a Ballad followed, that their God was ſtollen and loſt, but a new one was made in his room. This Railery was ſo ſalt, that it provoked the Clergy much. They offered large Rewards to diſcover him that had ſtollen the Hoſt, or had made the Ballad, but could not come to the knowledg of it. But they reſolved, e're long, to turn that mirth and pleaſantneſs of the Hereticks, into ſevere mourning. 1554. The Sacrament ſtollen.

And thus Matters went on to the 11*th* of *November*, when the third Parliament was ſummoned. In the Writ of Summons, the Title of *Supream Head of the Church* was left out, though it was ſtill by Law united to the other Royal Titles: And therefore this was urged, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, as a good reaſon for annulling that Parliament, ſince it was not called by a lawful Writ. Now was Cardinal *Pool* allowed to come into *England*. The Emperor had this Summer brought him to *Flanders*, where, to make amends for the rudeneſs of ſtopping him on his way, he deſired him to mediate a Peace between *France* and him; but that had no effect. It ſoon appeared, that all things were ſo well prepared by *Gardiner*'s Policy, and the Spaniſh Gold, that it would be an eaſy Matter to carry every thing in this Seſſion. The Lord *Paget*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, were ſent from the King and Queen to bring the Cardinal over. At the opening of the Parliament, it was an unuſual ſight, to ſee both King and Queen ride in ſtate, and come into it with two Swords of State, and two Caps of Maintenance carried before them: The Swords were carried, one by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the other by the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*; and the Caps, by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*. The firſt Bill put into the Lords Houſe, was the Repeal of the Attainder of Cardinal *Pool*: it began on the 17*th*, and was ſent down to the Commons on the 19*th*, who read it three times in one day, and ſent it up. This Bill being to be paſſed before he could come into *England*, it was queſtioned, in the Houſe of Commons, Whether the Bill could be paſſed without making a Seſſion, which would neceſſitate a Prorogation? It was reſolved it might be done; ſo on the 22*d* the King and Queen came, and paſſed it. It ſet forth, that the only reaſon of his Attainder, was, becauſe he would not conſent to the unlawful Separation and Divorce between King *Henry*, and his moſt godly, vertuous, and lawful Wife,

A New Parliament.

The Attainder of Cardinal Pool repealed.

Oo 2

Queen *Katherine:* Therefore they conſidering the true and ſincere Conſcience of the Cardinal in that Point, and his other many godly Vertues and Qualities, did repeal that Act.

He comes to *London.*

On the 24*th* he came to *London*, but without the Solemnities of a Legates Entry, becauſe the Pope's Authority was not yet ſet up by Law. What Cardinal *Pools* Inſtructions were, I do not know; nor is it fully underſtood, by Learned Men, what was the Power of a Legat *a Latere* in thoſe Days. But I found, in the King's Paper Office, the Original Bull of Cardinal *Beaton*'s Legatine Power in *Scotland*, which it ſeems was intercepted by ſome of the King's Ships, in the paſſage by Sea thither; or was ſent up to *London* by thoſe who killed him, and poſſeſſed themſelves of his Caſtle and Goods. And I having mentioned this Bull to thoſe Learned Men, by whoſe direction I have governed my ſelf in this Work, I did, by their advice, give it a room in the *Collection*, though it be large; ſince, no doubt, Cardinal *Pool*'s Bull was in the ſame form. In it the Reader will clearly perceive what Authority was lodged in the Legats, to overthrow and diſpenſe with almoſt all the Rules and Canons of the Church; only ſome peculiar things, (which were more conſpicuouſly ſcandalous) were ſtill reſerved to the Apoſtolick See it ſelf; whoſe ſingular Priviledg it has been always eſteemed to diſpenſe with the beſt things, and allow of the worſt; ſo the Pretenders to thoſe Graces, payed proportionably for them; this Authority was too Sacred to be truſted, even to a Legat, it being the Prerogative of the Popes themſelves, to be the moſt eminent Tranſgreſſors of all Canons and Conſtitutions.

Col. Number 17.

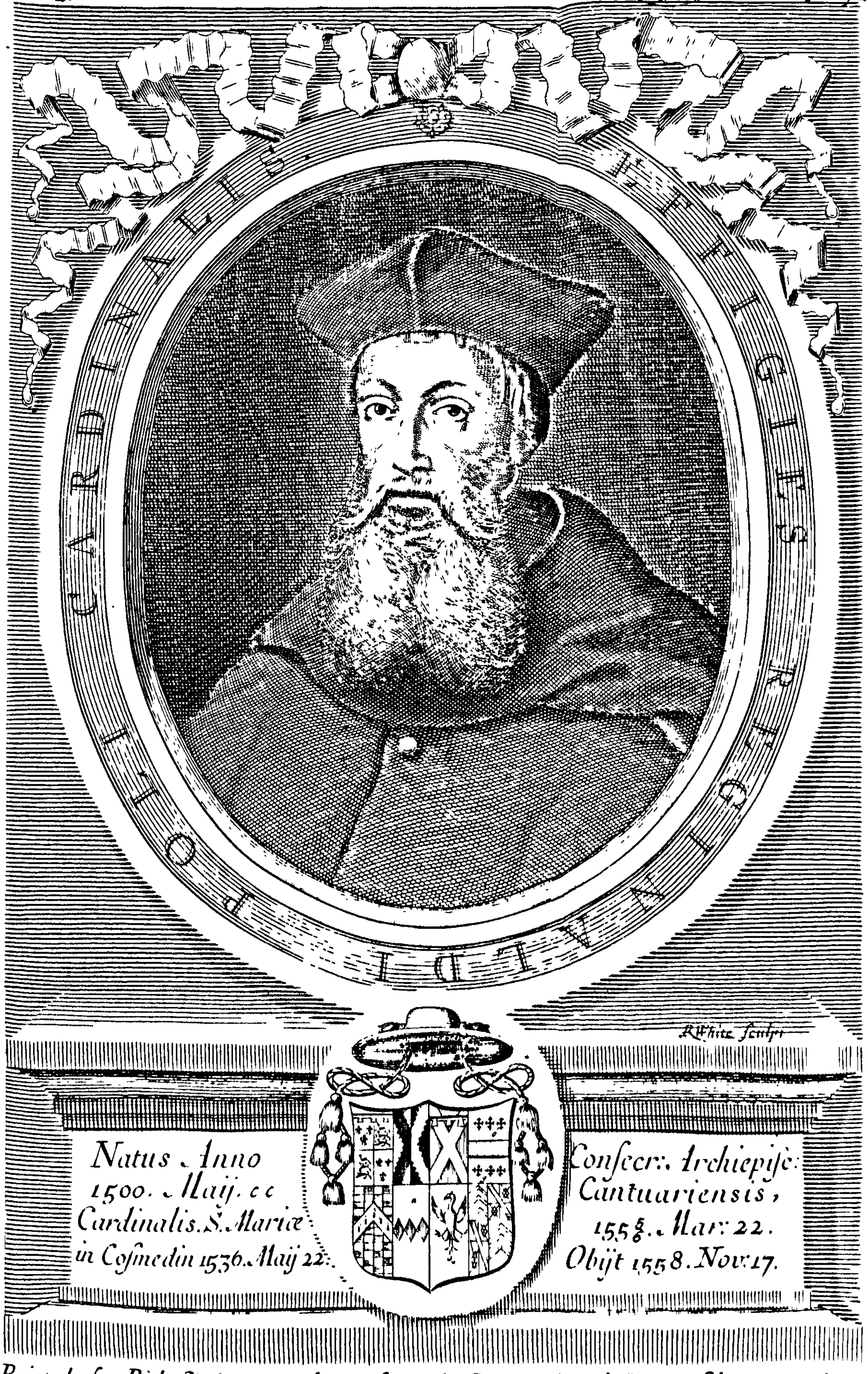
The Cardinal firſt declared what his Deſigns and Powers were to the King and Queen; and then on the 27*th* a Meſſage was ſent to the Parliament to come and hear him deliver his Legation; which they doing, he made them a long Speech, inviting them to a Reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See, from whence he was ſent by the common Paſtor of Chriſtendom, to reduce them, who had long ſtrayed from the Incloſure of the Church. This made ſome emotion in the Queen, which ſhe fondly thought was a Child quickned in her Belly: this redoubled the Joy, ſome not ſparing to ſay, that as *John Baptiſt* leaped in his Mothers Belly at the Salutation of the Virgin, ſo here a happy Omen followed on this Salutation from Chriſt's Vicar. In this, her Women, ſeeing that ſhe firmly believed her ſelf with Child, flattered her ſo far, that they fully perſuaded her of it. Notice was given of it to the Council, who that night writ a Letter to *Bonner* about it, ordering a *Te Deum* to be ſung at St. *Pauls*, and the other Churches of *London*, and that Collects ſhould be conſtantly uſed for bringing this to a happy perfection. All that night, and next day, there was great joy about the Court and City.

And makes a Speech to the Parliament.

The Queen is believed to be with Child.

On the 29*th*, the Speaker reported to the Commons the ſubſtance of the Cardinal's Speech; and a Meſſage coming from the Lords for a Conference of ſome of their Houſe, with the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Biſhops, and four Lords, to prepare a Supplication for their being reconciled to the See of *Rome*; it was conſented to: and the Petition being agreed on at the Committee, was reported, and approved of by both Houſes. It contained an Addreſs to the King and Queen.

'That


EFFIGIES REGINALDI POLI CARDINALIS
R White sculp

Natus Anno
1500. Maij. cc
Cardinalis. S. Mariæ
in Cosmedin 1536. Maij 22.

Consecr. Archiepisc.
Cantuariensis,
$155\frac{5}{6}$. Mar: 22.
Obijt 1558. Nov: 17.

Printed for Rich: Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard

1554.

The Parliaments Petition to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

'That whereas they had been guilty of a moſt horrible Defection 'and Schiſm from the Apoſtolick See, they did now ſincerely repent of 'it; and in ſign of their Repentance, were ready to repeal all the 'Laws made in prejudice of that See: therefore ſince the King and 'Queen had been no way defiled by their Schiſm, they pray them to 'be Interceſſors with the Legat to grant them Abſolution, and to re'ceive them again into the Boſom of the Church.

So this being preſented by both Houſes on their Knees, to the King and Queen, they made their Interceſſion with the Cardinal, who thereupon delivered himſelf in a long Speech.

The Cardinal makes a long Speech.

'He thanked the Parliament for repealing the Act againſt him, and 'making him a Member of the Nation, from which he was by that Act 'cut off: In recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to 'the Body of the Church. He told them, The Apoſtolick See cheriſhed '*Britain* moſt tenderly, as the firſt Nation that had publickly received 'the Chriſtian Faith. The *Saxons* vvere alſo afterwards converted by 'the means of that See; and ſome of their King's had been ſo devoted 'to it, that *Offa*, and others, had gone to viſit the Threſholds of the 'Apoſtles. That *Adrian* the fourth, an Engliſh Pope, had given *Ire'land* to the Crown of *England*: and that many mutual Marks of reci'procal kindneſs had paſſed between that common Father of Chriſten'dom, and our Kings, their moſt beloved Sons: but none more emi'nent than the beſtowing on the late King, the Title of *Defender of 'the Faith*. He told them, That in the Unity with that See, conſiſted 'the happineſs and ſtrength of all Churches: that ſince the *Greeks* had 'ſeparated from them, they had been abandoned by God, and vvere 'now under the Yoke of *Mahometans*. That the Diſtractions of *Ger'many* did further demonſtrate this; but moſt of all, the Confuſions 'themſelves had felt, ever ſince they had broken that Bond of Perfe'ction. That it vvas the Ambition and Craft of ſome, who for their 'privat Ends began it, to vvhich the reſt did too ſubmiſſively comply; 'and that the Apoſtolick See might have proceeded againſt them for it, 'by the aſſiſtance of other Princes; but had ſtayed looking for that Day, 'and for the Hand of Heaven. He run out much on the commendation 'of the Queen, aud ſaid, God had ſignally preſerved her, to procure this 'great Bleſſing to the Church. At laſt he enjoined them for Penance, 'to repeal the Laws they had made; and ſo, in the Pope's Name, he 'granted them a full Abſolution, vvhich they received on their Knees; 'and he alſo abſolved the vvhole Realm from all Cenſures.

And grants them Abſolution.

The reſt of the day vvas ſpent vvith great ſolemnity and triumph; all that had been done, vvas publiſhed next *Sunday* at *Pauls*. There vvas a Committee appointed, by both Houſes, to prepare the Statute of Repeal, which vvas not finiſhed before the 25*th* of *December*; and then, the Biſhop of *London* only proteſting againſt it, becauſe of a *Proviſo* put in for the Lands which the Lord *Wentworth* had out of his Biſhoprick, it vvas agreed to, and ſent to the Commons. They made more haſt vvith it, for they ſent it back the 4*th* of *January*, with a deſire that twenty Lines in it, vvhich concerned the See of *London*, and the Lord *Wentworth*, might be put out, and two new *Proviſo's* added. One of their *Proviſo's* vvas not liked by the Lords, who drew a new one; to vvhich the Viſcount *Montacute*, and the Biſhops of

London

1554.

London and *Coventry*, diſſented. The twenty Lines of the Lord *Wentworth's Proviſo* vvere not put out; but the Lord Chancellor took a Knife, and cut them out of the Parchment, and ſaid, Now I do truly the Office of a *Chancellor*; the word being ignorantly derived by ſome from *Cancelling*. It is not mentioned in the *Journal*, that this vvas done by the Order of the Houſe; but that muſt be ſuppoſed, otherwiſe it cannot be thought the Parliament vvould have conſented to ſo unlimited a Power in the Lord Chancellor, as to raze or cut out *Proviſo's* at his pleaſure.

The Act of Repealing all Laws againſt that See.

'By the Act is ſet forth, their former Schiſm from the See of *Rome*, and their Reconciliation to it now; upon vvhich, all Acts paſſed ſince the 20*th* of *Henry* the Eighth, againſt that See, were ſpecially enumerated and repealed: There it is ſaid, that for the removing of all Grudges that might ariſe, they deſired that the following Articles might, through the Cardinal's Interceſſion, be eſtabliſhed by the Pope's Authority.

1. 'That all Biſhopricks, Cathedrals, or Colleges, now eſtabliſhed, might be confirmed for ever.
2. 'That Marriages, made within ſuch degrees as are not contrary to the Law of God, but only to the Laws of the Church, might be confirmed, and the Iſſue by them declared legitimate.
3. 'That all Inſtitutions into Benefices might be confirmed.
4. 'That all Judicial Proceſſes might be alſo confirmed.

A *Proviſo* for Church-Lands.

And finally, 'That all the Settlements of the Lands, of any Biſhopricks, Monaſteries, or other Religious Houſes, might continue as they were, without any trouble by the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures or Laws.

A Petition from the Convocation about it.

'And to make this paſs the better, a Petition was procured from the Convocation of *Canterbury*, ſetting forth, That whereas they, being the Defenders and Guardians of the Church, ought to endeavour, with all their ſtrength, to recover thoſe Goods to the Church, which in the Time of the late Schiſm had been alienated; yet having conſidered well of it, they ſaw how difficult, and indeed impoſſible, that would prove, and how much it would endanger the publick Peace of the Realm, and the Unity of the Church; therefore they preferring the publick Welfare, and the Salvation of Souls, to their own privat Intereſts, did humbly pray the King and Queen to intercede with the Legat, that according to the Powers given him by the Pope, he would ſettle and confirm all that had been done in the alienation of the Church and Abbey Lands, to which they, for their Intereſts, did conſent: and they added an humble Deſire, That thoſe things which concerned the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Liberty, might be re-eſtabliſh'd, that ſo they might be able to diſcharge the Paſtoral Cure committed to them. Upon this, the Cardinal granted a full Confirmation of thoſe things: ending it, with a heavy charge on thoſe who had the Goods of the Church in their hands, that they would conſider the Judgments of God that fell on *Belſhazar*, for his prophane uſing the Holy Veſſels, though they had not been taken away by himſelf, but by his Father. And he moſt earneſtly exhorted them, that at leaſt they would take care, that out of the Tithes of Parſonages, or Vicarages, thoſe who ſerved the Cures, might be ſufficiently

1554.

‘maintain'd and encouraged. This was confirmed in Parliament,
‘where alſo it was declared, That all Suits about theſe Lands, were
‘only to be in the Queen's Courts, and not in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts:
‘and if any ſhould, upon the pretence of any Eccleſiaſtical Authority,
‘diſturb the Subjects in their poſſeſſion, they were to fall into a Pre-
‘munire. It was alſo declared, that the Title of *Supream Head*, never
‘of right belonged to the Crown; yet all Writings, wherein it was
‘uſed, were ſtill to continue in force; but that hereafter, all Writings
‘ſhould be of force, in which, either ſince the Queen's coming to the
‘Crown, or afterwards, that Title ſhould be, or had been omitted.
‘It was alſo declared, that Bulls from *Rome* might be executed; that all
‘Exemptions that had belonged to Religious Houſes, and had been
‘continued by the Grants given of them, were repealed, and theſe
‘Places were made ſubject to the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, excepting only
‘the Privileges of the two Univerſities, the Churches of *Weſtminſter*
‘and *Windſor*, and the *Tower* of *London*. But for encouraging any to
‘beſtow what they pleaſed on the Church, the Statutes of *Mortmain*
‘were repealed for twenty Years to come; provided always, that no-
‘thing in this Act ſhould be contrary to any of the Rights of the
‘Crown, or the Ancient Laws of *England*: but that all things ſhould
‘be brought to the State they were in at the 20*th* Year of her Father's
‘Reign, and to continue in that condition.

An Addreſs made by the Inferior Clergy.

Coll. Numb. 16.

For underſtanding this Act more perfectly, I ſhall next ſet down the
Heads of the Addreſs which the Lower Houſe of Convocation made to the
Upper; for moſt of the Branches of this Act had their firſt riſe from it;
I have put it in the *Collection*, having found it among Arch-Biſhop *Par-
ker*'s Papers. ‘In it they petitioned the Lords of the Upper Houſe of
‘Convocation, to take care, that by their conſent to the ſettlement of
‘the Church Lands, nothing might be done in prejudice of any juſt
‘Title they had in Law to them: as alſo, it being ſaid, in the Grant of
‘Chantries to King *Edward*, that Schools and Hoſpitals were to be
‘erected in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom; they deſired that ſome regard
‘might be had to that: Likewiſe, that the Statutes of *Mortmain* might
‘be repealed: and whereas Tithes had been at all times appointed for the
‘Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry, therefore they prayed that all Impropriations
‘might be diſſolved, and the Tithes be reſtored to the Church. They
‘alſo propoſed 27 Articles of things meet to be conſidered for the Re-
‘formation of the Church. Namely, That all who had preached any
‘Heretical Doctrine, ſhould be made openly to recant it: that *Cran-
‘mer*'s Book of the Sacrament, the late Service Books, with all Hereti-
‘cal Books, ſhould be burnt; and all that had them, ſhould be requi-
‘red to bring them in; otherwiſe they ſhould be eſteemed the favourers
‘of Hereſy: That great care ſhould be had of the Books that were
‘either printed or ſold. That the Statutes made againſt *Lollards*, might
‘be revived, and the Church reſtored to its former Juriſdiction. That all
‘Statutes for Pluralities, and Non-reſidence, might be repealed, that ſo
‘Beneficed Men might attend on their Cures:’ That Simoniacal Pactions
‘might be puniſhed; not only in the Clergy that made them, but in the
‘Patrons, and in thoſe that mediated in them; that the Liberties of the
‘Church might be reſtored according to the *Magna Charta*; and the
‘Clergy be delivered from the heavy Burdens of Firſt-Fruits, Tenths,
‘and

1554. ‘and Subſidies: That there might be a clear explanation made of all ‘the Articles of the *Premunire*; and that none ſhould be brought under it, till there were firſt a Prohibition iſſued out by the Queen in ‘that Particular; and that diſobedience to it, ſhould only bring them ‘within that Guilt: That all Exemptions ſhould be taken away; all ‘Uſury be forbid; all Clergy Men obliged to go in their Habits. The ‘laſt was, That all who had ſpoiled Churches without any Warrant, ‘might be obliged to make reſtitution.

The Laws againſt Hereticks revived.

The next Act that was brought in, was for the reviving the Statutes made by *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth, againſt Hereticks; of which an account was given in the firſt Book of the former Part. The Act began in the Houſe of Commons; who, as was obſerved in the former Parliament, were much ſet on Severities. It was brought in on the 12*th* of *December*, and ſent up to the Lords on the 15*th*, who paſſed it on the 18*th* of that month. The Commons put in alſo another Bill, for voiding all Leaſes made by married Prieſts. It was much argued among them; and the firſt Draught being rejected, a new one was drawn, and ſent up to the Lords, on the 19*th* of *December*: but they finding it would ſhake a great part of the Rights of the Church Lands, that were made by Married Prieſts, or Biſhops, laid it aſide. Thus did the ſervile and corrupted Houſe of Commons run ſo faſt, that the Biſhops themſelves were forced to moderate their Heats. They all underſtood how much the Queen was ſet upon having the Church raiſed as high as could be, and ſaw there was nothing ſo effectual to recommend any to her Favour, as to move high in theſe Matters: And though their Motions were thought too violent, and rejected, yet their Affections were thereby diſcovered; ſo that they knew they ſhould be looked on as Men deeply engaged in theſe Intereſts.

An Act declaring Treaſons.

After this, the Bill of Treaſons was brought in. This was alſo argued for ſome days in the Houſe of Commons, but at laſt agreed to. By it, any who denied the King's Right to the Title of the Crown, with the Queen's, or endeavoured to put him from it, together with them that did ſeveral other Offences, were to forfeit all their Goods, and to be impriſoned during Life; and Clergy Men were to be deprived by their Ordinaries: In theſe caſes, the ſecond Offence was to be Treaſon. But if any ſhould compaſs the King's Death, and utter it by any overt Deed, during his Marriage to the Queen, the firſt Offence of this kind ſhould be Treaſon. It was alſo enacted, that the Parliament having petitioned the King, that if the Queen died with any Iſſue, he would take on him the Government of them, till they came of Age; to which he had aſſented; therefore, if the Queen died before her Children came to be of Age, the Government of the Kingdom ſhould be in the King's Hands; if it were a Son, till he were eighteen; or if a Daughter, till ſhe was fifteen Years of Age: And in all that time, the conſpiring his Death was to be Treaſon. The Witneſſes were to be brought before the Parties; and none was to be tried for any words, but within ſix months after they were ſpoken.

Another againſt ſeditious words.

Another Act paſſed, upon a Report made of ſome Heretical Preachers, who had, as was informed, prayed in their Conventicles, that God would turn the Queen's Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or

1554.

elſe ſhorten her days, and take her quickly out of the way: All therefore that ſo prayed for taking away the Queen's Life, were to be judged Traitors; but if they ſhewed themſelves penitent for ſuch Prayers, they were not to be condemned of Treaſon, but put to any Corporal Puniſhment, other than Death, at the Judges Diſcretion. This was paſſed in great haſte, for it was thrice read in the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed on the 16*th* of *January*, in which the Parliament was Diſſolved.

There was another Act paſt, againſt thoſe that ſpread Lying Reports of any Noblemen, Judges, or great Officers; that ſuch as ſpread them, ſhould be impriſoned till they brought their Authors, according to former Acts. If any ſpread ſuch Reports of the King and Queen, they were to be ſet on a Pillory, and pay 100 *l.* or have their Ears cut off, and be three months Priſoners: and they were to pay 100 Merks, and ſuffer one months Impriſonment, though they had Authors for them, if they reported them maliciouſly: But if their Reports tended to the ſtirring of any Inſurrection, they were to loſe their right Hands; and upon a ſecond Offence to ſuffer Impriſonment during their Lives; but they were to be proceeded againſt within three months after the words ſo ſpoken.

Gardiner is in great eſteem.

All the Bills being ended, the Parliament was diſſolved on the 16*th* of *January*, to *Gardiner*'s no ſmall joy. He had now performed all that he had undertaken to the Queen, or the Emperor: Upon which he had the Reputation that he was formerly in, of a great Stateſman, and a dextrous manager of Affairs, much confirmed and raiſed; ſince he had brought about, in ſo ſmall a time, ſo great a change, where the Intereſts of thoſe who conſented to it, ſeemed to lead them another way. To thoſe who had apprehended the Tyranny of *Rome*, he had ſaid, That as our former Kings had always kept it under in a great meaſure; ſo there was leſs danger of that now, ſince they ſaw that all Princes had agreed to preſerve their own Rights entire, againſt the Pope's Pretenſions. He ſhewed them, that therefore all the Old Laws againſt Proviſions from *Rome*, were ſtill kept in force. And ſo upon Cardinal *Pool*'s being called over, there was a Commiſſion ſent him, under the Great Seal, bearing date the 10*th* of *November*, authoriſing him to exerciſe his Legatine Power in *England*. By this he ſhewed them that no Legat ſhould ever come into *England* to execute any Power, till his Faculties were ſeen and approved by the Queen. Others thought this was but a vain Imagination; for if the Papacy were once fully eſtabliſhed, and People again brought under the old Superſtition, of eſteeming the Popes Chriſt's Vicars, and the infallible Heads of the Church, it would not be poſſible to retain the People in their Obedience, ſince all the aſſiſtance that the Princes of Chriſtendom of this time had from their Subjects in their Wars with the Popes, flowed chiefly from this, that they generally did no more ſubmit implicitly to their Prieſts. But if once that blind Obedience were reſtored, it would be eaſy for the Prieſts, by their privat dealings in Confeſſion, to overturn Governments as they pleaſed.

Great fear about the Church-Lands.

But that which ſtuck moſt, was, That the Church Lands were, by the Cannon Law, ſo indiſſolubly annexed to the Church, that they could not be ſeparated from it. To this it was anſwered, that they

1554. ſhould ſecure it by a Law at *Rome*, and ſhould confirm all the Alienations that had been made, both by conſent of the Clergy, and by the Pope's Authority committed to the Legat. Yet even that did not ſatisfy many who found ſome Laws in the Canon, ſo ſtrict, that the Pope himſelf could not diſpence with them: If the Legate did it, the Pope might refuſe to confirm it, and then it was nothing: and what one Pope did, another often recalled. So it was ſaid, that this Confirmation was but an Artifice, to make it paſs the more eaſily. Beſides, all obſerved, that in the Cardinal's Confirmation of thoſe Lands, there was a charge given to all, to be afraid of the Judgments of God that fell on *Belſhazar* for uſing the Holy Veſſels; which was, to pardon the thing, and yet to call it a Sacrilege, for which they might look for the Vengeance of God. So that the Cardinal did at the ſame time both bind and looſe; and it was plain, both by that Clauſe, and the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, that it was deſigned to poſſeſs People with the Opinion of the Sin of retaining Church-Lands. It was thought this Confirmation, was rather an Indemnity and Permiſſion to keep them, than a declaring the Poſſeſſors had any lawful Title to them: So that when Men were near Death, and could no longer enjoy thoſe Lands themſelves, it was not to be doubted, but the Terrors of Sacrilege, and the Puniſhments due to it, with the hope of that relief and comfort that Soul-Maſſes might bring them in Purgatory, would prevail with many of them, to make at leaſt great, if not entire, Reſtitutions.

This Point being carried by thoſe who did not underſtand what future danger their Eſtates were in, but conſidered the preſent Confirmation, and the other Advantages which they were to have for conſenting to this Act; all the reſt paſſed with no oppoſition. The Act about the proceeding againſt Hereticks, paſſed more eaſily than any thing that had been propoſed: So it ſeems the oppoſition that was made to other Acts, came not from any that favoured the Reformation, otherwiſe this would have found ſome reſiſtance. But now it was the only way to the Queen's Favour, and to Preferment, to run down that which was called *Hereſy*.

Conſultations about the way of dealing with Hereticks.

After the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the firſt thing taken into conſideration was, what way to proceed againſt the Hereticks. Cardinal *Pool* had been ſuſpected to favour the Proteſtants, but ſeemed now to be much alienated from them: and therefore when *Tremellius*, who had declared himſelf a Proteſtant, came to him at *Bruſſels*, he would not ſee him, though he was his God-father. He came over into *England*, much changed from that freedom of Converſation he had formerly practiſed: he was in reſerves to all People, ſpoke little, and had put on an *Italian* Temper, as well as behaviour: he brought over two *Italians*, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*, who were his only Confidents. He was a Man of a generous and good diſpoſition; but knew how jealous the Court of *Rome* would be of him, if he ſeemed to favour Hereticks; therefore he expreſſed great deteſtation of them. Nor did he converſe much with any that had been of that Party, but the late Secretary *Cecil*, who, though he lived for the moſt part privatly at his Houſe near *Stamford*, where he afterwards built a moſt ſumptuous Houſe; and was known to favour the Reformation ſtill in his

Heart;

1554.

Heart; yet in many things he complied with the Time, and came to have more of his confidence than any Engliſh Man.

The Cardinal is for moderate Courſes.

The Cardinal profeſſed himſelf an Enemy to extream Proceedings. He ſaid, Paſtors ought to have Bowels, even to their ſtraying Sheep: Biſhops were Fathers, and ought to look on thoſe that erred as their ſick Children, and not for that, to kill them: He had ſeen, that ſevere Proceedings did rather inflame than cure that Diſeaſe: There was a great difference to be made between a Nation uninfected, where ſome few Teachers came to ſpread Errors; and a Nation that had been over-run with them, both Clergy and Laity. The People were not ſo violently to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of thoſe Errors, into which they had been led by the Compliance and Writings of their Prelats. Therefore he propoſed, that there ſhould be a ſtrict Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy, carried on. He had obſerved,in every Country of Chriſtendom,that all the beſt and wiſeſt Men acknowledged, that the Scandals and Ignorance of the Clergy, had given the entrance to Hereſy: So he moved, that there might be a reviving of the Rules of the Primitive Church; and then, within a little time, Men might by degrees be brought over. I have not found that he propoſed the receiving the Council of *Trent*; which is the more ſtrange, ſince he had been himſelf one of the Legats at the firſt Seſſion of it: but it ſeems, it was not thought ſeaſonable to propoſe it, till the Council were firſt ended and diſſolved.

But *Gardiner* is for violent ones.

On the other hand, *Gardiner*, who had no great ſenſe of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but as they ſerved Intrigues of State; and being himſelf of ſuch a temper, that ſevere Proceedings wrought much on him; judged that the executing the Laws againſt the *Lollards*, was that in which they were chiefly to truſt. He was confident, the Preachers then in Priſon, were Men of ſuch tempers, that, if they ſaw they were to be burnt, they would comply; or if they ſtood out, and were burnt, that would ſo terrify the reſt,that the whole Nation would ſoon change. He remembred well how the *Lollards* grew in *England*, only upon Cardinal *Wolſey*'s ſlackning the execution of the Laws againſt them: And upon the paſſing of the Statute of the Six Articles, many ſubmitted; ſo that if King *Henry* had not diſcouraged the vigorous execution of that Act, all had turned. He did not deny, but a Reformation of the Clergy was a good and fit mean; but ſaid, that all Times could not bear ſuch things; and if they went to reform their Manners, the Hereticks would from thence take advantage of raiſing clamours againſt a ſcandalous Clergy; which would encreaſe, rather than leſſen the averſion the People had to their Paſtors. So *Gardiner* complained, that *Pool*, by his intention of coming over too haſtily, had almoſt precipitated all things; and now, by his gentle proceedings, would as much prejudice them another way. All theſe Reaſonings, were ſuch as became a Man of *Gardiner*'s temper, which being ſervile, and abject, made him meaſure others by himſelf.

He was alſo at this time highly provoked, by the reprinting of his Books of *True Obedience*, which he had writ in the Time of King *Henry*, and to which *Bonner* had made the Preface. In theſe Books, *Gardiner* had not only argued againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and for the Kings, but had condemned the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, calling ‘it often *inceſtuous*, and *unlawful*; and had juſtified the King's Divorcing ‘her, and marrying his moſt godly and vertuous Wife, Queen *Ann.* This being reprinted in *Straſburg*, was now conveighed into *England*; and it was acknowledged to be a handſome piece of Spite in the reformed, thus to expoſe him to the World. But though this netled him much, yet he was confident enough, and excuſed himſelf, that he had erred through fear and weakneſs, as St. *Peter* had done; though it was an unreaſonable thing, to compare an Error of near thirty Years continuance, to the ſudden denial of St. *Peter*, that was preſently expiated with ſo true and ſincere a Repentance.

To which the Queen inclined.

Between theſe two Councils, the Queen would have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encouraged *Pool* to go on in the correcting the Manners of the Clergy; and likewiſe preſſed *Gardiner* to proceed againſt the Hereticks.

She alſo ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*; who were the Viſcount *Montacute*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carn*, one to repreſent every State of the Kingdom; to make her Obedience to the Pope, and to obtain a Confirmation of all thoſe Graces Cardinal *Pool* had granted in his Name.

1555.

On the 23*d* of *January*, all the Biſhops went to *Lambeth*, to receive the Cardinal's Bleſſing and Directions. He wiſhed them to return to their Cures, and treat their Flocks with all gentleneſs, and to endeavour rather to gain them that way, than to uſe Extremity and Rigour. And on the 25*th*, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion through *London*; there went firſt 160 Prieſts, all in their Copes, eight Biſhops next, and laſt of all came *Bonner* himſelf, carrying the Hoſt; to thank God for reconciling them again to his Church; and Bonefires were burning all the Night. And to keep up a conſtant remembrance of it, it was ordered, that St. *Andrew*'s day ſhould be ſtill obſerved as the Anniverſary of it, and be called *The Feaſt of the Reconciliation*; and Proceſſions, with all the higheſt Solemnities they at any time uſe, were to be on that day.

They begin with *Rogers*, and others.

But now they turned wholly to the Proſecution of the Hereticks. There had been thirty of them taken at a Meeting near *Bow* Church, where one *Roſe*, a Miniſter, gave them the Communion according to the Engliſh Book of Service; ſo they were all put in Priſon. On the 22*d* of *January*, *Rogers*, with others, were brought before the Council; He had been a Prebendary of *Pauls*, and in a Sermon, after the Queen was come to *London*, had zealouſly aſſerted the Doctrine he had formerly preached; and as it has been ſhewn, was confined to his Houſe, upon the Tumult that had been at *Pauls*. He was much preſſed to fly over into *Germany*, but he would not hearken to it, though the Neceſſities of ten Children were great Temptations. He was eſteemed one of the moſt Learned of the Reformers, ſo that when thoſe of the Convocation were required to Diſpute; they deſired that *Ridley* and he might be ſuffered to come and join with them. It was reſolved to begin with him, and ſome others, at the Council-Board, to ſee if they could be eaſily brought over.

He was accordingly brought before the Council; where being asked by *Gardiner*, Whether he would knit himſelf to the Catholick Church,

and

Who refuſing to comply.

and receive the Pope as the Supream Head? He ſaid, He knew no other Head of the Church but Chriſt; and for the Pope, he had no more Authority in *England*, than any other Biſhop, either by the Word of God, or the Authority of the Church, for 400 Years after Chriſt. But they objecting, that he had acknowledged King *Henry* to be Supream Head: He anſwered, He never acknowledged him ſo to be Supream, as to forgive Sins, beſtow the Holy Ghoſt, or be a Judg above the Word of God. But as he was going to explain himſelf, *Gardiner* preſſed him to Anſwer plainly. He Objected to *Gardiner*, That all the Biſhops had for many Years preached againſt the Pope. *Gardiner* ſaid, They were forced to it, by the Cruelty of the Times; but they would Argue no more with him: Now Mercy was offered, if he rejected it, Juſtice muſt come next. *Rogers* ſaid, If they had been preſſed to deny the Pope's Power by Cruelty, would they now by the ſame Motives force others to acknowledg it? for his part he would never do it. Other ten were called in, one after another; and only one of them, by the Lord *Effingham's* Favour, was let go upon a general Queſtion, if he would be an Honeſt Man; but all the reſt anſwering reſolutely, were ſent back to Priſon, and were kept much ſtricter than formerly; none being ſuffered to come near them.

Were judged.

On the 28th of *January*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Dureſm*, *Salisbury*, *Norwich*, and *Carliſle*, ſat in St. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark*; where *Hooper* was firſt brought before them. It needs not to be doubted, but *Bonner* remembred that he had informed againſt him, when he was deprived in King *Edward's* Time. He had been ſummoned to appear before the Queen, ſoon after ſhe came to the Crown: and it was pretended, he owed her great Sums of Mony: Many adviſed him not to appear, for that it was but a pretence to put him, and a great many more in Priſon, where they would be kept till Laws were made to bring them out to a Stake. But he would not with-draw; ſo now he and Mr. *Rogers* were ſingled out and begun with. They were asked, Whether they would ſubmit, or not? they both refuſed to ſubmit. *Rogers* being much preſſed, and continuing firm in his Reſolutions; *Gardiner* ſaid, It was vain-glory in him to ſtand out againſt the whole Church. He proteſted it was his Conſcience, and not Vain-glory, that ſwayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the Antichriſtian Church of *Rome*. *Gardiner* ſaid, by that he condemned the Queen, and the whole Realm, to be of the Church of Antichriſt: *Rogers* ſaid, The Queen would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counſel. *Gardiner* ſaid, the Queen went before them in thoſe Counſels, which proceeded of her own motion. *Rogers* ſaid, He would never believe that. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* ſaid, they could all bear him witneſs to it. *Rogers* ſaid, they would all witneſs for one another. Upon that, the Comptroller, and Secretary *Bourn*, being there, ſtood up in Court and atteſted it. Then they asked *Rogers*, What he thought of the Sacrament? He ſaid, It was known he had never medled in that Matter, and was ſuſpected by ſome to be of a contrary Opinion to many of his Brethren, but yet he did not allow of their Corporal Preſence. He complained, that after he had been confined half a Year in his Houſe, they had kept him a Year in *Newgate*, without any Fault; for they could not ſay he had broken

1555.

any of their Laws, ſince he had been a Priſoner all the while; ſo that meerly for his Opinion they were now proceeding againſt him. They gave *Hooper* and him time till next morning, to conſider what they would do: but they continuing in their former Reſolution; were declared obſtinate Hereticks, and appointed to be degraded, and ſo to be delivered into the Sheriffs hands. *Hooper* was only degraded from the Order of Prieſthood. Then *Rogers* deſired he might be ſuffered to ſpeak with his Wife, concerning his ten Children: They anſwered, She was not his Wife, and ſo denied it. Upon this they were led away to *Newgate*.

And Condemned.

Rogers Martyrdom.

On the *4th* of *February*, early in the morning, *Rogers* was called upon to make ready for *Smithfield:* He was ſo faſt aſleep, that he was not eaſily awakened; he put on his Cloaths careleſly, being, as he ſaid, ſo ſoon to lay them off. When he was brought to *Bonner* to be degraded, he again renewed his deſire to ſee his Wife, but could not obtain it. He was led to *Smithfield*, where he was not ſuffered to make any Speech to the People: ſo, in a few words, he deſired them to continue in that Doctrine which he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently ſuffered all the bitterneſs and cruelty that had been exerciſed on him, but did now moſt gladly reſign up his Life, and give his Fleſh to the conſuming Fire, for a teſtimony to it. He repeated the 51 *Pſalm*, and ſo fitted himſelf for the Stake. A Pardon was brought, if he would recant: but he choſe to ſubmit to that ſevere, but ſhort puniſhment, rather than put himſelf in danger of Everlaſting Burnings, by ſuch an Apoſtacy: So the Fire was ſet to him, which conſumed him to Aſhes.

Hooper burnt at *Gloceſter*.

For *Hooper*, after they had degraded him, they reſolved to ſend him to *Gloceſter:* At which he much rejoiced, hoping by his Death to confirm their Faith, over whom he had been formerly placed. He was carried thither in three days. After he came, he had one days interval given him, which he ſpent in Faſting and Prayer. Some came to perſwade him to accept of the Queen's Mercy, ſince Life was ſweet, and Death was bitter. He Anſwered, The Death that was to come after was more bitter, and the Life that was to follow was more ſweet. As ſome of his Friends parted with him, he ſhed ſome Tears, and told them, All his Impriſonment had not made him do ſo much.

On the *9th* he was led out to his Execution; where, being denied leave to ſpeak, but only to pray, in the ſtrain of a Prayer, he declared his belief. Then the Queen's Pardon being ſhewed him, he deſired them to take it away. He prayed earneſtly for ſtrength from God, to endure his Torment patiently; and undreſſed himſelf, and embraced the Reeds. When he was tied to the Stake with Iron Chains, he deſired them to ſpare their pains, for he was confident he ſhould not trouble them. The Fire was put to him, but the Wood being green, burnt ill, and the Wind blew away the flame of the Reeds: He prayed oft, *O Jeſus, thou Son of* David, *have mercy on me, and receive my Soul;* and called to the People, for the Love of God, to bring him more Fire, for the Fire was burning his neather Parts, but did not reach his Vitals. The Fire was renewed, but the Wind ſtill blew it away from riſing up to ſtifle him, ſo that he was long in the Torment. The laſt words he was heard to ſay, were, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* One of

his

1555.

his Hands dropped off before he died; with the other he continued to knock on his Breaſt ſome time after; and was in all near three quarters of an hour a burning.

Sanders burnt at *Coventry*.

Next theſe, was *Sanders* condemned, and ſent to *Coventry* to be burnt, where he ſuffered on the *8th* of *February*. He had been made a Priſoner for Preaching, notwithſtanding the Queen's Prohibition, and was condemned for refuſing to conform to the New Laws. When he was led out to the Stake, a Pardon was likewiſe offered him: But he ſaid, He held no Hereſies, but the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt; and that he would never recant. When he came to the Stake, he embraced it, and ſaid, *Wellcome the Croſs of Chriſt, wellcome Everlaſting Life*; and ſo he was burnt.

And *Taylor* at *Hadley*.

Dr. *Taylor* followed next, who was Parſon of *Hadley*. Some of his neighbouring Prieſts came to *Hadley*, and reſolved to ſay Maſs in his Church. He went thither, and openly declared againſt it, but was by violence thruſt out of the Church. *Gardiner* being informed of this, writ for him to come up. Many of his Friends wiſhed him to go out of the way: He ſaid, He muſt follow Chriſt, the good Shepherd, who not only fed his Flock, but died for it. He was old, and thought he ſhould never be able, at any other time, to do his good God ſuch Service as he was then called to; ſo he went with much chearfulneſs. *Gardiner* received him with his ordinary Civilities, of *Traitor*, *Villain*, *Heretick*, and *Knave*. He anſwered, He was none of theſe; and put *Gardiner* in mind of the Oaths he had ſworn, both to King *Henry* and King *Edward*. *Gardiner* ſaid, An unlawful Oath was not to be kept; and charged him for hindring Maſs to be ſaid at his Church. He ſaid, He was by Law Parſon of *Hadley*, and no Man had a right to come thither, and defile his Church and People with Idolatry. After ſome Diſcourſe on that Head, he was ſent to the *Kings Bench* Priſon; and being carried before the Council on the 22*d* of *January*, he refuſed to turn. After that he was condemned, and degraded: And it was reſolved to ſend him to *Hadley* to be burnt there. All the way he expreſſed great chearfulneſs. When he was brought to the Stake, he ſaid to the People, he had taught them nothing but God's Holy Word, and was now to Seal it with his Blood: But one of the Guard ſtruck him over the Head, and made him give over ſpeaking. Then he went to his Prayers, and ſo to the Stake, where he was put in a Pitcht Barrel; as the Faggots were laying about him, one flung a Faggot at his Head, which broke it, and fetch'd a great deal of Blood; but all he ſaid, was, *Oh Friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?* He repeated the 51 *Pſalm* in Engliſh; at which one of the Guard ſtruck him over the Mouth, and bid him ſpeak Latin. He continued in his Ejaculations to God, till the Fire was kindled; and one of the Guard cut him in the Head with his Halbert, ſo that his Brains fell out. This was done on the *9th* of *February*.

Bradford was alſo at the ſame time condemned, but his Execution was reſpited.

Soon after the Condemnation of theſe Men, ſix others were apprehended on the account of Hereſy.

By

1555

Gardiner is diſappointed.

By this Gardiner ſaw, that what he had expected did not follow; for he thought a few ſevere inſtances would have turned the whole Nation: but finding he was diſappointed, he would meddle no more in the condemning of them; but left the whole matter wholly to *Bonner*, who undertook it chearfully, being naturally ſavage and brutal, and retaining deep reſentments for what had befallen himſelf in King *Edwards time.*

Theſe Cruelties are much conſidered.

The whole Nation ſtood amazed at theſe Proceedings, and the burning of ſuch Men, only for their Conſciences, without the mixture of any other thing, ſo much as pretended againſt them. And it was look't upon as a horrible cruelty, becauſe thoſe Men had acted nothing contrary to the Laws; For they were put in Priſon, at firſt for ſmaller matters, and there kept, till thoſe Laws were paſt, by which they were now burnt. So that, remembring *Gardiners* Plea for himſelf in his Impriſonment, when he deſired to be firſt Tried, and diſcharged in the particular for which he was committed, before new matter was brought againſt him; all Men ſaw now, how much more juſtly thoſe men might have demanded the like at his hands. But now the ſpirit of the two Religions ſhewed it ſelf. In King *Edwards* time, Papiſts were only turned out of their Benefices, and at moſt impriſoned; and of thoſe there were but very few: but now, that could not ſerve turn, but barbarous Cruelties muſt be executed, on innocent Men, only for their Opinions. One piece of Severity was taken notice of among the reſt: The Council ſent for thoſe who were to be burnt in the Country, and required of them a promiſe to make no Speeches; otherwiſe they threatned to cut out their Tongues immediatly: ſo they to avoid that butchery, promiſed to obey thoſe cruel Orders.

Reflections made on *Hooper's* Death.

The manner of *Hooper's* death, made thoſe who judged too critically of Divine Providences, reflect on the diſſenſion that had been raiſed by him about the Veſtments; as if he, who had kindled that fire, had ſuffered now more than ordinary for that reaſon. But all that difference was at an end before this; for *Ridley* and he, between whom there had been the greateſt animoſity, becoming Partners in the ſame ſufferings, were perfectly reconciled to each other. He writ twice to *Ridley*, who writ him an anſwer, as ſoon as he could convey it; in which he declared, how intirely he was knit to him, tho in ſome circumſtances of Religion they had formerly Jarred a little: it was *Hoopers* wiſdom, and his own ſimplicity, that had divided them; every one following the abundance of his own ſence; but now he aſſured him, that in the Bowels of Chriſt he loved him in the Truth and for the Truth. He encouraged him to prepare for the day of his diſſolution; after which they ſhould triumph together in eternal Glory: he expreſſed great Joy for
“ what he heard of *Cranmers* godly and fatherly conſtancy, whoſe integrity,
“ and uprightneſs, gravity, and innocence, was known to the
“ whole Nation: and he bleſſed God that had given, in his reverend old
“ age, ſuch a Man to be the witneſs of his Truth: for miſerable and
“ hard-hearted was he, whom the Godlineſs and conſtant confeſſion of
“ ſo worthy, ſo grave, and ſo innocent a man, would not move to acknowledg
“ and confeſs his Truth,

It had been happy if the fires that conſumed thoſe good Men, had put an end to theſe Conteſts: and if thoſe that have been ſince engaged in the like, will reflect more on the ſenſe they had of them when

1555.

they were now preparing for Eternity, than on the heats they were put in concerning them, when perhaps eaſe and plenty made their Paſſions keener, they may from thence be reduced to have more moderate thoughts of ſuch matters.

Theſe Burnings were diſliked by the Nation.

If the Engliſh Nation was diſſatisfied with what was done ſince the beginning of this Reign, it cannot be imagined but their diſcontent received a great encreaſe by what was now acted. Thoſe that favoured the Reformation were awakened to have more ſerious thoughts about it; ſince they ſaw thoſe that had preached it,dyed ſo patiently and reſolutly, rather than they would deny it. It begot in them greater tenderneſs to their memories,and a more violent averſion to their Perſecutors. The reſt of the Nation that neither knew nor valued Religion much, yet were ſtartled at the ſeverity and ſtrangeneſs of theſe proceedings; and being naturally of relenting and compaſſionate Tempers, were highly diſaffected to the King, from whom they believed that this flowed. The Queen had before declared, ſhe would force no body in theſe points; ſo they thought it not reaſonable nor decent to charge her with it. *Gardiner*, with the other Biſhops and Privy Councelours had openly in Court purged themſelves of it;and laid it,on the Queen being therein more careful of their own credit,than of her honour; ſo now, it could fall no where but on the King; the ſowreneſs of whoſe temper, together with his bigotry for that Religion, made it reaſonable enough to impute it to him: beſides, he had been bred in *Spain*, where the Inquiſition was let looſe on all that were ſuſpected of Hereſie, without any reſtraint: and his Father had, during his whole Reign, been always, as far as he ſafely could be, a perſecutor of Proteſtants. *Philip* could not but ſee that all was caſt on him; and underſtanding that thereby he ſhould become unacceptable to the Nation, and ſo not be able to carry on his Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *England*, he was ſomething concerned to clear himſelf of theſe Imputations. Therefore *Alphonſus* a Franciſcan Friar that was his Confeſſor, in a Sermon before him on the 10*th* of *February* preached largely againſt the taking away of Peoples lives for Religion; and in plain terms, inveighed againſt the Biſhops for doing it: he ſaid, they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught Biſhops in the ſpirit of meekneſs to inſtruct thoſe that oppoſed them; and not to burn them for their Conſciences. This ſtartled the Biſhops; ſince it was novv plain, that the Spaniards diſovvned theſe extream courſes; and hereupon there vvas a ſtop for ſeveral weeks put to any further ſeverities. But the Popiſh Clergy, being once engaged in blood, have been always obſerved to become the moſt brutally cruel of any ſort of men; ſo that it was not eaſie to reſtrain them; and therefore they reſolved, rather than the Hereticks ſhould not be proſecuted any further,to take the blame of it avowedly on themſelves.

The King purges himſelf of them.

But they are proſecuted by the Clergy.

A Petition againſt Perſecution.

There was at this time a Petition Printed, and ſent over from ſome beyond Sea, to the Queen, in which they ſet before her the danger of her being carried away by a blind zeal, to perſecute the members of Chriſt, as St. *Paul* was before his converſion: They put her in mind, how *Cranmer* had preſerved her in her Fathers time; ſo that ſhe had more reaſon to believe he loved her, and would ſpeak truth to her, than all the reſt of her Clergy; whom they compared to be *Jezabel's*

1555 Prophets. They gathered many Paſſages out of *Gardiner*'s, *Bonner*'s, and *Tonſtal*'s Writings, againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and her Mother's Marriage; and ſhewed, that they were Men that, by their own confeſſion, had no conſcience in them, but meaſured their Actions and Profeſſions by their Fears, and Intereſts; and averred that it was known that many of that Faction did openly profeſs, that if they lived in *Turkey*, they would comply with the Religion of the Country. They ſaid, that the *Turks* did tolerate Chriſtians, and the Chriſtians did in moſt places ſuffer *Jews*; but the Perſecution now ſet on foot, was like that which the Scribes and Phariſees raiſed againſt the Apoſtles; for they then pretended that they had been once of their Religion, and ſo were Apoſtates, and Hereticks. They alſo ſaid, (but by a common miſtake) That the firſt Law for Burning in *England*, was made by *Henry* the Fourth; who to gratify the Biſhops that had helped him to depoſe King *Richard* the Second, and to advance himſelf to the Throne, as it were, in recompence of that Service, had granted them that Law; which was both againſt all humanity, and more particularly againſt the mercifulneſs of the Chriſtian Religion.

They remembred her, that in King *Edward*'s Time, none of the Papiſts had been ſo uſed: and in concluſion they told her, She was truſted by God with the Sword, for the protection of her People, as long as they did well; and was to anſwer to him for their Blood, if ſhe thus delivered them to the Mercy of ſuch Wolves.

From the Queen, the Addreſs is turned to the Nobility, warning them of the Danger, of not only loſing their Abbey Lands, but all their Liberties; and being brought under a Spaniſh Yoke, which had ruined many of the beſt Countries in the World: They are told, they muſt reſolve to come under heavy Taxes, and a general Exciſe, ſuch as was in the *Netherlands*; and that all this would come juſtly on them, who had joined in the Reformation, for baſe ends, to get the Church Lands; and now, thinking thoſe were ſecured to them, forſook it: but for all theſe things they were to anſwer heartily to God.

From them, it turns to the People, and exhorts them to repent of their great ſins, which had brought ſuch Judgments on them: and in the end, begs the Queen will at leaſt be as favourable to her own People, as ſhe had been to the Strangers, to whom ſhe allowed a free paſſage to Forreign Parts.

This Diſcourſe is writ in a ſtrong and good Style, much beyond the rate of the other Books of that time. Upon this, ſome were ſet on work to write in defence of ſuch Proceedings; ſo a Book was ſet out about it, with divers Arguments, of which the ſubſtance follows.

Arguments for perſecuting Hereticks.

They ſaid, The Jews were commanded to put Blaſphemers to death; and thoſe Hereticks were ſuch, for they blaſphemed the Sacrament of the Altar, which was the Body of Chriſt, and called it a piece of Bread. They noted alſo, that the Heathens had perſecuted Chriſtians; and if they had that Zeal for their falſe Religion, it became Chriſtians to be much more zealous for theirs: they made uſe of that Expreſſion in the Parable, *Compel them to enter in*; and of St. *Paul*'s, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* They alleadged, that St. *Peter* had, by a Divine Power, ſtruck *Ananias* and *Saphira* dead; which ſeemed a good Warrant for the Magiſtrate to put ſuch Perſons to Death. They ſaid, that the Hereticks themſelves were for Burning, when they had Power; and that thoſe that died then by their hands, had expreſſed as much Courage in their Deaths, and Innocence in their Lives, as they had ever done: they cited St. *Auſtin*, who was for proſecuting the *Donatiſts*; and though he had been once of anothet mind, yet finding Severities had a good effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or baniſhing of them. Theſe were the Arguments for and againſt thoſe Proceedings.

But leaving them to the Reader's Judgment, I proceed in the Hiſtory. I intend not to write a pompous Martyrology, and therefore hereafter I ſhall only name the Perſons that ſuffered, with the Reaſons for which they were condemned: but except in a very few Inſtances, I ſhall not enlarge on the manner of their Trial and Sufferings; which being ſo copiouſly done by *Fox*, there is nothing left for any that comes after him. In ſome private Paſſages, which were brought to him upon flying Reports, he made a few Miſtakes, being too credulous; but in the Account he gives from Records, or Papers, he is a moſt exact and faithful Writer; ſo that I could never find him in any prevarication, or ſo much as a deſigned concealment. He tells the Good and the Bad, the Weakneſs and Paſſion, as well as the Conſtancy and Patience of thoſe good Men, who ſealed their Faith with their Blood; who were not all equal in Parts, nor in Diſcretion; but the weaker any of them were, it argued the more cruelty in their Perſecutors, to proceed ſo ſeverely againſt ſuch inconſiderable Perſons.

They proceed to burn more.

The firſt Intermiſſion being over, on the 16*th* of *March*, *Thomas Thompkins*, a Weaver in *Shorditch*, was burnt in *Smithfield*, only for denying the corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament. *Bonner* kept him many months in his Houſe, hoping to have wrought on him by fair means; but thoſe having no effect, one day he tore out a great deal of the Hair of his Beard; but to conceal that, made his Beard be clean ſhaved: And another time he held his hand in the Flame of the Candle, ſo long, till the Sinews and Veins ſhrunk and burſt, and ſpurted in *Harpsfield's* Face that was ſtanding by, who, interpoſing with *Bonner*, got him to give over any further cruelty at that time.

The next that ſuffered, was one *William Hunter* of *Brentwood*, an Apprentice of nineteen Years old; who had been drawn on in diſcourſe by a Prieſt, till he brought him to deny the Preſence in the Sacrament; and then was accuſed by him. His own Father was made to ſearch for him to bring him to Juſtice; but he, to ſave his Father from trouble, rendred himſelf. *Bonner* offered him 40*l.* if he would change, ſo mercenary a thing did he think Conſcience to be: But he anſwered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his Conſcience to himſelf, but he would not change; ſo he was condemned and ſent to be burnt near his where he ſuffered on the 20*th* of *March*.

On the ſame day, *Cauſton* and *Higbed*, two Gentlemen of good Eſtates, and great Eſteem, were burnt near their own Houſes in *Eſſex*.

On the 28*th* of *March*, *William Pigot* was burnt at *Braintree*, and *Stephen Knight* at *Malden*; and on the 29*th*, *John Lawrence*, a Prieſt, Fathers Houſe, was burnt at *Colcheſter*.

In all their Proceſſes, the Biſhops brought no Witneſſes againſt them; but did only exhibit Articles to them, according to the way of thoſe

1555. Courts, called, *Ex Officio*; and required them to make Anſwers; and upon their Anſwers, which were judged Heretical, they condemned them; ſo that all this vvas ſingly for their Conſciences, without the pretence of any other Matter.

Ferrar, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, condemned, and burnt.

Ferrar, that had been Biſhop of St. *David*'s, being dealt with by *Gardiner* to turn, and refuſing to do it, was ſent down to *Carmarthen*; where his Succeſſor *Morgan* ſat upon him; and gave him Articles about the Marriage of Prieſts, the Maſs, and ſome other things: To which his Anſwers being found Heretical, he was condemned. He put in an Appeal to Cardinal *Pool*, but it was not received. Yet it ſeems, that delayed the Execution till they heard from him; for though he was condemned on the 13*th*, he vvas not burnt before the 30*th* of *March*.

About that time was *Rawlins White*, an honeſt poor Fiſher-man, burnt at *Cardiff*; it vvas in *March*, but the day is not mentioned: He vvas very Ancient, and vvas put in Priſon, only becauſe he had put his Son to School, that he might hear the Bible read by him. After a Years Impriſonment, the Biſhop of *Landaff* condemned him, upon Articles, to which he anſwered as an Heretick.

On the 24*th* of *April*, *George March*, a Prieſt, vvas burnt at *Cheſter*, being judged, as the others had been; only at his Death, there was a new Invention of Cruelty, a Firkin of Pitch was hung over his Head, that the Fire melting it, it might ſcald his Head as it dropt on it.

One wounds a Prieſt at the Altar, and is burnt for Hereſy himſelf, condemning his former Act.

After this, one *Flower*, that had been in Orders, but was a raſh indiſcreet Man, went on *Eaſter* day into St. *Margarets* Church in *Weſtminſter*, and there with a Knife, ſtruck at, and wounded the Prieſt, as he was officiating. He for ſome time juſtified what he had done, as flowing from Zeal; but afterwards he ſincerely condemned it. *Bonner*, upon this, proceeding againſt him as an Heretick, condemned him to the Fire; and he was burnt on the 24*th* of *April*, in *Weſtminſter* Church-Yard. This Fact was condemned by all the Reformed, who knew that the Wrath of Man was not the way to accompliſh the Righteouſneſs of God. In the Jewiſh Government, ſome extraordinary Perſons did execute Vengeance on notorious Offenders; but that Conſtitution was in all its Policy regulated by the Laws given by *Moſes*; in which ſuch Inſtances vvere propoſed as Examples, vvhereby they became a part of the Law of that Land; ſo that in ſuch Caſes, it vvas certainly lawful to execute Puniſhment in that vvay; ſo in ſome Kingdoms, any Man that finds an out-lawed Perſon, may kill him: but vvhere there is no Law vvarranting ſuch things, it is certainly againſt both Religion, and the Laws of all Society and Government, for private Perſons to pretend to the Magiſtrates right, and to execute Juſtice upon any account vvhatſoever.

There vvas at this time a ſecond ſtop put to the execution of Hereticks, for till the end of *May*, more fires were not kindled; People grew generally ſo enraged upon it, that they could not bear it. I ſhall therefore now turn my ſelf to other things, that vvill give the Reader a more pleaſing entertainment.

The Queen reſolves to ſurrender up all the Church-Lands that were in her hands.

On the 28*th* of *March*, the Queen called for the Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Robert Rocheſter* Comptroller, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, and Sir *Francis Ingleſield* Maſter of the Wards. She ſaid, She had ſent for them, to declare her Conſcience to them concerning the Church-

Lands that continued ſtill in the Crown: She thought they were taken away in the time of the Schiſm, and by unlawful Means, therefore ſhe could not keep them with a good Conſcience; ſo ſhe did ſurrender and relinquiſh them. If they ſhould tell her, That her Crown was ſo poor, that ſhe could not well maintain her Dignity, if ſhe parted with them; ſhe muſt tell them, She valued the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms; and thanked God, her Huſband was of the ſame mind: and therefore ſhe was reſolved to have them diſpoſed, as the Pope, or his Legat ſhould think fit; ſo ſhe ordered them to go with the Lord Chancellor, to whom ſhe had ſpoken of it before, and wait on the Legat, and ſignify it to him, together with the value of thoſe Lands. This flowed from the ſtrictneſs of the Queen's Conſcience, who then thought her ſelf near the time of her delivery, and therefore would not have ſuch a load lie on her; of which ſhe was the more ſenſible, by reaſon of a Bull which Pope *Julius* had made, excommunicating all that kept any Abbey or Church-Lands; and all Princes, Prelats, and Magiſtrates, that did not aſſiſt in the execution of ſuch Bulls. Some ſaid, this related to the Buſineſs of *England*; but *Gardiner* ſaid, it was only made for *Germany*; and that Bulls had no Authority, unleſs they were received in *England*. This did not ſatisfy the People much; for if it was ſuch a ſin in *Germany*, they could not ſee, but it was as bad in *England*: And if the Pope had his Authority from Chriſt and St. *Peter*, his Bulls ought to take place every-where.

Pope *Julius* dies, and *Marcellus* ſucceeds.

Pope *Julius* died ſoon after this, on the 20*th* of *March*; and on the 6*th* of *April* after, Cardinal *Marcellus Cervinus* was choſen Pope; a Man of great gravity and innocence of Life. He continued to keep his former Name, which had not been done a great while, except by *Adrian* the 6*th*, between whoſe temper, and this Man, there was a great reſemblance. He preſently turned all his Thoughts (as *Adrian* had done) to a Reformation of the Corruptions of that See; and blamed his Predeceſſors much who had always put it off: he thought nothing could make the Papacy more reverenced, than to cut off their exceſſive and ſuperfluous Pomp; whereby they would be the more eſteemed all the World over, and might, on ſurer grounds, expect the protection of God. He had been one of the Legats at *Trent*, and there obſerved what was repreſented as the root of all Hereſy and Diſorder, that the Clergy were generally corrupted, and had, by many Exemptions procured from *Rome*, broken all the Primitive Rules. Upon his firſt Election, he called for the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and having obſerved him to be a Man of great probity, told him, he knew it was ordinary for all Popes, at their firſt coming to the Throne, to talk of Reformation; but he would talk little, being reſolved to do more; only he opened his mind to him, that if ever he went back from it, he might have this check upon him, that ſo honeſt a Man as he was, would know him to be a Knave, and a Hypocrite. He would ſuffer none of his Friends that were in remote parts, to come to *Rome*; nor his Nephews, that were in *Rome*, to come within the Court: He was reſolved to have ſent all Prieſts and Biſhops home to their Benefices; and talked much of their Non-reſidence with great deteſtation: He would not change his Table, nor his Cuſtom of making one read to him when he was ſitting at it. One day, after a long muſing at Dinner, he ſaid, he

1555. remembred the words of *Hadrian* the Fourth, ‘That the Pope was the ‘moſt miſerable of all Men; his whole Life was bitterneſs, his Chair ‘was full of Thorns, and his way of Briars; and then leaning with his Hand on the Table, he ſaid, *I do not ſee how they can be ſaved that hold this high Dignity.* Theſe Thoughts did ſo affect him, that on the 12th day after that he vvas choſen Pope, he ſickned, and died ten days after. Theſe things are reported of him by the Learned *Onuphrius*, who knew him well: and they will not be thought impertinent to have a room in this Story.

The Queen recommends Card. *Pool* t the Popedom, upon *Marcellus*'s death.

As ſoon as the News of his Death came to *England*, the Queen writ, on the 29th day of *May*, to *Gardiner*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, vvho vvere then at *Calais*, mediating a Peace between the French and Spaniard; which they could not effect, but only procured a Truce: She deſired them to deal with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Conſtable, and the other French Commiſſioners, to perſuade their Maſter to ſet up Cardinal *Pool*, that he might ſucceed in that Chair, ſince he ſeemed every way the fitteſt Perſon for it: adding, (as will appear by the Letter which is in the *Collection*) that ſhe had done this without his knowledg or conſent. This could not come in time to *Rome*, vvhere on the 23d of that month, *Caraffa* vvas choſen Pope, who was called *Paul* the Fourth; and vvho vvas as different from his Predeceſſor as any Man could be. He had put on an appearance of great ſtrictneſs before; and had ſet up a Religious Order of Monks, called *Theatines*: But upon his coming to the Popedom, he put on the greateſt Magnificence poſſible, and was the higheſt Spirited, and bloodieſt Pope, that had been ſince *Julius* the Second's Time.

Coll. Numb. 18.

Paul the 4th choſen Pope.

The Engliſh Embaſſadors come to *Rome*.

He took it for a great Honour, that on the day of his Election, the Engliſh Ambaſſadors entred *Rome*, with a great Train of 140 Horſe of their own Attendants. On the 23 of *June*, in the firſt Conſiſtory after he was Crowned, they were heard. They fell proſtrate at his Feet, and acknowledged the Steps and Faults of their Schiſm, enumerating them all; for ſo the Pope had ordered it; confeſſing they had been ungrateful for the many Benefits they had received from that Church, and humbly asking pardon for them. The Pope held ſome Conſultation, whether he ſhould receive them, ſince in their Credentials, the Queen ſtiled her ſelf Queen of *Ireland*: that Title being aſſumed by King *Henry*, in the Time of Schiſm. It ſeemed hard to uſe ſuch Ambaſſadors ill: but on the other hand, he ſtood upon his Dignity, and thought it belonged only to his See to erect Kingdoms: therefore he reſolved ſo to temper the Matter, that he ſhould not take notice of that Title, but ſhould beſtow it as a Mark of his Favour. So on the 7th of *June*, he did in private erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and conferred that Title on the King and Queen, and told them, that otherwiſe he would not ſuffer them to uſe it in their Publick Audience. And it is probable, it was the Conteſt about this, that made the Audience be delaied almoſt a month after their Arrival. This being adjuſted, he received the Ambaſſadors graciouſly, and pardoned the whole Nation: and ſaid, ‘That in Token of his eſteem of the King and Queen, he gave ‘them the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by that Supream Power ‘which he had from God, who had placed him over all Kingdoms, to ‘ſupplant the Contumacious, and to build new ones. But in his private

Diſc[illegible]

The P. preſſes the reſtoring of the Church Lands.

Diſcourſes with the Ambaſſadors, he complained that the Church-Lands were not reſtored: which, he ſaid, was by no means to be endured; for they muſt render all back to the laſt farthing; ſince they belonged to God, and could not be kept without their incurring Damnation: He ſaid, he would do any thing in his power, to gratifie the King and Queen; but in this his Authority was not ſo large, as to prophane the things dedicated to God. This would be an *Anathema*, and a Contagion on the Nation, which would bring after it many Miſeries; therefore he required them to write effectually about it: he repeated this to them every time he ſpake to them; and told them alſo, that the *Peter-pence* muſt be paid in *England*, and that he would ſend a Collector to raiſe it: he himſelf had been imployed in that office when he was young, and he ſaid he was much edified to ſee the forwardneſs of the People, eſpecially thoſe of the meaner ſort, in paying it: and told them they muſt not expect S. *Peter* would open Heaven to them, ſo long as they uſurped his Goods on Earth.

Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent.*

The Ambaſſadors ſeeing the Pope's haughty temper, that he could endure no contradiction, anſwered him with great ſubmiſſion; and ſo gained his Favour much; but knew well that theſe things could not be eaſily effected; and the Viſcount *Montacute* was too deeply concerned in the matter himſelf, to ſollicit it hard: for almoſt his whole Eſtate conſiſted of Abby Lands. Thus was this buſineſs rather laid over, than fully ſetled.

Inſtructions ſent to the Juſtices for ſearching after all ſuſpected of Hereſie.

But now to return to the Affairs in *England*. There came Complaints from all places, that the Juſtices of Peace were remiſs in the matters of Religion; and particularly in *Norfolk*, that theſe things were ill looked to: So Inſtructions were ſent thither, (which will be found in the *Collections*) requiring the Juſtices to divide themſelves into ten or twelve Diſtricts; that they might more narrowly look into all particulars: that they ſhould encourage the Preachers ſent to inſtruct that County, and turn out ſuch as did not come to Church, or conform in all things, but chiefly the Preachers of Hereſie: that the Juſtices and their Families ſhould be good examples to the reſt: that they ſhould have one or two in every Pariſh to be ſecretly inſtructed, for giving information of every thing in it; and ſhould look ſtrictly to all vagabonds, that wandred about, and to ſuch as ſpread falſe reports. This was thought to have ſo much of the Inquiſition in it, that it was imputed to the Counſels of the Spaniards. And they ſeem'd to have taken their pattern from the baſe Practices of thoſe called *Delatores*, that are ſet out by *Tacitus* as the greateſt abuſe of Power that ever was practiſed by the ill Emperors that ſucceeded *Auguſtus*; who going into all companies, and complying with what might be acceptable to them, engaged Men into diſcourſes againſt the State; and then gave ſuch Informations againſt them, which without their diſcovering themſelves by being brought to prove them, were made uſe of to the ruin of the accuſed Perſons. This was certainly very contrary to the freedom of the Engliſh temper, and helpt to alienate them the more from the Spaniards. But it may be eaſily imagined that others were weary of ſeverities, when *Bonner* himſelf grew averſe to them: He complained, that the matter was turned over upon him, the reſt looking on, and leaving the execution of theſe Laws wholly to him. So when the Juſtices and Sheriffs ſent up Hereticks to him,

Collect. Numb. 19.

Bonner grows unwilling to perſecute any more.

1554.

But is requir-ed to proceed by the King and Queen.

him, he ſent them back and refuſed to meddle further. Upon which the King and Queen writ to him on the 24*th* of *May*, complaining of this, and admoniſhed him to have from henceforth more regard to the Office of a good Paſtor and Biſhop; and when ſuch Offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their Errors; or if they were obſtinate, to proceed againſt them according to Law. This Letter he cauſed to be put in his Regiſter, from whence I copied it, and have placed it in the *Collections*. Whether he procured this himſelf, for a colour to excuſe his Proceedings; or whether it was ſent to him by reaſon of his ſlackneſs; is not certain: but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks; but he ſoon redeemed that loſs of time.

Coll. Number 20.

The Queens delivery is expected, but in vain.

At this time the Nation was in expectation of the Queen's Delivery. And on the third of *May* the Biſhop of *Norwich* writ a Letter to the Earl of *Suſſex*, of which I have ſeen the Original, that news was brought him from *London*, that the Queen had brought forth a Noble Prince; for which he had *Te Deum* ſolemnly ſung in his Cathedral, and in the other Churches thereabout. He adds in the *Poſtſcript*, that the News was confirmed by two other Hands. But, tho this was without any ground, the Queen continued ſtill in her opinion that ſhe was with Child: and on the 29th of *May*, Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Treaſurer, to have Money in readineſs, that thoſe who were appointed to carry the joyful news of the Queens happy Delivery, might be ſpeedily diſpatched. In the beginning of *June* ſhe was believed to be in Labour, and it flew over *London* again that ſhe had brought forth a Son. The Prieſts had ſetled all their hopes on that; ſo they did every where ſing *Te Deum*, and were tranſported into no ſmall Extaſies of Joy. One more officious than the reſt, made a Sermon about it, and deſcribed all the lineaments of their young Prince: but they ſoon found they were abuſed. It was ſaid, that they had been deceived, and that the Queen had no great Belly; But *Melvil* in his Memoirs ſays, he was aſſured from ſome of her Women, that ſhe did caſt forth at ſeveral times ſome Moles and unformed pieces of fleſh. So now there was ſmall hopes of any Iſſue from her. This encreaſed the ſowrneſs of her temper; and King *Philip*, being ſo much younger than ſhe, growing out of conceit with her, did not much care for her; but left her ſome months after. He ſaw no hope of Children, and finding that it was not poſſible for him to get *England* in his hands without that; gave over all his Deſigns about it: ſo having lived with her about fifteen months after their firſt Marriage, he found it neceſſary to look more after his Hereditary Crown, and leſs after his Matrimonial one; and henceforth he conſidered *England* rather as a ſure Ally, that was to adhere firmly to his Intereſts, than as a Nation which he could ever hope to add to his other Crowns. All theſe things concurred to encreaſe the Queen's Melancholy Humours, and did caſt her into an ill ſtate of Health: ſo that it was not probable ſhe could live long. *Gardiner* upon that, ſet himſelf much to have the Lady *Elizabeth* put out of the way; but, as it was formerly ſaid, King *Philip* preſerved her.

Proceedings againſt Hereticks.

And thus Affairs went on, as to Civil matters, till the meeting of the next Parliament in *October* following. But I now return to the Proceedings againſt the poor men called *Hereticks*; who were again, after a ſhort intermiſſion, brought to new Sufferings. *John Cardmaker*, that had been Divinity-Reader at S. *Pauls*, and a Prebendary at *Bath*; and *John Warne*, an Upholſter in *London*, were both burnt in *Smithfield*, on the 30th of *May*, for denying the Corporal preſence; being proceeded againſt *ex Officio*. On the 4th of *June*, there was a piece of Pageantry acted on the Body of one *Tooly*; who being executed for a Robbery, did at his death ſay ſomething that ſavoured of Hereſy: upon which the Council writ to *Bonner* to enquire into it, and to proceed according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. He thereupon form'd a Proceſs,& cited the dead Body to anſwer the Points objected to him; but he, to be ſure, neither appearing nor anſwering, was condemned and burnt. After this, on the 10th of *June*, *Thomas Hawkes*, a Gentleman in *Eſſex*, who had lived much in the Court, was alſo burnt at *Coxhall*: and on the ſame day *John Simpſon*, and *John Ardeley*, two Huſbandmen, were alſo burnt in *Eſſex*. *Thomas Watts*, a Linen-Draper, was burnt at *Chelmsford*. On the 9th, *Nicholas Chamberlain*, a Weaver, was burnt at *Colcheſter*; and on the 15th, *Thomas Oſmond*, a Fuller, was burnt at *Manning-tree*; and the ſame day *William Bamford*, a Weaver, was burnt at *Harwich*.

Theſe, with ſeveral others, had been ſent up by the Earl of *Oxford*, to *Bonner*, becauſe they had not received the Sacrament the laſt Eaſter, and were ſuſpected of Hereſie: and Articles being given to them, they were upon their Anſwers condemned, and ſent to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But upon this occaſion, the Council fearing ſome Tumult, or violent Reſcue, writ to the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Lord *Rich*, to gather the Country, and to ſee the Hereticks burnt. The Earl of *Oxford*, being ſome way indiſpoſed, could only ſend his People to the Lord *Rich*, who went and obeyed the Orders that had been ſent him; for which, Letters of Thanks were written to him; and the Council underſtanding that ſome Gentlemen had come to the burning at *Colcheſter*, that had not been writ to, but as the words of the Letter have it, *had honeſtly and of themſelves gone thither*, writ to the Lord *Rich* to give them the Council's thanks for their Zeal. I find in the Council Books, many Entries made, of Letters writ to ſeveral Counties, to the Nobility and Gentry to aſſiſt at theſe Executions: and ſuch as made excuſes, were always after that looked on with an ill eye, and were ſtill under great jealouſy.

The Council writ to the Lords in *Eſſex* to gather the Gentry, and aſſiſt at theſe Burnings.

Bradford's Martyrdome.

After theſe, followed the Execution of *Bradford* in *July*; He had been condemned among the firſt, but was not burnt till now. He had been a Prebendary of St. *Pauls*, and a celebrated Preacher, in the end of King *Edwards* days. He had preſerved *Bourn* in the tumult at *Pauls-Croſs*; and that afternoon, preaching at *Bow-Church*, he ſeverely reproved the people for the diſorder at *Pauls*, but three days after, was put in Priſon, where he lay, removed from one Priſon to another, near three years; where-ever he came, he gained ſo much on the Keepers, that they ſuffered him to Preach and give the Sacrament to his Fellow Priſoners. He was one of thoſe that were carried before the Council on the 22*d* of *January*, where *Bonner* accuſed him of the Tumult at *Pauls*; though all he pretended to prove it by, was, that his way of ſpeaking to the People ſhewed, he thought he had ſome Authority over them, and was a preſumption that he had ſet on the Sedition. *Bradford* appealed to God that ſaw his Innocency, and how unworthily he was requited for ſaving his Enemies, who rendered him evil for good. At

1555. laſt refuſing to conform himſelf to the Laws, he was condemned with the reſt on the 31. of *Jan.* where that Reſcue was again laid to his Charge, together with many Letters he had written over *England*, which (as the Earl of *Darby* informed the Parliament) had done more hurt than he could have done, if he had been at liberty to Preach. He ſaid, ſince he underſtood that they acted by a Commiſſion which was derived from the Pope, he could not anſwer them, having ſworn never to acknowledge that Authority: What he had done at *Pauls*, was at *Bourn*'s earneſt deſire, who prayed him for the Paſſion of Chriſt, to ſpeak to the People; upon which he ſtepped up to the Pulpit, and had almoſt been killed with the Dagger that was thrown at *Bourn*, for it touched his Sleeve. But in the points of Religion, he profeſſed his Faith ſo conſtantly, that for that cauſe he was condemned. Yet the ſaving of *Bourn* was ſo publickly known, that it was thought undecent to proceed againſt him ſo quick as they did with the reſt. So both *Heath* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Weſton*, *Harpsfield*, and the King's Confeſſor, and *Alphonſus a Caſtro*, went to ſee him, and endeavoured to gain him: but all to no purpoſe. It looks very ill in *Bourn* that he never interpoſed for *Bradford*, nor came once to viſit him: and as when *Bradford* was before the Council, *Bourn's* Brother the Secretary was very ſharp upon him; ſo when he was brought to his Tryal, *Bourn* himſelf then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* being preſent, did not open his mouth for him, though he appealed to him, as to the buſineſs of the Tumult. With *Bradford* one *John Leaſe*, an Apprentice of nineteen years old, was lead out to be burnt, who was alſo condemned upon his anſwers to the Articles exhibited to him, When they came to the Stake, they both fell down and Prayed. Then *Bradford* took a Fagot in his hands and kiſſed it; and ſo likewiſe kiſſed the Stake, expreſſing thereby the joy he had in his Sufferings: and cried, O England, *repent, repent, beware of Idolatry and falſe Antichriſts!* But the Sheriff hindring him to ſpeak any more, he embraced his Fellow Sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they ſhould Sup with Chriſt that night. His laſt words were, *Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth into eternal Life, and few there be that find it.*

Now the Perſecution was carried on to other places, *Bonner* ſtopping in it again. But *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, *Harpsfield* Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and ſome others, reſolved likewiſe to ſhew their zeal. This *Thornton* had from the firſt change made by King *Henry* been the moſt officious and forward in every turn; and had been the firſt in this Reign, that had ſet up the Maſs at *Canterbury*. He was much deſpiſed for it by Cardinal *Pool*, but *Pool* could not hinder the fury of thoſe men, without drawing on himſelf the Pope's indignation. The Pope was his profeſſed and inveterate Enemy: but knew not how to vent his hatred to him, ſince he had done ſuch an eminent ſervice to the Church, as the reconciling of *England*. *Gardiner* underſtanding this, ſent ſecretly to *Rome*, to give ill Characters of *Pool*, which the ill-natured Pope was ready enough to receive. *Gardiner* deſigned to be made a Cardinal; and to get *Pool* recalled, and himſelf made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. The Pope was reſolved, on the firſt occaſion, to take the Legatine power from *Pool*, and give it to *Gardiner*, but *Pool* was ſo much in the Queens favour, that this required ſome

1555.

time to bring it about. This made *Gardiner* ſtudy to preſerve *Cranmer*, as long as he lived. It ſeemed more reaſonable to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief Author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called *Hereſie*: nor had *Gardiner* ſuch kindneſs for him, as to interpoſe on his account; but he knew, that as ſoon as he was burnt, *Pool* would be preſently inveſted in the See of *Canterbury*. Therefore he ſuggeſted, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the moſt effectual means poſſible to extirpate Hereſie: for if he who had ſo much ſet on theſe Doctrines, did forſake them, it would confound the whole Party, and bring over at leaſt all that were weak or ſtaggering; whereas on the other hand, if he died reſolutly for it, his death would confirm them all very much. This was a colour good enough to preſerve him. But why the See of *Canterbury* was not declared vacant, ſince he was now pronounced an obſtinate Heretick, I do not ſo well apprehend: whether there was any thing in the Pall, or the latter inventions of the Canoniſts, that made it neceſſary not to fill his See ſo long as he lived, I know not. *Pool* being in theſe circumſtances, durſt neither offend thoſe at *Rome*, nor openly hinder the proſecution of Hereticks: which it ſeems he would have done more ſteadily, if it had not been for fear of the Popes taking thereby advantages againſt him, who had before given out in the Conclave, that he was a favourer of Hereſie; and therefore would the more eaſily be induced to believe any thing that might be written over to *Rome* to his prejudice.

Some burnt at *Canterbury.*

Thoſe that ſat in *Canterbury* to judge the Hereticks, had four Men brought before them, two Prieſts, *Bland*, and *Frankeſh*; and *Shiterden*, and *Midleton*, two Laymen. They were condemned upon their Anſwers to the Articles, exhibited to them, and burnt at *Canterbury* the 25th of *June*: and in *July Margery Polley* was burnt at *Tunbridge* on the like account; who was the firſt Woman that ſuffered in this Reign. *Chriſtopher Ward* was Condemned with her, and burnt in *Darford*. On the 22*d.* of *July*, *Dirick Carver* was burnt at *Lewis*; and on the 23*d* *John Launder* was burnt at *Stoning*. They had been taken in *London*; and brought before *Bonner*; but he would not meddle with them, and deſired they might be ſent to their own Ordinaries: One of them being of *Surrey* was within *Gardiners* Juriſdiction, who reſolved to proceed no more againſt the Hereticks, ſo he procured a Letter from the Council to *Bonner*, requiring him to proceed againſt them, who thereupon preſently condemned them.

Pretended Plots, and ſome put to the Torture to make Diſcovery.

There were at this time ſeveral diſcoveries of Plottings in ſeveral Counties, eſpecially in *Dorſetſhire*, and *Eſſex*; but the nature of theſe Plots is not ſet down in the Council Books. Some were taken and put in the Tower: Two or three Privy Councellors were ſent thither on the 9*th* of *June*, with a Letter from the Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to put them to the Torture, according to their diſcretions: yet nothing following upon this, it is probable theſe were only ſurmiſes deviſed by the Clergy, to ſet on the Council more ſeverely againſt them, whoſe Ruine they were contriving by all the ways they could think on.

There was alſo an outrage committed on two Friars, *Peyto* and *Elſton* who were *Franciſcans* of the Obſervance, They had ſpoken ſharply

1555

The Queen builds the *Franciſcan's* Houſe at *Greenwich.*

Sir *Th. More's* Works Printed.

But his Letter about the Nun of *Kent* was left out.

Coll. Number 21.

againſt King *Henry* in the buſineſs of the Divorce, and had fled beyond Sea on that account: therefore the Queen had ſent for them, and not only procured the Attainder that had paſſed againſt them, to be repealed in the laſt Parliament, but made *Peyto* her Confeſſor: and being reſolved to raiſe Religious Houſes in *England* again, ſhe had begun with their Order, the *Franciſcans of the Obſervance*, and with their Houſe at *Greenwich*, which was the firſt that was ſuppreſſed; as was ſhewn in the former Book; and therefore ſhe ordered that to be rebuilt this Summer. So *Elſton* and *Peyto* going down by water, there were Stones flung at them by ſome that were a Shore in *London.* This the Queen reſented highly; ſo ſhe ſent the Lord Treaſurer to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to make Proclamation of a Reward to any that ſhould diſcover thoſe who had done it: but it could not be found out. She ordered all Sir *Thomas Mores*'s Works to be printed together in one Volumn, which were in the Preſs this Year: and it was given out as an extraordinary thing, that King *Edward* had died, and ſhe ſucceeded to the Crown, that very day in which he was beheaded. But in publiſhing his Works, one piece of Fraud has occurred to me ſince the former Part was printed, I have ſeen the Manuſcript out of which his Letters were printed, where the Originals of the Letters that he writ to his Daughter, Mris *Roper*, are; with the Copies of thoſe that he writ to *Cromwel.* But among theſe, there is a long Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*, in which he ſpeaks fully of her Hypocriſie, and other Villanies. It contains many remarkable paſſages concerning her, of the high opinion he at firſt had of her; how he was led into it, and how he was afterwards convinced, "That ſhe was the moſt falſe diſſembling Hypocrite that had "been known, and guilty of the moſt deteſtable Hypocriſie, and de- "viliſh diſſembled Falſhood; and he believed, that ſhe had communi- "cation with an evil Spirit. This Letter was at that time concealed, but not deſtroyed: So I find the conjecture I made about it, in my former Part, has proved true; though I did not then hope to come by the Letter it ſelf, as I have done ſince. It ſeems it was reſolved to raiſe the Credit of that Story; and ſince the Nun was believed to be both a Martyr and a Propheteſs, it is like ſhe might have been eaſily gotten to be Canoniz'd; and therefore ſo great a Teſtimony from ſuch a Man, was not thought fit to be left in her way. The Letter I have put into the *Collections.*

Raſtal publiſhed his works, but did not write his Life.

Concerning this Edition of Sir *Thomas Mores*'s Works, I ſhall recal to the Reader's mind, what was ſaid in the former Part about his Life, pretended to be writ by *Raſtal*; was now the publiſher of his Works, and ſo much encouraged in it, that the Queen promoted him ſoon after to be a Judge; and ſo it is not likely, that *Raſtal* ever writ any ſuch Book, otherwiſe he had now prefixed it to this Edition. Nor is it probable that the ſtories, which *Sanders* vented in his name afterwards, concerning *Ann Boleyn*, or Queen *Elizabeths* Birth, were then ſo much as contrived: otherwiſe it is not credible, that they ſhould not have been printed at this time; ſince the Lady *Elizabeth* being the only object of the fear and jealouſy of the popiſh Party, was now out of the Queens favour, and a Priſoner: ſo that we cannot doubt but all ſuch Stories would have bin very acceptable to the Queen, and the Clergy would have taken care to have publiſhed them, for the defaming her, and blaſting her Title.

And

1555.

And therefore theſe things ſeem to be afterwards contrived in revenge, when Queen *Elizabeth* began to proceed ſeverely againſt that Party, after the many and repeated Conſpiracies they had engaged in againſt her Life.

The Queen reſtores all the Church Lands that belonged to the Crown.

Col. Number 21.

But now the Queen reſolved to endow ſo many Religious Houſes, as the Revenues of the Church that were in her hands, could maintain: and about that, and ſome other particulars, ſhe writ ſome directions to the Council with her own hand, which will be found in the Collections. I have ſeen two Copies of theſe that differ a little, but I follow that which ſeemed to me to be beſt derived from the Original. She deſired, “That thoſe who had Commiſſion to treat with the Cardinal, about the “goods of the Church, might wait on him once a week, to finiſh that “and ſome other matters that were to be prepared for the Parliament: “She particularly recommended the care of having good Preaching “encouraged, which ſhe wiſhed might be well looked to; and ſhe adviſed a general Viſitation both of the Vniverſities and Churches, to “be made, by ſuch as the Cardinal and they ſhould think fit. As for “the puniſhment of Hereticks, ſhe wiſhed it might not be done raſhly; “yet ſhe would have Juſtice done, on thoſe who by Learning ſtudied to deceive the ſimple: but would have it ſo managed, that the “People might ſee, they were not condemned but upon juſt occaſions: “and therefore ordered that ſome of the Council ſhould be preſent at “all the burnings about *London*; and that there ſhould be every “where good Sermons at thoſe times: She alſo verily believed, that “many Benefices ſhould not be in one mans hand; but that every “Prieſt ought to look to his Cure, and reſide upon it. And ſhe looked “on the Pluralities over *England*, to be a main cauſe of the want of “good Preachers; whoſe Sermons if joyned with a good Example would “do much good; and without that, ſhe thought their Sermons would “profit little.

More Hereticks burnt.

And now I return to the Burnings, from which I am not unwilling frequently to break off, ſince a continued relation of ſuch things cannot be but an ungrateful entertainment to the Reader. In *July* one *Juxon* was burnt at *Chichеſter*: On the 2*d* of *Auguſt James Abeys* was burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*. On the 8*th* of *Auguſt Denly* a Gentleman was burnt at *Vxbridge*, and *Robert Smith* at *Waybridge*. On the 26*th George Tankervil* was burnt at *St. Albans*. And on the 28*th* of *Auguſt Patrick Packingham* alſo was burnt there: On the 31*ſt* of *Auguſt* one *Newman* was burnt at *Saffron Walden* in *Eſſex*, and *Robert Samuel* a Preacher was burnt at *Ipſwich*. There were alſo in *Auguſt*, ſix burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*. *Elizabeth Warne* burnt at *Stratford Le-Bow*, *Stephen Whorwood* at *Stratford*, *Thomas Fuſt* at *Ware*, and *William Hall* at *Barnet*; but of their ſufferings the days are not marked. In *September* on the 6th day of the month *George Catmer*, and four others were burnt at *Canterbury*. On the 20*th Robert Glover* a Gentleman, and one *Cornelius Bangey* were burnt at *Coventry*: The ſame month, but we know not on what days, *William Allen* was burnt at *Walſingham*, *Roger Coo* at *Yerford*, *Thomas Cob* in *Thetford*. *Thomas Haywood*, and *John Garaway*, at *Lichfield* were alſo burnt on the ſame account. On the 16*th* of *October* following, *William Wolej*, and *Robert Pigot*, were burnt at *Ely*; where *Shaxton*, that had been Biſhop of *Salsbury* in King *Henry's* time, and quitted his Biſhoprick on the account of the ſix Articles, but in the

1555. end of that Reign recanted, and was now Biſhop Suffragan of *Ely*, condemned them. It is enough to have named all theſe, who were burnt meerly by the Proceedings *Ex Officio*: for being forced, either to accuſe themſelves, or to die however, they choſe rather plainly to anſwer thoſe Articles that were miniſtred to them, and ſo were condemned for their Anſwers.

Ridley and *Latimer* burnt at *Oxford*.

But on the 16*th* of *October Ridley* and *Latimer* offered up their lives at *Oxford*, on which it may be expected I ſhould enlarge a little. The Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Gloceſter*, and *Briſtol*, were ſent to *Oxford* by a ſpecial Commiſſion from the Cardinal to proceed againſt them. As ſoon as *Ridley* heard they proceeded in the name of the Pope, by authority from the Cardinal, he put on his Cap, having ſtood bare headed before that, becauſe he would expreſs no ſign of Reverence to thoſe who acted by ſuch a Commiſſion. He ſaid, he paied great reſpect to the Cardinal as deſcended from the Royal Family, and a man endued with ſuch Learning and Vertue; that therefore he honoured and reverenced him: but for his Legatine Authority from the Biſhop of *Rome*, he utterly renounced it; and therefore would ſhew no Reverence to that Character: and ſo puting off his Cap as he ſpoke of him on other reſpects, he put it on again when he named his being *Legat*; and being required to put it off, refuſed to do it on that account: but one of the Beadles did it for him. After that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* made him a long exhortation to recant, and acknowledge the See of *Rome*; ſince Chriſt had built his Church on St. *Peter*, and the Fathers had all acknowledged the preheminence of that See, and himſelf had been once of that opinion. To which he anſwered, it was upon the Faith which St. *Peter* confeſſed, that Chriſt had founded his Church; he acknowledged, the Biſhops of *Rome* had been held in great eſteem, both for the dignity of the City, and the worthineſs of the Biſhops that had ſate in it; but they were only eſteemed Patriarchs of the Weſt; and the Church had not then thought of that Power, to which they had ſince advanced themſelves: he confeſſed he was once of their mind, but it was as St. *Paul* had been a Perſecutor: he had ſeen ſince ſuch ſpots in the Church of *Rome*, that he could never return to it. Upon this followed much diſcourſe: In concluſion they objected to him ſome Articles, about thoſe Opinions which he had maintained a year and an half before that, in the Schools; and required him to make his anſwers to them. He began with a Proteſtation, that by anſwering them he did not acknowledg the Popes Authority, and then anſwered them as he had done before. *Latimer* uſed the like proteſtation, and anſwers. So they were allowed one nights reſpite to conſider better, whether they would recant or not; but next day they, appearing, and adhering to the Anſwers they had made, were declared obſtinate Hereticks, and ordered to be degraded, and ſo delivered over to the Secular Power.

After that, new attemps were made on *Ridley* to perſwade him to accept of the Queens Mercy; but all being to no purpoſe, the Writ was ſent down to burn them. The night before the Execution, *Ridley* was very joyful, and invited the Mayor and his Wife, in whoſe Houſe he was kept, to be at his Wedding next day: at which when the Mayor's Wife wept, he ſaid he perceived ſhe did not love him: but he told her, tho his breakfaſt would be ſharp, he was ſure his Supper would be ſweet: he was

glad

1555. glad to hear that his Siſter would come, and ſee him die; and was in ſuch compoſure of mind, that they were all amazed at it. Next morning being the 16*th* they were led out to the place of Execution, which was before *Baliol* College: they looked up to the Priſon to have ſeen *Cranmer*; but he was then engaged in Diſpute with ſome Friars, ſo that he was not in his Window; but he looked after them with great tenderneſs, and kneeling down prayed earneſtly, that God would ſtrengthen their Faith and Patience in that their laſt but painful Paſſage. When they came to the Stake, they embraced one another with great affection, *Ridley* ſaying to *Latimer*, *Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either aſſwage the fury of the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* Doctor *Smith* was appointed to Preach, and took his Text from theſe words, *If I give my body to be burnt, and have no Charity, it profiteth nothing.* He compared their dying for Hereſie, to *Judas*'s hanging himſelf; and warned the People to beware of them, with as much bitterneſs as he could expreſs. The beſt of it was, the Sermon laſted not above a quarter of an hour. When he had done, *Ridley* was going to anſwer him; and the Lord *Williams*, that was appointed by the Queen to ſee the Execution, was enclined to hear him: but the Vice-Chancellor ſaid, Except he intended to recant, he was not to be ſuffered to ſpeak. *Ridley* anſwered, He “would never deny his Lord, nor thoſe Truths of his of which he was “perſwaded; God's Will be done in him: he committed himſelf to “God, who would indifferently judg all. Then he addreſſed himſelf to the Lord *Williams*, and ſaid, “Nothing troubled him ſo much, as that “he had received Fines of ſome, who took Leaſes of him when he was “Biſhop of *London*; and theſe Leaſes were now voided: He therefore “humbly prayed, that the Queen would give order, that thoſe might “be made good to the Tenants, or that the Fines might be reſtored out “of his Goods which he had left in his Houſe, and were of far greater “value than thoſe Fines would amount to; and that ſome pity might “be had of *Shipſide* his Brother in law, who was turned out of a place “he had put him in, and had now attended on him with great care. Then they both prayed and fitted themſelves for the Stake: *Latimer* ſaying to *Ridley*, “Be of good comfort, we ſhall this day light ſuch “a Candle in *England*, as I truſt by God's Grace ſhall never be put out. Then Gunpowder being hanged about their Bodies in great quantities to haſten their death, the Fire was put to, and *Latimer* was with the firſt Flame, the Powder taking fire, put out of pain, and died immediatly. But *Ridley* had a more lingring Torment, for they threw on the fire ſo much wood, that the Flame could not break through it: ſo that his Legs were almoſt conſumed before this was obſerved, and then, one opening the Paſſage to the Flame, it put an end to his Life.

Thus died theſe two excellent Biſhops: the one for his Piety, Learning, and ſolid Judgment, the ableſt Man of all that advanced the Reformation; and the other for the plain ſimplicity of his Life, eſteemed a truly primitive Biſhop and Chriſtian. Of his care of his Biſhoprick, the Inſtructions he gave at his Viſitation, chiefly of the Monaſteries, will give a good Evidence: and therefore I have put them in the *Collection*, Coll. Num. 24. as they were copied from the Regiſter of *Worceſter*, by that Ingenious and worthy Counſellor Mr. *Summers*; who out of his Zeal to the Reformation, ſearched all the Books there, that he might gather from them

ſuch

1555

ſuch things as he thought could be of uſe to this Work. *Bonner* had made an ill Retribution to *Ridley*, for the kindneſs he had ſhewed his Friends when he was in poſſeſſion at *London*: for he had made *Bonner's* Mother always dine with him, when he lived in his Country-Houſe of *Fulham*, and treated her as if ſhe had been his own Mother; beſides his kindneſs to his other Friends. *Heath*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, had bin kept Priſoner a Year and a half in *Ridley's* Houſe, where he lived as if he had bin at his own; and *Heath* uſed always to call him the beſt learned of all the Party: yet he ſo far forgot gratitude and humanity, that though he went through *Oxford* when he was a Priſoner there, he came not to ſee him. When they lay in the Tower, both *Cranmer* and they were, by reaſon of the number of Priſoners,put into one Chamber for ſome months; but after they came to *Oxford*, they could ſcarce ſend Meſſages to one another: and men had laid off humanity ſo much, that all the while they lay there none of the Univerſity waited on them: that favoured their Doctrine were then left, and of the reſt, it is no wonder that none came to viſit them; nor did they ſupply them with any thing they needed: for all the Charity that was ſent to them, came from *London*.

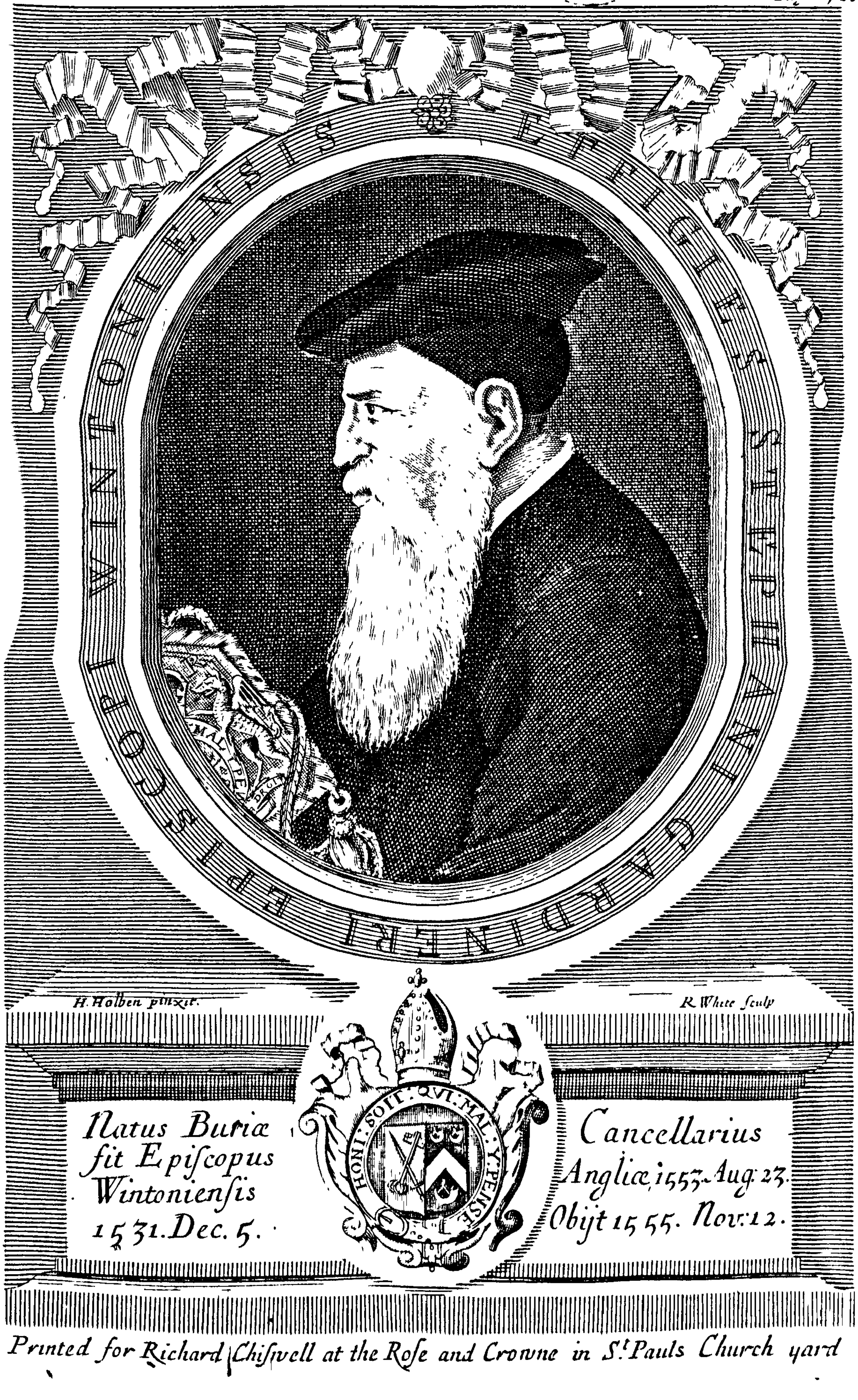
Suits about the ſpoils of Churches.

This Summer there was a ſtrict ſearch made after all the Goods of the Church, that had bin embezelled: and all that had bin Viſiters,either in King *Henry* or K. *Edward's* time, were brought into Suits about it, but many compounded, and ſo purchaſed their quiet, by an offer to the Church of ſome large Gratuity: and according to the greatneſs thereof their affection to the Church was meaſured. Many of thoſe did favour the Reformation, which made them give the more bountifully, that ſo they might come under good Characters, and be the leſs ſuſpected.

Gardiner's Sickneſs and Death.

The Parliament was opened on the 21*ſt* of *October*. The Chancellor came thither, both then, and on the 23*d*, but could come no more. It was reported, that he had ſtayed long for dinner, that day that *Ridley* and *Latimer* were to be burnt, till one ſhould bring him word, that the fire was ſet to them: but the Meſſenger coming Poſt, did not reach *London* till four a Clock in the afternoon, and that he then went cheerfully to dine; but was at Dinner ſtruck with the illneſs, of which he died. It was a ſuppreſſion of Urine, which held him till the 12th of *November*, on which he died. He had great remorſe for his former life; and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* coming to him, and comforting him with the aſſurance of Juſtification through the Blood of Chriſt; he anſwered him, “He might ſpeak of that to him or others in his condition; but “if he opened that gap again, & preached that to the People, then fare- “well all together. He often repeated thoſe words, *Erravi cum Petro, ſed* “*non flevi cum Petro*, I have erred with *Peter*, but I have not mourned “with him. He was of a nobler deſcent than is commonly known. For though he took the name *Gardiner* from his ſuppoſed Father, yet he was then believed to be the baſe Son of *Richard Woodvil*, that was Brother to Queen *Ann*, Wife to King *Edward* the 4*th*: ſo that he was of kin to King *Henry* the 8*th* in the ſecond and third degree of Conſanguinity; which might be the cauſe that he was ſo ſuddenly advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*. This is mentioned by Sir *Edward Hobby*, in a Letter he writ to one of thoſe that had fled beyond Sea, giving him an account of his Death: where he ſaies of him, he was a Man of higher

deſcent


STEPHANI GARDINERI EPISCOPI WINTONIENSIS EFFIGIES
H. Holben pinxit.
R. White ſculp
HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE
Natus Buriæ fit Epiſcopus Wintonienſis 1531. Dec. 5.
Cancellarius Angliæ 1553. Aug. 23. Obijt 1555. Nov. 12.

Printed for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard

deſcent than he was commonly reputed; and on the Margent it is ſaid, 1555. he was Nephew to a Queen of *England.* This explains that which I find objected both to him and *Bonner* in one of the Books that were writen in the defence of the married Clergy; that no wonder they were ſuch enemies to Marriage, ſince both of them were born in Adultery. He was a Man well skilled in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divinity. He had a good Stile in Latin, and underſtood the Greek well; but his ſtrength lay in deep diſſimulation, a quickneſs of apprehenſion, a great proſpect of affairs, a cloſe and artificial way of concealing his mind, and inſinuating himſelf into the affections and confidences of other perſons. He did comply all *Henry* the 8*ths* time; and would willingly have done the like in King *Edwards* time, but that *Cranmer* knew him too well to be directed by him, and handled him as he deſerved. But the uſage he then met with, ſo recovered him with Queen *Mary*, that ſhe put him in the greateſt Truſts; and now, when a Cardinals Hat was like to fall on his Head, he was carried off, and all his ambitious Projects fell with him. Of his ſervile compliance in promoting King *Henrie's* Divorce, I have found freſh Inſtances, beſides thoſe that are mentioned in the former Volumn. When he went to *Rome*, in the Year 1529, *Anne Boleyn* writ a very kind Letter to him, which I have put in the *Collection.* By it the Reader will clearly perceive that Coll.Num.25 he was then in the ſecret of the King's deſigning to marry her, as ſoon as the Divorce was obtained. There is another particular in that Letter, which corrects a Conjecture which I ſet down in the beginning of the former Book, concerning the Cramp-Rings that were bleſſed by King *Henry*; which I thought might have been done by him after he was declared *Head of the Church.* That part was printed before I ſaw this Letter; But this Letter ſhews they were uſed to be bleſſed before the Separation from *Rome*; for *Anne Boleyn* ſent them as great Preſents thither. The uſe of them had been (it ſeems) diſcontinued in King *Edwards* time; but now under Queen *Mary* it was deſigned to be revived; and the Office for it was written out in a fair Manuſcript, yet extant; of which I have put a Copy in the Collection. But the ſilence in the Coll.Num.26 Writers of that time makes me think it was ſeldom, if ever, practiſed. But to return to *Gardiners* officious compliance in the matter of the Divorce, I have put in the Collection a Letter of his to King *Henry*, writ- Coll.Num.27 ten in ſuch confidence to him, that even Cardinal *Woolſey* was not to ſee it. In it he ſets out the Pop's timorouſneſs ſo plainly, that he writes he ſaw nothing but the fear he was in of the Emperours Forces, kept him from granting what was deſired; therefore he adviſed the King to do the buſineſs once in *England*, and then leave it to the Emperor to complain; not doubting but he would be put off by as many Delays as were now uſed in the King's buſineſs.

Heath Archbiſhop of *York* had the Seals in *February* after; they having been during that interval, in the hands of Sir *Nicholas Hare*, then Maſter of the Rolls; and he was made Chancellor during the Queen's pleaſure. The Queen alſo, conſidering that *Whitehall* had been taken from the See of *York*, had a ſcruple in her Conſcience againſt living in it; but *Heath* and ſhe agreed it thus: *Suffolk-Place* by the Duke's Attainder, was now in the Queen's hands; ſo ſhe gave that to the See of *York*, which *Heath* ſold, and converted it to Tenements, and purchaſed another Houſe near

1555. *Charing-Croſs*, which from thence forward was called *York-Houſe*.

The temper of the Parliament is much changed.

But, for the Parliament, it was now much changed; Mens minds were much alienated from the Clergy, and alſo from the Queen, who minded nothing elſe but to raiſe them to great wealth and power again. On the 28*th* of *October* it was moved in the Houſe of Commons to give a Subſidy, and two Fifteenths, for paying the Debts of the Crown, but it was oppoſed with great vehemence. It was ſaid, that the Queen had profuſely given away the Riches of the Crown, and then turned to the Laity to pay her Debts: why did ſhe not rather turn it to the Spiritualty? But it was anſwered, that the Convocation had given her a Subſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound; and the Queen asked now, after almoſt three years Reign, nothing but what ſhe had diſcharged her Subjects of, at her firſt coming to the Crown. Yet the heats grew ſuch, that on the 1ſt of *November* Secretary *Petre* brought a Meſſage from her, that ſhe thanked them that had moved for two Fifteenths for her, but ſhe refuſed it: ſo the Subſidy was agreed on. On the 29th of *November* the Queen ſent for the Houſe of Commons. When they were come, ſhe ſaid to them, ſhe could not with a good Conſcience take the Tenths and Firſt-fruits of Spiritual Benefices: It was a Tax her Father laid on the Clergy, to ſupport his Dignity of *Supream Head*; of which ſince ſhe was deveſted, ſhe would alſo diſcharge that. Then the Legate made a ſpeech to ſhew that Tithes & Impropriations of ſpiritual Benefices were the Patrimony of the Church; and ought to return to it. The Queen upon that, declared, that ſhe would ſurrender them up likewiſe to the Church. Then one *Story* of the Houſe of Commons kneeled down, and ſaid to the Queen, That the *Speaker* did not open to her their Deſire that Licences might be reſtrained. This was a great Affront to the *Speaker*; ſo he returning to the Houſe, complained of *Story*. This Member thought he might aſſume more liberty; for in *Edward* the 6th's time, when the Bill for the firſt Book of the Engliſh Service paſſed, he ſpoke ſo freely againſt it, with ſuch reflections on the King and the Protector, that he was put in the Serjeants hands, and ſent to the *Tower*. The words he had ſaid, were, *Wo unto thee O* England, *when thy King is a Child*; and an Impeachment was drawn againſt him. But upon his Submiſſion, the Houſe ordered the Privy Councellors to declare to the Protector, that it was their Reſolution that he ſhould be enlarged: and they deſired that the King would forgive his Offence againſt him and his Council: now he had indiſcreetly appeared againſt all Licenſes from *Rome*, thinking he had a priviledg to talk more freely; but he confeſſed his Fault, and the Houſe, *knowing that he ſpake from a good zeal*, forgave him. He was afterwards condemned for Treaſon in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign.

The Queen diſcharges the Clergy of Tenths and Firſt-fruits.

Eccleſ. 10. 16.

Journ. Dom. Com.

On the 23d of *November*, the Bill for ſuppreſſing the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, and the reſigning up all Impropriations, that were yet in the Queens Gift, to the Church, to be diſpoſed of as the Legate pleaſed, for the relief of the Clergy, was brought into the Houſe. It was once thought fit to have the ſurrender of Impropriations left out: for it was ſaid, the Queen might do that as well by Letters Patents; and if it were put into the Bill, it would raiſe great Jealouſies; ſince it would be underſtood, that the Queen did expect that the Subjects ſhould follow her example; but it was reſolved, by all means poſſible, to recover the

1555.

Tithes to the Church; ſo it was put into the Bill. It was long argued; ſome ſaid, the Clergy would rob the Crown, and the Nation both: and that the Laity muſt then ſupport the Dignity of the Realm. It was particularly committed to Sir *William Cecil* and others to be examined by them. On the 13th of *December* the Houſe divided about it, 126 were againſt it, and 193 were for it.

Againſt thoſe that had fled beyond-Sea, rejected.

There was a Bill ſent down againſt the Counteſs of *Suſſex*, who had left her Husband, and gone into *France*, where ſhe lived openly in Adultery, and bare Children to others. A Bill was put in, to the ſame purpoſe, in the firſt Parliament of this Reign, to take her Jointure from her, and declare her Children Baſtards; and was then caſt out by the Commons; and had now again the ſame fate. Another Bill was put in againſt the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* and others, who had gone beyond Sea, to require them to return, under ſevere puniſhments: but tho it was agreed to by the Lords, yet, upon a diviſion of the Houſe of Commons, it was carried in the Negative. The greateſt and wealthieſt of thoſe who favoured the Reformation, ſeeing in how ill a condition they muſt be in, if they ſtayed in *England*, vvere gone beyond Sea: ſo it was now endeavoured to force them to return, or to make them loſe their Eſtates: but the Commons thought they had already conſented to too ſevere Laws againſt them, and therefore would add no more. The Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* had been perſecuted while ſhe was in the *Netherlands*, but narrowly eſcaped. Another Bill was put in, for the incapacitating of ſeveral Perſons from being Juſtices of Peace; but was caſt out by the Commons at the firſt reading. This was chiefly againſt ſuch as were ſuſpected of remiſsneſs in the proſecuting of Hereticks: but the Commons would do nothing to encourage that; nor was it neceſſary, ſince it was in the Queen's power to leave out of the Commiſſion ſuch as ſhe excepted to: but it ſhewed the Zeal of ſome, who had a mind to recommend themſelves by ſuch motions.

An Act debarring one from the benefit of Clergy.

There vvas a Complaint put into the Houſe of Commons, by the Wife of one *Rufford* againſt *Bennet Smith*, vvho had hired two Perſons to kill her Huſband: and which, as the Act paſſed about it ſays, was one of the moſt deteſtable Murders that had ever been known in *England*. But *Smith* that had hired, and afterwards paid the Murderers, might by the Law claim, and have the benefit of Clergy. It is, and hath been, an ancient cuſtom in this Nation, that for ſome Crimes, thoſe who can read, are not to ſuffer Death. This was at firſt done vvith a declaration, that either they had vowed, or vvere then reſolved to enter into Orders; vvhich vvas the cauſe that no *Bigami*, that is, none that had been twice married, or ſuch as married Widows, vvere capable of it; becauſe ſuch could not receive Orders: and the Reading vvas only to ſhew that they vvere in ſome ſort qualified for Orders: tho aftervvards, the Reading, without any ſuch Vow or Promiſe, was all that was required, to give one the benefit of Clergy. This was granted as an Appendix of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity; for the Churchmen were not ſatisfied that their own Perſons ſhould be exempted from puniſhment, but would needs have all that reſolved to come among them, be likewiſe preſerved from the puniſhment due to thoſe Crimes, which they had formerly committed. So *Rufford*'s Wife petitioning, that *Smith* might by Act of Parliament be debarred that benefit; they ſent her to the Queen, to beg,

1555.

That ſhe would order *Smith* to be brought from the *Tower*, where he was then kept, to the Bar of their Houſe: which being done, the other Partners and Actors confeſſed all: and tho he at firſt denied, yet he afterwards confeſſed. So the Bill was ſent up by the Commons to the Lords, where it was much oppoſed by the Clergy; who would not conſent that any diminution ſhould be made of their ancient Privileges: but the heinouſneſs of the Fact wrought ſo much on the greater part, that it was paſſed; The Earls of *Arundel* and *Rutland*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, and *Briſtol*, the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Fitzwater*, and *Lumley*, proteſting. *Pates* was now Biſhop of *Worceſter*, upon *Heath's* tranſlation to *York*. He was (as ſome ſay) deſigned to be Biſhop of that See by King *Henry* upon *Latimer's* Reſignation; but being engaged in a correſpondence with the Pope and Cardinal *Pool*, he fled beyond Sea. But the truth is, that upon the Death of *Jerome de Ghinuci*, he was at *Rome* made Biſhop of *Worceſter* by the Pope, and was thereupon Attainted: But his Attainder had bin repealed by the former Parliament, and ſo he was reſtored to that See.

Sir *Anthony Kingſton* put in the Tower for his behaviour in the Houſe of Commons. *Ex Lib. Concil.*

On the 9th of *December* the Parliament was diſſolved. And the day following Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, who had bin a main Stickler in it, and had one day taken the Keyes of the Houſe from the Serjeant; which (it ſeems,) was not diſpleaſing to the major part of the Houſe, ſince they did nothing upon it; was ſent to the Tower: and that ſame day, (as it is in the Council Books,) the Biſhop of *Ely* delivered to the Lord *Treaſurer* the Popes Bull, confirming the King and Queens Title to *Ireland*; bearing date the 7th of *June*. *Kingſton* lay in the Tower till the 23d. of the month and then he ſubmitted, and asked pardon, and was diſcharged. But he was next year accuſed to have engaged in a Deſign with ſome others, to have robbed the Exchequer of 50000 lib. Whereupon ſix of them, *Udal*, *Throgmorton*, *Petham*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, and *White*, were Executed for Felony. What Evidence was brought againſt them I do not know. But *Kingſton* died on his way to *London*.

Card. *Pool* in Convocation makes Canons for Reforming the Clergy. *Rot. Pat.* 1ſt. Par. 3. *Reg.*

From the Parliament I turn next to the Convocation: where the Cardinal was now at more liberty, being delivered from *Gardiners* Jealouſies and Oppoſition. He obtained of the Queen on the 2d of *November* a Warrant under the great Seal, giving him Licence to hold a Synod. The Licence he had formerly taken out, is made mention of: and to avoid all ambiguities, which might ariſe from the Laws or Prerogatives of the Crown, ſhe authoriſed him to call that, or any other Synod after, and to decree what Canons he ſhould think fit: ſhe alſo authoriſed the Clergy, to meet, conſent to, and obey thoſe Canons, without any danger of the Law. This was thought ſafe on both ſides; both for preſerving the Rights of the Crown, and ſecuring the Clergy from being afterwards brought within the ſtatute of *Premunire*, as they had been upon their acknowledging Cardinal *Woolſeys* Legatine power. To this Convocation *Pool* propoſed a Book he had prepared, which was afterwards printed with the Title of *The Reformation of* England *by the Decree of Cardinal* Pool; and is now put into the Volumes of the Councils.

The Heads of *Pools* Reformation.

The firſt Decree is, that there ſhould be conſtantly a remembrance of the Reconciliation now made with *Rome*, in every Maſs: beſides, a Proceſſion, with other Solemnities, on the Anniverſary of it. He alſo confirmed the Conſtitutions of *Otho*, and *Otho bonus*, forbidding the reading of all Heretical Books ; and ſet forth the Catholick Faith, in the words of that Expoſition of it, which *P. Eugenius* ſent from the Council of *Florence* to thoſe of *Armenia.*

The 2d was, for the careful adminiſtring and preſerving of the Sacraments ; and for the puting away of all Feaſting in the Feſtivities of the Dedications of Churches.

The 3d exhorts the Biſhops to lay aſide all ſecular Cares, and give themſelves wholly to the Paſtoral Office; and to reſide in their Dioceſs, under the higheſt pains. Their Chanons are alſo required to reſide, and alſo other Clergy Men. All Pluralities of Benefices with Cure, are ſimply condemned: and thoſe who had more Benefices with cure, were required within two months to reſign all, but one : otherwiſe it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all.

The 4th is, that whereas the reſidence of Biſhops could not be of great uſe, unleſs they became truly Paſtors to their Flock ; which was chiefly done by their preaching the Word of God; that had been, contrary to the Apoſtles Practice, much neglected by many : therefore he requires them to preach every Sunday or Holy day ; or if they were diſabled, to find other fit Perſons to do it. And they were alſo in private to inſtruct and exhort their People ; and all the other inferior Clergy; and to endeavour to perſwade them to the Catholick Faith ; or if need were, to uſe threatnings. And becauſe of the great want of good Preachers, the Cardinal declared he would take care there ſhould be Homilies ſet out, for the inſtruction of the Nation. In the mean while, every Biſhop was to be ſending ſuch as were more eminent in preaching, over their Dioceſs, thereby to ſupply the defects of the reſt.

The 5th is, about the lives of the Biſhops ; that they ſhould be moſt ſtrict and exemplary : that they ſhould lay aſide all Pride and Pomp ; ſhould not be clothed in Silk, nor have rich Furniture ; and have frugal Tables, not above three or four diſhes of Meat ; and even ſo many he rather allows, conſidering the preſent time, than approves : that at their Table the Scriptures, or other good Books, ſhould be read, mixed with pious diſcourſes : that they ſhould not have too great numbers of Servants or Horſes : but that this Parſimony might appear not to flow from Avarice, they were to lay out the reſt of their Revenues on the Poor, and for breeding young Scholars, and other works of Piety. All the ſame Rules he ſets to the inferior Clergy, with a due proportion to their Stations and Profits.

The 6th is, about giving Orders ; They were not to be raſhly given, but upon a ſtrict previous *Examen*. Every one that was to be Ordained, was to give in his Name a long time before, that there might be time to inquire carefully about him. The Biſhops were charged not to turn over the Examination upon others, and think their work was only to lay on their hands : but were to examine diligently themſelves, and not ſuperficially. And to call to their aſſiſtance ſuch as they knew to be pious and learned, and in whom they might confide.

The 7th was, about conferring Benefices, which in ſome ſort came alſo within that charge, *Lay hands ſuddenly on no Man.* They were to lay aſide all partialty in their choice, and ſeek out the moſt deſerving : and to make ſuch as they put in Benefices bind themſelves by Oath to reſide.

The 8th was, againſt giving the Advouſons of Benefices before they were vacant.

The 9th was about Simony.

The 10th againſt the Alienations of any of the Goods of the Church.

The 11th was,that in every Cathedral there ſhould be a Seminary for ſupplying the Dioceſs: of whom two Ranks were to be made; the one, of thoſe who learned Grammar; the other, of thoſe who were grown up, and were to be ordained *Acholyths*; and theſe were to be trained up in Study and Vertue, till they were fit to ſerve in the Church. And a Tax of the fourth peny was laid on the Clergy for their maintenance.

The 12th was about Viſitations.

Theſe were all finiſhed, agreed to, and publiſhed by him in *February* next Year.

Ex Manuſcr. Col. C.C. Cant.

In theſe Decrees mention is made of Homilies, which were intended to be publiſhed: and among Arch-Biſhop *Parker's* Papers, I find, the Scheme he had of them was thus laid: He deſigned four Books of Homilies. The firſt, of the controverted points, for preſerving the People from Error: The 2d. for the Expoſition of the Creed, and ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, the Salutation of the Virgin, and the Sacraments: The 3d. was to be for the Saints dayes, and the Sundays and Holy days of the year; for explaining the Epiſtles and Goſpels: and the fourth was concerning Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.

Pool's Deſigns for Reforming the Church.

By all theſe it may appear, how well tempered this Cardinal was. He never ſet on the Clergy to Perſecute Hereticks, but to reform themſelves: as well knowing, that a ſtrict exemplary Clergy can ſoon overcome all Oppoſition whatſoever, and bear down even truth it ſelf. For the common People are generally either ſo ignorant, or ſo diſtracted with other affairs, that they ſeldom enter into any exact diſcuſſion of ſpeculative points,that are diſputed among Divines: but take up things upon general notions and prejudices; and none have more influence on them, than the ſcandals or ſtrict lives of Church-men. So that *Pool*, intending to correct all thoſe, laid down good Rules, to amend their lives, to throw out thoſe crying ſcandals of Pluralities and Non-reſidence; to oblige Biſhops to be exact in their Examinations before Orders, and in conferring Benefices on the moſt deſerving, and not to be biaſſed by partial affections. In this laſt thing himſelf was a great Example. For tho he had an only Brother, (ſo I find him called in one of the Cardinals Commiſſions to him with ſome others, tho I believe he was a Baſtard Brother) *David*, that had continued all King *Henry's* time in his Arch-Deaconry of *Darby*; he, either to puniſh him for his former compliance, or to ſhew he had no mind to raiſe his kindred, did not advance him, till after he had been two years in *England*: and then he gave him only the Biſhoprick of *Peterborough*, one of the pooreſt of the Biſhopricks; which conſidering his nearneſs to the Crown, and high Birth, was a very ſmall preferment. But above all, that Deſign of his to have Seminaries in every Cathedral for the planting of the Dioceſs, ſhews what a wiſe proſpect he had of the right methods of recovering a Church, which was over-run, as he judged, with Hereſie. It was the ſame that *Cranmer* had formerly deſigned; but never took effect.

Certainly, Perſons formed from their Childhood, with others Notions, and another method of living, muſt be much better fitted for a holy Character, than thoſe that have lived in the pleaſures and follies of the world; who, unleſs a very extraordinary change is wrought in them, ſtill keep ſome of their old Cuſtoms about them, and ſo fall ſhort of that gravity and decency, that becomes ſo Spiritual a Function. 1555.

He ſhewed the weakneſs of his Spirit in one thing, that being againſt Cruel Proceedings with Hereticks, he did not more openly profeſs it: but both ſuffered the other Biſhops to go on, and even in *Canterbury*, now ſequeſtred in his hands, and ſoon after put under his care, he left thoſe poor men to the Cruelties of the brutal and fierce Popiſh Clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not Courage enough to contend with ſo haughty a Pope as *Paul* the 4th was: who thought of no other way of bearing down Hereſie, but by ſetting up the Inquiſition every where: ſo *Pool*, it ſeems, judged it ſufficient for him, not to act himſelf, nor to ſet on any; and thought he did enough, when he diſcouraged it in private; but yet he granted Commiſſions to the other Biſhops and Arch-Deacons to proceed againſt thoſe called Hereticks. He was not only afraid of being diſcharged of his Legation, and of loſing the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, which was now ready to fall upon him; but he feared to be ſent for to *Rome*, and cruelly uſed by the Pope, who remembred all the Quarrels he formerly had with any of the Cardinals, and put Card. *Merone* (that was *Pool's* great Friend) in Priſon, upon ſuſpicion of Hereſie. All theſe things prevailed with *Pool* to give way to the Perſecution; and it was thought, that he himſelf haſtned the Execution of *Cranmer*, longing to be inveſted with that See; which is the only perſonal blemiſh I find laid on him.

One remarkable thing of him was, his not liſtening to the Propoſition the Jeſuits made him, of bringing them into *England*. That Order had been ſet up about twelve years before this, and was in its firſt Inſtitution chiefly deſigned for propagating the Doctrines of that Church in Heretical or Infidel Countries; to which was afterwards added, the Education of Children. It was not eaſily allowed of at *Rome*, becauſe the Biſhops did univerſally complain of the great numbers of exempted Regulars; and therefore at firſt it was limited to a ſmall number; which Reſtriction was ſoon taken off. They, beſides the Vows of other Orders took one, for a blind and univerſal Obedience to the See of *Rome*: And becauſe they were much to be imployed, they were diſpenſed with, as to the hours of the Quire, which made them be called a Mungrel Order between the *Regulars* and *Seculars*. They have ſince that time, by their care in educating Youth, by their indefatigable Induſtry, and chiefly by their Accommodating Pennances, and all the other Rules of Religion, to the Humours and Inclinations of thoſe who confeſs their Sins to them, drawn almoſt all the World after them: and are raiſed now to that heighth both of Wealth and Power, that they are become the Objects of the Envy and Hatred of all the reſt of their own Church. They ſuggeſted to *Pool*, That whereas the Queen was reſtoring the Goods of the Church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpoſe to raiſe up the old Foundations; for the *Benedictine* Order was become rather a Clog than a Help to the Church: they therefore deſired that thoſe Houſes might be aſſigned to them, for maintaining Schools and

1555

Seminaries, which they ſhould ſet on quickly: and they did not doubt but by their dealing with the Conſciences of thoſe who were a dying, they ſhould ſoon recover the greateſt part of the Goods of the Church. The *Jeſuits* were out of meaſure offended with him, for not entertaining their Propoſition; which I gather from an *Italian Manuſcript* which my moſt worthy Friend Mr. *Crawford* found in *Venice*, when he was Chaplain there to Sir *Thomas Higgins*, his Majeſties Envoy to that Republick: but how it came that this motion was laid aſide, I am not able to judge.

Philpots Martyrdom.

There paſſed nothing elſe remarkable this Year, but that in the end of *November*, *John Web* a Gentleman, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke* were burnt all at at one Stake in *Canterbury*. And on the 18th of *December*, *Philpot*, that had diſputed in the Convocation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. He was, at the end of that meeting, put in Priſon for what he had ſaid in it; tho liberty of ſpeech had been promiſed; and the nature of the meeting did require it. He was kept long in the Stocks in the Biſhop of *London's* Coal-houſe, and many conferences were had with him, to perſwade him to change. By what *Bonner* ſaid in one of them, it appears that he hoped they ſhould be better uſed upon *Gardiners* death: for *Bonner* told him, he thought, becauſe the Lord Chancelour was dead, they would burn no more; but he ſhould ſoon find his Error, if he did not recant. He continued ſtedfaſt in his Perſwaſion, and pleaded that he had never ſpoken nor written againſt their Laws, ſince they were made, being all the while a Priſoner, except what he had ſaid in Conference with them; yet this prevailed not with *Bonner*, who had as little Juſtice as Mercy in his temper. On the 16th of *December* he was condemned, and delivered to the Sheriffs. He was at firſt laid in Irons, becauſe he was ſo poor that he could not fee the Jaylour; but next day theſe were by the Sheriffs order taken off. As he was led into *Smithfield* on the 18th, he kneeled down, and ſaid, *I will pay my Vows in thee O Smithfield.* When he was brought to the Stake, he ſaid, *Shall I diſdain to ſuffer at this Stake, ſince my Redeemer did not refuſe to ſuffer on the Croſs for me?* He repeated the 106*th*, 107*th*, and 108*th Pſalms*, and then fitted himſelf for the Fire, which conſumed him to Aſhes. So this Year ended, in which there were ſixty ſeven burnt for Religion; and of thoſe, four were Biſhops, and thirteen were Prieſts.

Forreign Affairs.

In *Germany* a Diet was held at *Ausburg*, where the Peace of *Germany* was fully ſetled: and it was decreed, that the Princes of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion ſhould have the free liberty of their Religion; and that every Prince might in his own State eſtabliſh what Religion he pleaſed; excepting only the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, who were to forfeit their Benefices if they turned. Thoſe of *Auſtria*, and *Ferdinand's* other Hereditary Dominions, deſired freedom for their Conſciences: but *Ferdinand* refuſed it; yet he appointed the Chalice to be given in the Sacrament. The Duke of *Bavaria* did the like in his Dominions. At all this the Pope was highly offended, and talked of depoſing *Ferdinand*. He had nothing ſo much in his mouth, as the Authority former Popes had exerciſed, in depoſing Princes at their pleaſure. He had ſworn to the Cardinals, before he was choſen, that he would make but four Cardinals in two Years; but he created ſeven within one half Year, and would not hear the Conſiſtory argue againſt it, or remember him of his Promiſe; but ſaid, his Power was abſolute, and could not be limited. One of theſe Cardinals was *Gropper* the Dean of *Colen*, a man of great Learning and Vertues, but inconſtant and fearful, as was ſhewn in the former Book: he refuſed to accept of that Dignity ſo generally ſought after in their Church; and was more eſteemed for rejecting it, than others were that had by their Ambition aſpired to it

Charles the 5th's Reſignation.

In the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, a memorable thing fell out; of which if I give a large account, I do not fear to be much cenſured by the Reader for it; eſpecially ſince it is not impertinent to this work, the King and Queen being ſo much concerned in it. It was, *Charles* the 5ths laying down, firſt ſome of his hereditary Dominions in *October* this year; and the reſt, with the Empire, not long after. He had now enjoyed, the one, forty years, and the other thirty ſix. He was much diſabled by the Gout, which had held him, almoſt conſtantly, for ſeveral years: he had been in the greateſt Fatigues that ever any Prince had undergone, ever ſince the 17th year of his age: he had gone, nine times into *Germany*, ſix times into *Spain*, ſeven times into *Italy*, four times into *France*; had been ten times in the *Netherlands*, had made two Expeditions into *Africk*, and been twice in *England*, and had croſſed the Seas eleven times. He had not only been a Conquerer in all his Warrs, but had taken a *Pope*, a King of *France*, and ſome Princes of *Germany*, Priſoners, beſides a vaſt acceſſion of Wealth and Empire from the *Weſt Indies*. But he now growing out of love with the Pomp and Greatneſs of the World, began to have more ſerious thoughts of another Life; which were much encreaſed in him by the anſwer one of his Captains gave him, when he deſired Leave to retire, and being asked the reaſon, ſaid, that between the affairs of the World, and the hour of death, there ought to be ſome interval. He found his fortune turned: his Deſigns in *Germany* were blaſted: In the Siege of *Mets*, he ſaw he could no more command Triumphs to wait on him; for though his Army conſiſted of 100000 Men, yet he was forced to raiſe his Siege with the loſs of 40000 Men: and though his Wars had been this year more ſucceſſful, both in *Italy* and *Flanders*, yet he thought he was too old to deal with the King of *France*. It was thought, his Son ſet this forward; who had left *England* in diſcontent; being weary both of His Queen, and of holding a titular Crown, only in her Right, being excluded from the Government. All theſe things concurring, made the Emperor in a ſolemn Aſſembly at *Bruſſels* on the 25th of *October* in the preſence of his Son, and *Maximilian* King of *Boheme*, and of the Duke of *Savoy*, and his two Siſters the Queens Dowagers of *France* and *Hungary*, with a vaſt number of others of lower quality, firſt give his Son the Golden Fleece, and ſo reſign the headſhip of that Order to him; and then, the Dukedomes of *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*, and the other Provinces of the *Netherlands*. Two months after that, he reſigned all his other Hereditary Dominions: and the next year, he ſent a Reſignation of the Empire to the Diet, who thereupon did chooſe his Brother *Ferdinand* Emperor; to which the Pope made great exceptions; for he ſaid, the Reſignation ought to have been only to him, and that being made as

1556 it was, it was null; and upon that he would not acknowledge the new Emperor.

Charles ſtaid ſometime in *Flanders* in a private Houſe. For he left all his Palaces; and had but little company about him. It is ſaid, that when *Seld* his Brother's Secretary, being ſent to him, was leaving him once late at night, all the Candles on the Stairs being burnt out, and none waiting to light him down, the late Emperor would needs carry the Candle down after him: the other, as may be well imagined, being much confounded at it, the Emperor told him, He was now a private Man; and his Servants knowing there was nothing now to be had by attending, did not wait carefully. He bad him tell his Brother, what a change he had ſeen in him, and how vain a thing the attendance of Courtiers was; ſince he was ſo ſoon forſaken by his own Servants. He reſerved but 100000 Crowns a year for his own uſe: and ſixty Servants. But at his coming into *Spain*, he found even that ſmall Penſion was not readily payed; at which he was obſerved to be much diſpleaſed. He retired to a place in the Confines of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, which he had obſerved in his Hunting to be fit for a retreat, by reaſon of the pleaſantneſs of the Situation, and the temperatneſs of the Air: and there he had ordered a little Appartment of ſeven Rooms fourteen foot ſquare, to be built for him. He kept only twelve ſervants about himſelf and ſent the reſt to ſtay in the neighbouring Towns.

He gave himſelf at firſt much to mechanical Curioſities, and had great varieties of Clocks, and ſome other motions, which ſurpriſed the ignorant Monks, who were afraid they were the performances of Magick; eſpecially his Machines of Birds of wood that did fly out and come back, and the repreſentations of Armies, that by Springs engaged and fought. He alſo deſigned that great work of carrying the *Tago* up a Hill near *Toledo*; which was afterwards done at a vaſt charge. He gave himſelf to Gardening, and uſed to Graft and Imp with his own hand; and keeping but one Horſe, rid abroad ſome times, attended only by one Footman.

The making of Clocks was not then ſo perfect, as it is ſince: ſo that he could never bring his Clocks to ſtrike in the ſame minute: and he uſed upon that to ſay, he ſaw the Folly of endeavouring to bring all Men to be of the ſame mind in Religion, ſince he could not bring Machines to agree exactly.

He ſet himſelf alſo much to ſtudy; and in the ſecond year of his retirement, went oftener to the Chappel, and to the Sacrament, than he had done at firſt: He uſed alſo to Diſcipline himſelf, with a Cord, which, after his death, having ſome marks of the ſeverity he had put himſelf to, was laid up among his Sons chiefeſt Rarities. But amidſt all this, it was believed he became in moſt points to be of the belief of the Proteſtants, before he died: and as his Confeſſor was burnt afterwards for Hereſie, ſo *Miranda* the Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo*, who uſed to come often to him, was upon the ſame ſuſpitions kept long in Priſon. Near the end of two years, at the Aniverſary of his Mothers Funeral, who had died but a few years before, having lived long mad; he took a conceit, that he would ſee an *Obit* made for himſelf, and would have his own Funeral Rites performed; to which he came himſelf with the reſt of the Monks, and prayed moſt devoutly for the Reſt of his own Soul; which ſet all the Company on weeping. Two days after, he ſickned of a Feaver, of which he died on the 21ſt of *September* 1558. A rare and great inſtance of a mind ſurfeited with the Pomps and Glories of the World, ſeeking for that Quiet in retirement, which he had long in vain ſearched after in Palaces and Camps.

Cranmer's Tryal.

And now I return to the Affairs of *England.* The 21ſt of *March* was *Cranmer* brought to the end of all his Afflictions, and received his Crown. On the 12 of *September* the former year, *Brooks* Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, came to *Oxford*, as the Popes Subdelegate: and *Martin*, and *Story*, Commiſſioners from the King and Queen, ſate with him in St. *Maries*, to judge him. When he appeared before them, he payed a low reverence to them that ſate in the King and Queen's Name: but would give none to *Brooks*, ſince he ſate by an Authority from the Pope, to which he would pay no reſpect. Then *Brooks* made a long Speech, to ſet forth his Apoſtacy and Hereſy, his Incontinence, and finally his Treaſon; and exhorted him to repent: and inſinuated to him great hopes of being reſtored to his See upon it. After this, *Martin* made a Speech of the difference between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Authority.

When they had done, *Cranmer* firſt kneeled down, and ſaid the Lord's Prayer; next he repeated the Apoſtles Creed: then he told them he would never acknowledge the Biſhop of *Room's* Authority; he owned his Allegiance to the Crown, according to the Oath he had often ſworn; and the ſubmitting to the Pope was directly contrary to that: he could not ſerve two Maſters. He ſaid, the Biſhops of *Rome* not only ſet up Pretenſions that were contrary to the Power of Princes, but they had alſo made Laws contrary to thoſe made by God: inſtancing it in the Worſhip of an unknown Tongue, the denying the Chalice to the People, the pretending to diſpoſe of Crowns, and exalting themſelves above every Creature; which ſhewed them not to be the Vicars of Chriſt, but to be Antichriſts, ſince all theſe things were manifeſtly contrary to the Doctrin of Chriſt, that was delivered in the Goſpel. He remembred *Brooks*, that he had ſworn to the King's Supremacy. *Brooks* ſaid, it was to K. *Henry* the 8th, and that *Cranmer* had made him ſwear it. To which *Cranmer* replied, that he did him wrong in that; for it was done in his Predeceſſor *Warham's* time, who had aſſerted the King's Supremacy; and it was alſo ſent to be diſcuſſed in the Univerſities, and they had ſet their Hands and Seals to it; and that *Brooks*, being then a Doctor, had ſigned it with the reſt: ſo that all this being done before he came to be Arch-Biſhop, it ought not to be called his deed.

After this, *Story* made another Speech, of the Authority of the Church; magnifying the See of *Rome*, and enlarging on thoſe Arguments commonly inſiſted on; and deſired *Brooks* would put *Cranmer* to make a plain Anſwer, and cut off all Debates. Then followed a long Diſcourſe between *Martin* and *Cranmer*: in which *Martin* objected, that he had once ſworn to the Pope when he was conſecrated, but that aſpiring to be Archbiſhop, he had changed his mind in compliance to King *Henry*; That he had condemned *Lambert* of Hereſy, for denying the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and afterwards turned to that himſelf. To all this *Cranmer* anſwered, pretending that never man came more unwil-

1556. lingly into a Biſhoprick than he did to his. That he was ſo far from having aſpired to it, that tho the King had ſent one poſt to him, to come over to be conſecrated, he being then in *Germany*; yet he had delayed his Journey ſeven weeks, hoping that in all that time the King might have forgot him: That at his Conſecration he publickly explained his meaning in what ſenſe he ſwore to the Pope, ſo that he did not act deceitfully in that particular: And that when he condemned *Lambert*, he did then believe the Corporal Preſence; which he continued to do, till Dr. *Ridley* ſhewed him ſuch Reaſons and Authorities as perſwaded him to change his Mind, and then he was not aſhamed to retract his former Opinion. Then they objected his having been twice married, his keeping his Wife ſecretly in King *Henry*'s time, and openly in King *Edward*'s Reign; his ſetting out Heretical Books and Articles, and compelling others to ſubſcribe them: his forſaking the Catholick Church, and denying Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and diſputing againſt it ſo publickly lately at *Oxford*. He confeſſed his living in Marriage, and that he thought it was lawful for all Men to marry; and that it was certainly better to do ſo, than to lie with other Mens Wives, as many Prieſts did: He confeſſed all the other Articles; only he ſaid, he had never forced any to ſubſcribe.

After this, *Brooks* made a long Speech to him, with many of the common Arguments concerning the Pope's Power, and the Preſence in the Sacrament: to which *Cranmer* made another large Anſwer. Then many Witneſſes were examined upon the Points they had heard *Cranmer* defend in the Schools; and in concluſion they cited him to appear before the Pope within eighty days, to anſwer for all thoſe things which were now objected to him. He ſaid, he would do it moſt willingly, if the King and Queen would ſend him: but he could not go, if he were ſtill detained a Priſoner.

After this he was ſent back to Priſon, where he lay till the 14th of *February* this Year: and then *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were ſent down to degrade him. *Bonner* deſired this Imployment, as a pleaſant Revenge on *Cranmer*, who had before deprived him: but it was forced on the other, who had lived in great friendſhip with *Cranmer* formerly, and was a gentle and good natur'd Man, but very inconſtant and apt to change. They had *Cranmer* brought before them, and then they cauſed to read their Commiſſion, which declared him *Contumax* for not coming to *Rome*, and required them to degrade him. They clothed him in Pontifical Robes, a Miter and the other Garments, with a Croſier in his hand: but the Robes were made of Canvaſs, to make him ſhew more ridiculous in them. Then *Bonner* made a Speech full of Jeers; *This is the Man that deſpiſed the Pope, and is now judged by him: This is the Man that pulled down Churches, and is now judged in a Church: This is the Man that contemned the Sacrament, and is now condemned before it:* with other ſuch Expreſſions, at which *Thirleby* was much offended, and pulled him oft by the Sleeve, deſiring him to make an end: and challenged him afterwards, that he had broke the Promiſe he had made to him before, of treating him with reſpect. And he was obſerved to weep much all the while: He proteſted to *Cranmer*, that it was the moſt ſorrowfull Action of his whole Life, and acknowledged the great Love and Friendſhip that had been between them; and that no Earthly Conſideration,

1556.

but the Queen's Command, could have induced him to come, and do what they were then about: He ſhed ſo many Tears, that oft he ſtopt, and could not go on in his diſcourſe for the abundance of them. But *Cranmer* ſaid, his Degradation was no trouble to him at all; he reckoned himſelf as long ago cut off from all dependance and communion with the See *Rome*; ſo their doing it now with ſo much Pageantry did not much affect him: only he put in an Appeal from the Pope, to the next free General Council: he ſaid, he was cited to *Rome*, but all the while kept a Priſoner; ſo there was no reaſon to proceed againſt him in his abſence, ſince he was willing to have gone thither and defended his Doctrine: he alſo denied any authority the Pope had over him, or in *England*: and therefore appealed from his Sentence. But notwithſtanding that, he was degraded, and all that ludicrous Attire was taken, piece after piece, from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, which are in uſe in the Church of *Rome*.

He is degraded.

But there were new Engines contrived againſt him. Many had been ſent to confer with him, both Engliſh and Spaniſh Divines, to perſwade him to recant: he was put in hopes of Life and Preferment again, and removed out of Priſon to the Dean's Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*; where all the Arguments that could be invented, were made uſe of to turn him from his former perſwaſion: And, in concluſion, as St. *Peter* himſelf had with Curſes denied his Saviour, ſo he who had reſiſted now almoſt three years, was at laſt overcome; and human infirmity, the fears of Death, and the hopes that were given him, prevailed with him to ſet his Hand to a Paper, renouncing all the Errors of *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy, the ſeven Sacraments, the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt, Purgatory, Prayer for departed Souls, the Invocation of Saints; to which was added, his being ſorry for his former Errors; and concluded, exhorting all that had been deceived by his Example or Doctrine, to return to the unity of the Church: and proteſting that he had ſigned it willingly, only for the diſcharge of his own Conſcience.

He recants.

Fox, and other later Writers from him, have ſaid, that one reaſon of this Compliance, was, that he might have time to finiſh his Anſwer to *Gardiner*'s Book, againſt that which he had written concerning the Sacrament: and *Fox* has printed the Letter which he avouches to prove this by. But the good Man (it ſeems) read the Letter very careleſly; for *Cranmer* ſays no ſuch thing in it; but only, that he had appealed to the next General Council, to try if that could procure him a longer delay, in which he might have time to finiſh his Book: and between theſe two, there is a great difference. How long this was ſigned before his Execution, I find it no where marked, for there is no Date put to his Subſcription.

Cranmer's Recantation was preſently printed, and occaſioned almoſt equally great, Inſultings on the one hand, and Dejection on the other. But the Queen was not at all wrought on by it: and was now forced to diſcover that her private Reſentments governed her in this matter; which before ſhe had diſowned. She was reſolved he ſhould be made a Sacrifice, for giving the Judgment of Divorce in her Mother's Marriage; and tho hitherto ſhe had pretended only Zeal for Religion, yet now when that could be no more alleaged, yet ſhe perſiſted in her Reſolution of having him burnt: She ſaid, ſince he had bin the great Pro-

1556 moter of Hereſy that had corrupted the whole Nation; that muſt not ſerve his turn, which would be ſufficient in other caſes: It was good for his own Soul, and might do good to others, that he repented; but yet ſhe ordered the Sentence to be executed. The Writ went out the 24th Coll.Num.28. of *February*, which will be found in the *Collection*. *Heath* took care, not only to enroll the Writ, but the Warrant ſent to him for iſſuing it, which is not ordinary. It's like he did it, to leave it on Record to Poſterity, that he did it not in courſe, as he did other Writs, but had a ſpecial Order from the Queen for it. The long time that paſſed between the date of the Writ, and the execution of it, makes it probable that he made the formerly mentioned Recantation, after the Writ was brought down; and that the fears of Death, then before his Eyes, did ſo far work on him, that he ſigned the Writing: but when the ſecond Order was ſent down to execute the former, he was dealt with to renew his Subſcription, and then to write the whole over again, which he alſo did; all this time being under ſome ſmall hopes of Life: but conceiving likewiſe ſome jealouſies that they might burn him, he writ ſecretly a Paper, containing a ſincere Confeſſion of his Faith, ſuch as flowed from his Conſcience, and not from his weak fears; and being brought out, he carried that along with him. He was carried to *S. Maries*, and ſet on a place raiſed higher for him to be more conſpicuouſly ſeen. *Cole* Provoſt of *Eaton* preached: he ran out in his Sermon on the Mercy and Juſtice of God, which two Attributes do not oppoſe or juſtle out one another: he applied this to Princes that were Gods on Earth, who muſt be juſt, as well as mercifull; and therefore they had appointed *Cranmer* that day to ſuffer: he ſaid it was he that had diſſolved the Marriage between the Queen's Father and Mother, had driven out the Pope's Authority, had been the fountain of all the Hereſies in *England*; and ſince the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Tho. More* had ſuffered for the Church, it was meet that others ſhould ſuffer for Hereſy: and as the Duke of *Northumberland* had ſuffered in *More*'s room, ſo there was no other Clergyman that was equal or fit to be ballanced with *Fiſher* but he. Then he turned to *Cranmer*, and magnified his Converſion, which he ſaid was the immediate Hand of God; that none of their Arguments had done it, but the inward working of God's Spirit: He gave him great hopes of Heaven, and aſſured him there ſhould be Dirges and Maſſes ſaid for his Soul, in all the Churches in *Oxford*.

All this while *Cranmer* expreſſed great inward confuſion, lifting up his Eyes often to Heaven, and then letting them fall downward, as one aſhamed of himſelf; and he often poured out floods of tears. In the end, when *Cole* bid him declare his Faith; he firſt prayed, with many moving expreſſions of deep remorſe and inward horror: Then he made his Exhortation to the People, Firſt, “ Not to love or ſet their hearts on the “ things of the World: to obey the King and Queen out of conſcience “ to God: to live in mutual Love: and to relieve the Poor according “ to their abundance. Then he came to that, on which, he ſaid, all his “ paſt Life, and that which was to come, did hang; being now to enter “ either into the joys of Heaven, or the pains of Hell. He repeated the “ Apoſtles Creed, and declared his belief of the Scriptures; and then “ he ſpake to that, which he ſaid troubled his Conſcience, more than any “ thing he had ever done in his whole Life: which was, the ſubſcribing “ a Paper contrary to the Truth, and againſt his Conſcience, out of the

“ fear of Death, and the love of Life: and when he came to the Fire, “ he was reſolved that Hand that had ſigned it, ſhould burn firſt. He “ rejected the Pope as Chriſt's enemy, and Antichriſt; and ſaid, he had “ the ſame belief of the Sacrament, which he had publiſhed in the Book “ he writ about it.

Upon this, there was a wonderful Confuſion in the Aſſembly: Thoſe who hoped to have gained a great Victory that day, ſeeing it turning another way, were in much diſorder: They called to him to diſſemble no more. He ſaid, he had ever loved Simplicity, and, before that time, had never diſſembled in his whole Life. And going on in his diſcourſe, with abundance of tears, they pulled him down, and led him away to the Stake, which was ſet in the ſame place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burnt. All the way the Prieſts upbraided him for his changing: but he was minding another thing.

He ſuffers Myrtyrdome with great conſtancy of Mind.

When he came to the Stake, he firſt prayed, and then undreſſed himſelf: and being tied to it, as the Fire was kindling, he ſtretched forth his Right-Hand towards the Flame; never moving it, ſave that once he wiped his Face with it, till it was burnt away: which was conſumed before the Fire reached his Body. He expreſſed no diſorder for the pain he was in: ſometimes ſaying, *that unworthy Hand!* and oft crying out, *Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit.* He was ſoon after quite burnt.

But it was no ſmall matter of Aſtoniſhment, to find his Heart entire, and not conſumed among the Aſhes: which tho the Reformed would not carry ſo far, as to make a Miracle of it, and a clear proof that his Heart had continued true, tho his Hand had erred; yet they objected it to the Papiſts, that it was certainly ſuch a thing, that if it had fallen out in any of their Church, they had made it a Miracle.

His Character.

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his days, in the ſixty ſeventh year of his Age. He was a Man raiſed of God for great Services; and well fitted for them. He was naturally of a milde and gentle temper, not ſoon heated, nor apt to give his Opinion raſhly of things, or perſons: and yet his Gentleneſs, tho it oft expoſed him to his Enemies, who took advantages from it to uſe him ill, knowing he would readily forgive them; did not lead him into ſuch a weakneſs of Spirit, as to conſent to every thing that was uppermoſt: for as he ſtood firmly againſt the ſix Articles in K. *Henry's* time, notwithſtanding all his heat for them; ſo he alſo oppoſed the Duke of *Somerſet* in the matter of the ſale and alienation of the Chantry Lands, and the Duke of *Northumberland* during his whole Government; and now reſiſted unto Blood: ſo that his meekneſs was really a vertue in him, and not a puſillanimity in his temper. He was a Man of great Candor. He never diſſembled his Opinion, nor diſowned his Friend: two rare qualities in that Age, in which there was a continued courſe of diſſimulation, almoſt in the whole Engliſh Clergy and Nation, they going backward and forward, as the Court turned. But this had got him that eſteem with King *Henry*, that it always preſerv'd him in his days. He knew, what Complaints ſoever were brought againſt him, he would freely tell him the truth: ſo inſtead of aſking it from other hands, he began at himſelf. He neither diſowned his eſteem of Queen *Anne*, nor his friendſhip to *Cromwel*, and the Duke of *Somerſet* in their misfortunes; but owned, he had the ſame thoughts of them in their loweſt Condition that he had in their greateſt State.

He being thus prepared by a candid and good nature, for the ſearches

1556. into Truth, added to theſe a moſt wonderful diligence: for he drew out of all the Authors that he read, every thing that was remarkable, digeſting theſe Quotations into Common-places. This begat in King *Henry* an admiration of him: for he had often tried it, to bid him bring the Opinions of the Fathers and Doctors upon ſeveral queſtions; which he commonly did, in two or three dayes time: This flowed from the copiouſneſs of his common place Books. He had a good judgment, but no great quickneſs of apprehenſion, nor cloſeneſs of Stile, which was diffuſed and unconnected: therefore when any thing was to be penned that required more Nerves, he made uſe of *Ridley*. He laid out all his Wealth on the poor, and pious uſes: He had Hoſpitals and Surgeons in his Houſe for the King's Seamen; He gave Penſions to many of thoſe that fled out of *Germany* into *England*; and kept up that which is Hoſpitality indeed at his Table, where great numbers of the honeſt and poor neighbours were always invited, inſtead of the Luxury and Extravagance of great Entertainments, which the vanity and exceſs of the Age we live in, has honoured with the name of Hoſpitality, to which too many are led by the Authority of Cuſtom to comply too far. He was ſo humble and affable, that he carried himſelf in all conditions at the ſame rate. His laſt Fall was the only blemiſh of his life; but he expiated it, with a ſincere repentance, and a patient Martyrdom. He had been the chief advancer of the Reformation in his Life; and God ſo ordered it, that his death ſhould bear a proportion to the former parts of his life, which was no ſmall Confirmation to all that received his Doctrine, when they heard how conſtantly he had at laſt ſealed it with his Blood. And tho it is not to be fancied that King *Henry* was a Prophet, yet he diſcovered ſuch things in *Cranmers* temper as made him conclude he was to die a Martyr for his Religion: and therefore he ordered him to change his Coat of Arms and to give *Pelicans* inſtead of *Cranes* which were formerly the Arms of his Family: Intimating withal, that as it is reported of the *Pelican*, that ſhe gives her Blood to feed her young ones; ſo he was to give his Blood for the good of the Church. That King's kindneſs to him ſubjected him too much to him: for great Obligations do often prove the greateſt ſnares to generous and noble minds. And he was ſo much over-born by his reſpects to him, and was ſo affected with King *Henry's* Death, that he never after that ſhaved his Beard, but let it grow to a great length: which I the rather mention, becauſe the Pictures that were afterwards made for him, being taken according to what he was at his Death, differ much from that which I have put in my former Volume. Thoſe who compared modern and ancient Times, found in him ſo many and excellent qualities, that they did not doubt to compare him to the greateſt of the Primitive Biſhops; not only to the *Chryſoſtomes*, *Ambroſes*, and *Auſtines*, but to the Fathers of the firſt Rate that immediately followed the Apoſtles, to the *Ignatius's*, *Policarps*, and *Cyprians*. And it ſeemed neceſſary that the Reformation of this Church, which was indeed nothing elſe but reſtoring of the Primitive and Apoſtolical Doctrine, ſhould have been chiefly carried on by a Man ſo eminent in all Primitive and Apoſtolical Vertues. And to thoſe who upbraided the Reformed with his Fall, it was anſwered, That *Liberius*, whom they ſo much magnify, had fallen as foully upon a much ſlighter Temptation, only out of a deſire to reenter to his See, from which he had been baniſhed, and that he perſiſted much longer in it.

1556.

Others ſuffered on the like account.

But now I ſhall give account of the reſt that were burnt this year. On the 27*th* of *Jan. Tho. Wirtle* a Prieſt, *Bartlet Green* a Gentleman, *Tho. Brown*, *John Tudſon*, and *John Went*, three Tradeſmen, *Iſabel Foſter*, and *Joan Warne*, having all been preſented becauſe they came not to Church; Articles were put to them, and upon their Anſwers they were all condemned, and burnt in *Smithfield* at the ſame Stake. And on the 31*ſt* of that Month, *John Lomas*, and four Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*. They were preſented, becauſe they came not to Confeſſion; whereupon Articles being given them, they were found guilty of Hereſie, and burnt in one Fire. In the beginning of *March* two Women were burnt at *Ipſwich*: Three Tradeſmen were burnt in *Salisbury* on the 24*th* of *March*. On the 29*th* of *April*, *Robert Drakes* a Prieſt, *William Tyms* a Deacon, and four Tradeſmen that were ſent out of *Eſſex*, becauſe they came not to Church, were condemned, and all burnt together in *Smithfield*. *John Hanpole*, and *Joan Booek*, were burnt at *Rocheſter* on the firſt of *April*: and on the ſecond *John Hallier* a Prieſt was burnt in *Canterbury*.

Six Tradeſmen were ſent up from *Colcheſter*: and the Biſhop of *London*, who had hitherto kept his Priſoners for ſome time to ſee if he could prevail with them, growing weary of that fruitleſs labour, and becoming by many Acts of cruelty leſs ſenſible of thoſe affections which belong to humane Nature, did without any more ado exhibit the Articles to them; and they anſwering in the way he accounted Hereſie, he gave them time to conſider if they would recant, till the Afternoon: but they continuing in the ſame mind, he condemned them, and ſent them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were all burnt in one Fire.

On the 15*th* of *May* he gave yet a more aſtoniſhing inſtance of his barbarity. *Laverock* an old Criple, a Man of ſixty eight years old, and *Jo. Ap-price* a blind Man, were upon the like account condemned, and burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford-le-bow*; they comforting one another, that they were now to be freed of their lameneſs, and blindneſs. The day after, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*: another blind Man, with a Tradeſman, were burnt at *Gloceſter* this Month. On the 21*ſt* of the Month three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*. On the 6*th* of *June* four Men were burnt at *Lewis* in *Suſſex*. Another was burnt there on the 20*th*, and one was burnt at *Leiceſter* on the 26*th*. But on the 27*th* of *June*, *Bonner* made an unheard of Execution of thirteen, whereof eleven were Men, and two Women, all burnt in one Fire in *Stratford-le-Bow*. He had condemned in all ſixteen, but, by what Interceſſion I do not know, three of them were preſerved by a Warrant from Cardinal *Pool*. It ſeems *Bonner* thought it not worth the while, to burn thoſe ſingly, and therefore ſent them in ſuch droves to the Stake: but whether the horror of this Action, or the diſcontent, becauſe the Cardinal had ſaved ſome of them, wrought on him, I know not; the latter being the more likely; he burnt no more till *April* next Year.

A ſtrange barbarity at Gernſey of burning a Child, born in the Fire.

The 30*th* of *June* three were burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*: On the 16*th* of *July* three Men were burnt at *Newberry*. But this *July* there was done in *Gernſey* an Act of as great inhumanity, as ever was recorded in any Age. A Mother and her two Daughters, were burnt at the ſame Stake; and one of them a married Woman, big with Child, when ſhe was in the Fire, the violence of it burſting her Belly, a Boy fell out into the

1556. Flame, that was ſnatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the reſt: but after they had a little conſulted about it, the Infant was thrown in again, and there was literally baptized with Fire. There were many Eye-witneſſes of this, who atteſted it afterwards in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when the matter was enquired into, and ſpecial care was taken to have full and evident Proofs of it. For indeed the Fact was ſo unnatural, that a Man muſt either be poſſeſſed with a very ill opinion of the Actors, or be well ſatisfied about the number and credibility of the Witneſſes, before he could believe it, But Lies and Forgeries are ſeldom made of Actions done in the Face of the Sun, and before ſo great an Aſſembly as was preſent at this. Therefore complaint being made of it to Queen *Elizabeth*, the Dean of *Garnſey* was put in Priſon for it; and afterwards, he, and nine more, that were all acceſſary to it, took out their Pardons. So merciful was the Government then, to pardon an Action of ſuch a monſtrous nature, becauſe done with ſome colour of Law; ſince, it was ſaid, the Mother was condemned to be burnt, and no exception was made of her Belly. On the 18*th* of *July* two Women and one Man were burnt at *Greenſtead*. On the firſt of *Auguſt Joan Waſt*, a blind Woman, was burnt at *Darby*. On the 8*th* of *September* one was burnt at *Briſtol*; and another in the ſame place on the 25*th* of that Month. On the 24*th* four were burnt at *Mayfield* in *Suſſex*. On the 27*th* a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Briſtol:* And on the 12*th* of *October* a Man was burnt at *Nottingham*. And thus ended the burning this Year: thoſe that ſuffered were in all eighty five. All theſe Perſons were preſented as ſuſpect of Hereſie, and were required to anſwer the Queſtions that the Biſhop put to them; which related to the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, or the Sacrifice of the Maſs: and upon the Anſwers they made, were condemned to the Fire: But none of them were accuſed of any violence committed on the Perſons of any Church-man, or of any affront put on their Religion; and all their Sufferings were meerly for their Conſcience; which they kept as private as they could: ſo that it rather appeared in their abſtaining from the Communion of a Church which, they thought, had corrupted the chief parts of Worſhip, than in any thing they had ſaid or done. It was an unuſual and an ungrateful thing to the *Engliſh* Nation, that is apt to compaſſionate all in miſery, to ſee four, five, ſix, ſeven, and once thirteen burning in one Fire: and the ſparing neither Sex nor Age, nor Blind nor Lame, but making havock of all equally, and above all, the barbarity of *Gernſey*, raiſed that horror in the whole Nation, that there ſeems ever ſince that time, ſuch an abhorrence to that Religion to be derived down from Father to Son, that it is no wonder an averſion ſo deeply rooted, and raiſed upon ſuch grounds, does upon every new provocation, or jealouſie of returning to it, break out in moſt violent and convulſive Symptoms.

The Reformation ſpreads for all the Perſecution.

But all thoſe Fires did not extinguiſh the Light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They ſpread it more, and kindled new heats in Mens minds: ſo that what they had read of the former Perſecutions under the Heathens, ſeemed to be now revived. This made thoſe who loved the Goſpel meet oft together, though the malice of their Enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and ſecrecy: yet there were ſometimes at their Meetings about 200. They were inſtructed and watched over by ſeveral faithful Shepherds, who were willing to hazard their Lives, in feeding this Flock committed to their care. The chief of theſe were *Scambler*, and *Bentham*, afterwards promoted by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Sees of *Peterborough*, and *Litchfield*: *Foule*, *Bernher*, and *Rough* a *Scotch-man*, that was afterwards condemned, and burnt by *Bonner*. There was alſo care taken, by their Friends beyond Sea, to ſupply them with good Books; which they ſent over to them for their inſtruction, and encouragement. Theſe that fled beyond Sea went at firſt for the moſt part to *France*, where, though they were well uſed, in oppoſition to the Queen, yet they could not have the free exerciſe of their Religion granted them: ſo they retired to *Geneva*, and *Zurick*, and *Arraw*, in *Switzerland*; and to *Strasburg*, and *Frankfort*, in the upper *Germany*; and to *Emden* in the lower. 1556.

The Troubles at *Frankfort* among the *Engliſh* there.

At *Frankfort* an unhappy difference fell in among ſome of them, who had uſed before the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and did afterwards comply with it, when they were in *England*, where it had Authority from the Law: yet they thought that being in Forreign Parts they ſhould rather accomodate their Worſhip to thoſe among whom they lived; ſo in ſtead of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, they uſed one near the *Geneva* and *French* Forms. Others thought, that when thoſe in *England* who had compiled their Liturgy, were now confirming what they had done with their Blood; and many more were ſuffering for it; it was an high contempt of them, and their ſufferings, to depart from theſe Forms. This contradiction raiſed that heat, that Dr. *Cox*, who lived in *Strasburg* with his Friend *Peter Martyr*, went thither; and being a Man of great reputation, procured an Order from the Senate, that the *Engliſh* Forms ſhould only be uſed in their Church. This diſſention, being once raiſed, went further than perhaps it was at firſt intended. For thoſe who at firſt liked the *Geneva* way better, that, being in Forreign Parts, they might all ſeem to be united in the ſame Forms; now began to quarrel with ſome things in the *Engliſh* Liturgy: and *Knox*, being a Man of a hot temper, engaged in this matter very warmly; and got his Friend *Calvin* to write ſomewhat ſharply of ſome things in the *Engliſh* Service. This made *Knox* and his Party leave *Frankfort*, and go to *Geneva*. *Knox* had alſo written indecently of the Emperor, which obliged the Senate of *Frankfort* to require him to be gone out of their Bounds. There fell in other Conteſts, about the cenſuring of offences; which ſome of the Congregation would not leave in the Hands of the Miniſters only, but would have it ſhared among the whole Congregation. Upon theſe matters there aroſe great debates, and many Papers were written on both ſides, to the great grief of *Parker* and others, who lived privately in *England*; and to the ſcandal of the ſtrangers, who were not a little offended to ſee a company of People fly out of their Country for their Conſciences, and in ſtead of ſpending their time in Faſting and Prayer for their perſecuted Brethren at home, to fall into ſuch quarrels about matters which, themſelves acknowledged, were not the Subſtantials of Religion, nor Points of Conſcience: in which certainly they began the Breach, who departed from that way of Worſhip, which they acknowledged was both lawful and good: but there followed too much animoſity on both ſides, which were the Seeds of all thoſe differences that have ſince diſtracted this Church.

1556. They who reflected on the Conteſts that the *Novatians* raiſed, both at *Rome*, and *Carthage*, in *Cyprians* time; and the Heats the *Donatiſts* brought into the *African* Churches, ſoon after the Perſecution was over; found ſomewhat parallel both to theſe Schiſms now during the Perſecution, and to thoſe afterwards raiſed when it was over.

Pool is made Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury.*

I now return to the Affairs of *England*. On the 22*d* of *March*, the very day after *Cranmer* was burnt, *Pool* was conſecrated Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* by the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Rocheſter*, and St. *Aſaph*. He had come over only a Cardinal Deacon; and was laſt Winter made a Prieſt, and now a Biſhop. It ſeems he had his *Conge d'Elire* with his Election, and his Bulls from *Rome*, already diſpatched before this time. The Pope did not know with what face to refuſe them, being preſſed by the Queen on his account, though he wanted only a colour to wreak his revenge on him; to which he gave vent upon the firſt opportunity that offered it ſelf. It ſeems, *Pool* thought it indecent to be conſecrated as long as *Cranmer* lived; yet his chooſing the next day for it, brought him under the ſuſpition of having procured his death: ſo that the words of *Elijah* to *Ahab* concerning *Naboth*, were applied to him, *Thou haſt killed and taken poſſeſſion.* On the 28*th* of that Month he came in State through *London*, to *Bow-Church*; where the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, and *Ely*, after the former had ſaid Maſs, put the Pall about him. This was a Device ſet up by Pope *Paſchall* the ſecond in the beginning of the twelfth Century, for the engaging of all Arch-biſhops to a more immediate dependance on that See: they being, after they took the Pall, to act as the Popes *Legates born*, (as the Phraſe was) of which it was the Enſign. But it was at the firſt admitted with great contradiction both by the Kings of *Sicily*, and *Poland*, the Arch-biſhops of *Palermo*, and *Gneſna*, being the firſt to whom they were ſent; all Men wondring at the novelty of the thing, and of the Oath which the Popes required of them at the delivery of it. This being put on *Pool*, he went into the Pulpit, and made a cold Sermon, about the Beginning, the Uſe, and the Matter of the *Pall*, without either Learning or Eloquence. The Subject could admit of no Learning; and for Eloquence, though in his younger days when he writ againſt King *Henry* his Stile was too luxuriant and florid, yet being afterwards ſenſible of his exceſs that way, he turned as much to the other Extream, and cutting off all the Ornaments of Speech, he brought his Stile to a flatneſs that had neither life nor beauty in it.

Some more Religious Houſes endowed.

All the Buſineſs of *England* this Year, was the raiſing of Religious Houſes. *Greenwich* was begun with laſt Year. The Queen alſo built a Houſe for the *Dominicans* in *Smithfield*, and another for the *Franciſcans*: and they being Begging Orders, theſe Endowments did not coſt much. At *Sion* near *Brainford* there had been a Religious Houſe of Women of the Order of St. *Bridget*. That Houſe was among the firſt that had been diſſolved by King *Henry* the eighth, as having harboured the Kings Enemies, and been Complices to the Buſineſs of the Maid of *Kent*. The Queen a-new Founded a Nunnery there. She alſo Founded a Houſe for the *Carthuſians* at *Sheen* near *Richmond*, in gratitude to that Order for their Sufferings upon her Mothers account. From theſe ſhe went to a greater Foundation, but that which coſt her leſs: for ſhe ſuppreſſed the Deanry, and the Cathedral of *Weſtminſter*; and in *September* this Year,

1556.

turned it into a Monaſtery; and made *Fecknam*, Dean of *Pauls*, the firſt Abbot of it. I have not met with her Foundation of it, which perhaps was razed out of the Records in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; for it is not enrolled among the other Patents of this Year. But on the 23*d* of *September*, ſhe gave Warrants for Penſions to be paid to the Prebends of *Weſtminſter*, till they were otherwiſe provided: and about that time *Fecknam* was declared Abbot; though the ſolemn Inſtallment of him, and fourteen other Monks with him, was not done till the 21*ſt* of *November*.

All the former Records concerning them are razed.

There had been many Searches and Diſcoveries made, in the former Reign, of great diſorders in theſe Houſes; and at the diſſolution of them many had made Confeſſion of their ill Lives, and groſs Superſtition; all which were laid up and Recorded in the Augmentation Office. There had been alſo in that ſtate of things, which they now called, The late Schiſm, many Profeſſions made by the Biſhops and Abbots, and other Religious Men, of their renouncing the Popes Authority, and acknowledging the Kings Supremacy: therefore it was moved, that all theſe ſhould be gathered together and deſtroyed. So on the 23*d* of *September*, there was a Commiſſion granted to *Bonner*, and *Cole*, (the new Dean “of *Pauls* in *Fecknams* room) and Dr. *Martin*, to ſearch all Regiſters; “to find out both the Profeſſions made againſt the Pope, and the Scruti“nies made in Abbies; which, as the Commiſſion that is in the *Collection* “ſets forth, tended to the ſubverſion of all good Religion and Religious “Houſes: Theſe they were to gather, and carry to the Cardinal, that “they might be diſpoſed of as the Queen ſhould give order. It is not upon Record how they executed this Commiſſion, but the effects of it appear in the great defectiveneſs of the Records, in many things of conſequence, which are razed and loſt. This was a new ſort of Expurgation, by which they intended to leave as few foot-ſteps to Poſterity, as they could, of what had been formerly done. Their care of their own credits led them to endeavour to ſuppreſs the many Declarations themſelves had formerly made, both againſt the See of *Rome*, the Monaſtick Orders, and many of the old Corruptions, which they had diſclaimed. But many things eſcaped their diligence; as may appear by what I have already Collected: and conſidering the pains they were at, in vitiating Regiſters, and deſtroying Records; I hope the Reader will not think it ſtrange, if he meets with many defects in this Work. In this Search, they not only took away what concerned themſelves, but every collateral thing that might inform or direct the following Ages how to imitate thoſe Precedents: and therefore, among other Writings, the Commiſſion that *Cromwell* had to be Vice-gerent was deſtroyed: but I have ſince that time met with it, in a Copy that was in the *Cotton* Library, which I have put in the *Collection*. How far this reſembled the endeavours that the Heathens uſed in the laſt and hoteſt Perſecution, to burn all the Regiſters of the Church, I leave to the Reader. The Abbey of *Weſtminſter* being thus ſet up, ſome of the Monks of *Glaſſenbury*, who were yet alive, were put into it. And all the reſt of the old Monks that had been turned out of *Glaſſenbury*, and who had not married ſince, were invited to return to this Monaſtery. They began to contrive how to raiſe their Abbey again, which was held the Ancienteſt, and was certainly the richeſt in *England*: and therefore they moved the Queen and the Cardi-

Collection Number 29.

Collection Number 30.

Endeavours to raiſe the Abbey of *Glaſſenbury*.

1556. Cardinal, that they might have the Houſe and Site reſtored and repaired, and they would by Labour and Huſbandry maintain themſelves; not doubting but the People of the Country would be ready to contribute liberally to their ſubſiſtence. The Queen and Cardinal liked the Propoſition well; ſo the Monks wrote to the Lord *Haſtings*, then Lord Chamberlain, to put the Queen in mind of it, and to follow the Buſineſs till it were brought to a good Iſſue; which would be a great Honour to the Memory of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* who lay there, whom they did heartily beſeech to pray to Chriſt for good ſucceſs to his Lordſhip. This Letter I have put in the *Collection* copied from the Original. What followed upon it, I cannot find. It is probable, the Monks of other Houſes made the like endeavours, and every one of them could find ſome rare thing belonging to their Houſe, which ſeemed to make it the more neceſſary to raiſe it ſpeedily. Theſe of St. *Albans* could ſay, the firſt Martyr of *England* lay in their Abbey: thoſe of St. *Edmundbury* had a King that was Martyred by the Heathen *Danes*: thoſe of *Battel* could ſay, they were Founded for the remembrance of *William* the Conquerors Victory, from whence the Queen derived her Crown: and thoſe of St. *Auſtins* in *Canterbury* had the Apoſtle of *England* laid in their Church. In ſhort, they were all in hopes to be ſpeedily reſtored. And though they were but few in Number, and to begin upon a ſmall Revenue, yet as ſoon as the belief of Purgatory was revived, they knew how to ſet up the old Trade a-new; which they could drive with the greater advantage; ſince they were to deal with the People by a new Motive, beſides the old ones formerly uſed, that it was Sacriledge to poſſeſs the Goods of the Church; of which it had been robbed by their Anceſtors. But in this it was neceſſary to advance ſlowly: ſince the Nobility and Gentry were much allarumed at it; and at the laſt Parliament, many had laid their Hands to their Swords in the Houſe of Commons, and ſaid they would not part with their Eſtates; but would defend them: yet ſome that hoped to gain more favour from the Queen, by ſuch compliance, did Found Chantries for Maſſes for their Souls. In the Records of the laſt Years of Queen *Maries* Reign, there are many Warrants granted by her for ſuch Endowments: for though the Statute of *Mortmain* was repealed; yet for greater ſecurity it was thought fit to take out ſuch Licenſes. This is all I find of our home Affairs this Year.

Collection Number 31.

Forreign Affairs. Forreign Affairs were brought to a quieter ſtate. For by the Mediation of *England*, a Truce for five Years was concluded between *France* and *Spain*: and the new King of *Spain* was inclined to obſerve it faithfully; that ſo he might be well ſetled in his Kingdoms, before he engaged in War: but the violent Pope broke all this. He was much offended with the Decree made at *Ausburg* for the liberty of Religion; and with *Ferdinand* for ordering the Chalice to be given to his Subjects; and chiefly, for his aſſuming the Title of Emperor without his approbation. Upon this laſt provocation the Pope ſent him word, that he would let him know, to his grief, how he had offended him. He came to talk in as haughty a Stile, as any of all his Predeceſſors had ever done; that he would change Kingdoms at his pleaſure. He boaſted that he had made *Ireland* a Kingdom: that all Princes were under his Feet, (and as he ſaid, that, he uſed to tread with his Feet againſt the ground;) and he would

The Pope is extravagantly inſolent.

allow no Prince to be his Companion, nor be too familiar with him: nay, rather than be driven to a mean Action, he would ſet the whole World on fire. But to pretend to do ſomewhat for a Reformation, he appointed a Congregation to gather ſome Rules for the condemning of Simony. Theſe he publiſhed, and ſaid, having now reformed his own Court, he would next reform the Courts of Princes: and becauſe they had complained much of the corruptions of the Clergy, and Court of *Rome*; he reſolved to turn the matter on them, and ſaid, he would gather all the abuſes that were in their Courts and reform them. But he was much provoked by an Embaſſy that came from *Poland*, to deſire of him, that they might have the Maſs in their own Tongue, and the Communion in both kinds; that their Prieſts might be allowed to marry, that they might pay Annates no more to *Rome*, and call a National Council in their own Kingdom. Theſe things put him out of all patience, and with all the bitterneſs he could uſe, he expreſſed how deteſtable they were to him. He then ſaid, he would hold a Council; not that he needed one, for himſelf was above all: but it ſhould never meet in *Trent*, to which it had been a vain thing to ſend about ſixty Biſhops of the leaſt able, and forty Doctors of the moſt inſufficient, as had been twice done already: that he would hold it in the *Lateran*, as many of his Predeceſſors had done: he gave notice of this to the Ambaſſadors of all Princes: he ſaid he did that only in curteſie, not intending to ask their advice or conſent, for he would be obeyed by them all. He intended in this Council to reform them and their Courts, and to diſcharge all Impoſitions which they had laid on the Clergy: and therefore he would call it whether they would or not, and if they ſent no Prelates to it, he would hold it with thoſe of his own Court: and would let the World ſee what the Authority of that See was, when it had a Pope of courage to govern it.

He breaks the Truce between *France* and *Spain*, abſolving the *French* King from his Oath.

But after all theſe Imperious humors of his, which ſometimes carried him to exceſſes, that ſeemed not much different from madneſs; he was heartily troubled at the Truce between the *French* and the *Spaniards*. He hates the *Spaniards* moſt, becauſe they ſupported the *Colonesi*, whom he deſigned to ruine. And therefore he ſent his Nephew into *France*, with a Sword and Hat which he had Conſecrated, to perſwade the King to break the Truce; offering his aſſiſtance for the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the uſe of one of the younger Sons of *France*: though it was believed he deſigned it for his own Nephew. He alſo ſent the *French* King an Abſolution from his Oath that he had ſworn for the maintaining of the Truce, and promiſed to create what Cardinals he pleaſed, that ſo he might be ſure of a Creature of his own to ſucceed in the Popedom. Yet the Pope diſſembled his deſign in this, ſo cloſely, that he perſwaded Sir *Edward Carn*, that was then the Queens Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that he deſired nothing ſo much as a general Peace: and he hoped, as the Queen had mediated in the Truce, ſhe would continue her endeavours till a perfect Peace were made. He ſaid, he had ſent two Legates to procure it; and ſince he was the Common Father of Chriſtendome, God would impute to him, even his ſilence in that matter, if he did not all he could to obtain it. He complained much of the growth of Hereſie in *Poland*, and in the King of the *Romans*'s Dominions. For the repreſſing of it, he ſaid, he intended to have a General Council: and in order to that it was neceſſary there ſhould be a Peace; ſince a

Truce

1556. Truce would not give ſufficient encouragement to thoſe who ought to come to the Council. He ſaid, he intended to be preſent at it himſelf, and to hold it in the Church of St. *John* in the *Lateran:* for he thought *Rome*, being the Common Country of all the World, was the meeteſt Place for ſuch an Aſſembly: and he, being ſo very old, could go no where out of *Rome*; therefore he was reſolved to hold it there. But he ſaid, he relied chiefly on the aſſiſtance of the Queen, whom he called, *That Bleſſed Queen, and his moſt Gracious and loving Daughter:* and holding her Letters in his Hand, he ſaid, they were ſo full of reſpect and kindneſs to him, that he would have them read in the Conſiſtory: and made a Croſs over her Subſcription. It was no wonder ſuch diſcourſes, with that way of deportment, deceived ſo honeſt and plain hearted a Man as *Caru* was; as it will appear from the Letter that he writ over upon this occaſion to the Queen, which I have put in the *Collection.* Collection Number 32. But it ſoon appeared on what deſign he had ſent his Legate to *France*; for he preſſed that King vehemently to break the Truce, and renew the War. To this the *French* King being perſwaded by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and Duke of *Guiſe*, conſented, though all the reſt about him diſſwaded him from ſuch a diſhonourable breach of Faith, or medling more in the War of *Italy*, which had been always fatal to their People. The *Coloneſi* had been furniſhed with aſſiſtance from *Naples*; upon which, the Pope had it propoſed in the Conſiſtory, that the King of *Spain*, by giving them aſſiſtance, had loſt his Territories: and being then aſſured of aſſiſtance from *France*, he began the War, impriſoning the Cardinals and Prelates of the *Spaniſh* Faction; and the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *England*; pretending they kept correſpondence with the *Coloneſi* that were Traitors. He alſo ſent to raiſe ſome Regiments among the *Griſons.* But when they came, ſome told him they were all Hereticks, and it would be a reproach for him to uſe ſuch Soldiers: he underſtanding they were good Troops, ſaid, He was confident God would convert them, and that he look'd on them as Angels ſent by God for the defence of his Perſon. Upon this breaking out of the Popes, the Duke of *Alva*, that was then in *Naples*, being himſelf much devoted to the Papacy, did very unwillingly engage in the War. He firſt uſed all ways to avoid it; and made ſeveral Proteſtations of the Indignities that his Maſter had received, and his unwillingneſs to enter into a War, with him that ſhould be the Common Father of Chriſtendome. But theſe being all to no purpoſe, he fell into *Campania*, and took all the Places in it, which he declared he held for the next Pope: he might alſo have taken *Rome* it ſelf, but the Reverence he had for the Papacy reſtrained him.

This being known in *England*, was a great grief to the Queen and Cardinal, who ſaw what advantages thoſe of the Reformation would take from the Popes abſolving Princes from the moſt Sacred Ties of Humane Societies; ſince the breach of Faith and publick Treaties was a thing abhorred by the moſt depraved Nations: and when he, who pretended to be the Vicar of Chriſt who was the Prince of Peace, was kindling a new Flame in Chriſtendome, theſe things were ſo ſcandalous, that they knew they would much obſtruct and diſorder all their deſigns. And indeed the Proteſtants every where were not wanting to improve this all they could. It ſeemed a ſtrange thing, that in the ſame Year, a great Conqueror that had ſpent his Life in Wars and Affairs, ſhould in the 56*th* Year of his Age retire to a Monaſtery: and that a Biſhop at eighty, who had pretended to ſuch abſtraction from the World that he had formerly quitted a Biſhoprick to retire into a Monaſtery, ſhould now raiſe ſuch a War, and ſet *Europe* again in a flame. 1556.

1557. In the beginning of the next Year was the Viſitation of the Univerſities. To *Cambridge Pool* ſent *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, his *Italian* Friend *Ormaneto*, with *Watſon*, and *Chriſtopherſon*, the two Elect Biſhops of *Lincoln*, and *Chicheſter*, (in the rooms of *White*, removed to *Wincheſter*; out of which *Pool* reſerved a Penſion of 1000 *l.* and of *Day* that was dead) with ſome others. When they came thither, on the 11*th* of *January* they put the Churches of St. *Maries* and St. *Michaels* under an Interdict; becauſe the Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius*, two Hereticks, were laid in them. The Univerſity Orator received them with a Speech, that was divided between an Invective againſt the Hereticks, and a Commendation of the Cardinal, who was then their Chancellor. They went through all the Colledges, and gathered many Heretical Books together, and obſerved the Order uſed in their Chappels. When they came to *Clare-Hall*, they found no Sacrament; *Ormaneto* asked the Head, *Swinburn*, how that came; he anſwered, The Chappel was not yet Conſecrated: Then *Ormaneto* chid him more for officiating ſo long in it; but trying him further, he found he had many Benefices in his Hands; for which he reproved him ſo ſeverely, that the poor Man was ſo confounded that he could anſwer nothing to the other Queſtions he put to him. But *Chriſtopherſon* himſelf, being Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge, did not eſcape. *Ormaneto* found, he had miſ-applied the Revenues of the Houſe, and had made a Leaſe of ſome of their Lands to his Brother-in-law below the value: *Ormaneto* tore the Leaſe to pieces, and chid him ſo ſharply, that he, fearing it might ſtop his preferment, fell ſick upon it.

The Viſitation of the Univerſities.

Then followed the Pageantry of burning the two Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius.* They were cited to appear, or if any would come in their Name, they were required to defend them: ſo after three Citations, the dead Bodies not riſing to ſpeak for themſelves, and none coming to plead for them, (for fear of being ſent after them) the Viſitors thought fit to proceed. On the 26*th* of *January* the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made a Speech, ſhewing the earneſtneſs of the Univerſity to have Juſtice done; to which they, the Commiſſioners, though moſt unwilling, were obliged to condeſcend: therefore, having examined many Witneſſes of the Hereſies that *Bucer* and *Fagius* had taught, they judged them obſtinate Hereticks; and appointed their Bodies to be taken out of the Holy Ground, and to be delivered to the Secular Power. The Writ being brought from *London*, on the 6*th* of *February* their Bodies were taken up, and carried in Coffins, and tied to Stakes, with many of their Books, and other Heretical Writings, and all were burnt together. *Pern* preached at it; who as he was that Year Vice-Chancellor, ſo he was in the ſame Office four years after this; when by Queen *Elizabeths* Order, publick Honours were done to the Memories of thoſe two learned Men; and Sermons and Speeches were made in their Praiſe: but *Pern* had turned ſo oft, and at every one was ſo zealous, that ſuch turnings came to be nicknamed from him. On the Feaſt of Purification, *Watſon* preached at *Cambridge*; where to extol the Rites and Proceſſions of the Catholicks,

1557. and their carrying Candles on that day, he ſaid, *Joſeph* and the Bleſſed Virgin had carried Wax Candles in Proceſſion that day, as the Church had ſtill continued to do from their Example: which was heard not without the laughter of many.

The Cardinal did alſo ſend *Ormanet*, and *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glocceſter*, with ſome others, to Viſit the Univerſity of *Oxford*. They went over all the Colledges as they had done at *Cambridge*; and burnt all the *Engliſh* Bibles, with ſuch other Heretical Books as could be found. Then they made a Proceſs againſt the Body of *Peter Martyrs* Wife, that lay buried in one of the Churches: but ſhe being a Forreigner that underſtood no *Engliſh*, they could not find Witneſſes that had heard her utter any Heretical Points; ſo they gave advertiſement of this to the Cardinal, who thereupon writ back, That ſince it was notoriouſly known, that ſhe had been a Nun, and had married contrary to her Vow, therefore her Body was to be taken up, and buried in a Dunghill, as a Perſon dying under Excommunication. This was accordingly done. But her Body was afterwards taken up again in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and mixed with St. *Fridiſwides* Bones, that ſhe might run the ſame Fortune with her in all Times coming.

Great Endeavours uſed to ſet forward the Perſecution moſt vigorouſly.

While theſe things were doing, there was great Complaints made, that the Inferior Magiſtrates grew every where ſlack in the ſearching after, and preſenting of Hereticks: they could not find in the Counties a ſufficient number of Juſtices of Peace, that would carefully look after it: and in Towns they were generally harboured. Letters were written to ſome Towns, as *Coventry*, and *Rye*, which are entred in the Council-Books, recommending ſome to be choſen their Majors, who were zealous Catholicks. It is probable that the like Letters might have been written to other Towns; for the Council-Books for this Reign are very imperfect and defective. But all this did not advance their deſign. The Queen underſtood that the Numbers of the Hereticks rather encreaſed than abated: ſo new Councils were to be taken. I find it ſaid, That ſome adviſed that Courts of Inquiſition, like thoſe in *Spain*, might be ſet up in *England*. In *Spain* the Inquiſitors, who were then all *Dominicans*, received private Informations; and upon theſe laid hold on any that were delated or ſuſpected of Hereſie; and kept them cloſe in their Priſons till they formed their Proceſſes: and by all the ways of torture they could invent, forced from them Confeſſions, either againſt themſelves, or others, whom they had a mind to draw within their Toils. They had ſo unlimited a Juriſdiction, that there was no Sanctuary that could ſecure any from their Warrants; nor could Princes preſerve or deliver Men out of their Hands: nor were their Priſoners brought to any publick Trial, but tried in ſecret: one of the Advocates of the Court, was for Forms ſake aſſigned to plead for them: but was always more careful to pleaſe the Court, than to ſave his Client. They proceeded againſt them, both by Articles, which they were to anſwer, and upon Preſumptions: and it was a rare thing for any to eſcape out of their Hands, unleſs they redeemed themſelves, either by great Preſents, or by the diſcovery of others. Theſe had been ſet up firſt in the County of *Tholouſe*, for the extirpation of the *Albigenſes*; and were afterwards brought into *Spain*, upon *Ferdinand* of *Arragons* driving the *Moors* out of it, that ſo, none of thoſe might any longer conceal themſelves in that Kingdom; who being a falſe and crafty ſort of Men, and certainly Enemies to the Government, it ſeemed neceſſary to uſe more than ordinary ſeverity to drive them out. But now thoſe Courts examined Men ſuſpected of Hereſie, as well as of *Mahometaniſme*; and had indeed effectually preſerved *Spain* from any change in Religion. This made the preſent Pope earneſt with all the Princes of Chriſtendome, to ſet up ſuch Courts in their Dominions; and *Philip* was ſo much of the ſame mind, that he reſolved to have them ſet up in *Flanders*; which gave the firſt Riſe to thoſe Wars, that followed afterwards there, and ended in the loſs of the ſeven Provinces. 1557.

A Deſign to ſet up the Inquiſition in *England.*

In *England* they made now in *February* a good ſtep towards it. For a Commiſſion was given to the Biſhops of *London*, and *Ely*, the Lord *North*, Secretary *Bourne*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, Sir *Edward Walgrave*, Sir *Nicholas Hare*, Sir *Tho. Pope*, Sir *Roger Cholmly*, Sir *Richard Read*, Sir *Tho. Stradling*, Sir *Rowland Hall*, and Serjeant *Raſtall*; *Cole* Dean of *Pauls*, *William Roper*, *Randulph Cholmley*, and *William Cook*, *Tho. Martin*, *John Story*, and *John Vaughan*, Doctors of the Law: "That ſince many falſe Rumors were publiſhed among the Sub-"jects, and many Heretical Opinions were alſo ſpread among them; "therefore they, or any three of them, were to enquire into thoſe, ei-"ther by Preſentments by Witneſſes, or any other politick way they could "deviſe: and to ſearch after all Hereſies; the Bringers in, the Sellers, or "Readers, of all Heretical Books: they were to examine, and puniſh, "all misbehaviours, or negligences, in any Church or Chappel; and to "try all Prieſts that did not preach of the Sacrament of the Altar; all "Perſons that did not hear Maſs, or come to their Pariſh-Church to Ser-"vice, that would not go in Proceſſions, or did not take Holy Bread, "or Holy Water: and if they found any that did obſtinately perſiſt in "ſuch Hereſies, they were to put them into the Hands of their Ordina-"ries, to be proceeded againſt according to the Laws: giving them full "Power to proceed, as their Diſcretions and Conſciences ſhould direct "them: and to uſe all ſuch means as they could invent, for the ſearching "of the Premiſſes: empow'ring them alſo to call before them ſuch Wit-"neſſes as they pleaſed, and to force them to make Oath of ſuch things "as might diſcover what they ſought after. This Commiſſion I have put in the *Collection.* It will ſhew how high they intended to raiſe the Perſecution, when a Power of ſuch a nature, was put into the Hands of any three of a number ſo ſelected. Beſides this, there were many ſubordinate Commiſſions iſſued out. This Commiſſion ſeems to have been granted the former Year, and only renewed now: for in the Rolls of that Year, I have met with many of thoſe ſubaltern Commiſſions, relating to this, as ſuperior to them. And on the eighth of *March* after this, a Commiſſion was given to the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop Suffragan of *Hull*, and divers others, to the ſame effect: but with this limitation, that if any thing appeared to them ſo intricate, that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the Biſhop of *London* and his Colleagues, who had a larger Commiſſion. So now, all was done that could be deviſed for extirpating of Hereſie, except Courts of Inquiſition had been ſet up; to which, whether this was not a previous ſtep to diſpoſe the Nation to it, the Reader may judge.

Collection Number 33.

1557.

Proceedings againſt the Hereticks.

I ſhall next give an account of the Burnings this Year. On the 15*th* of *January* ſix Men were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*; and at the ſame time, two were burnt at *Wye*, and two at *Aſhford*, that were condemned with the other ſix. Soon after the fore-mentioned Commiſſion, two and twenty were ſent up from *Colcheſter* to *London*: yet *Bonner*, though ſeldom guilty of ſuch gentleneſs, was content to diſcharge them. As they were led through *London*, the People did openly ſhew their affection to them, above a thouſand following them: *Bonner* upon this writ to the Cardinal, that he found they were obſtinate Hereticks; yet ſince he had been offended with him for his former Proceedings, he would do nothing till he knew his pleaſure. This Letter is to be found in *Fox*. But the Cardinal ſtopt him; and made ſome deal with the Priſoners to Sign a Paper, of their profeſſing that they believed that Chriſts Body and Blood was in the Sacrament; without any further explanation: and that they did ſubmit to the Catholick Church of Chriſt; and ſhould be faithful Subjects to the King and Queen, and be obedient to their Superiors both Spiritual and Temporal according to their duties. It is plain, this was ſo contrived, that they might have Signed it without either prevaricating or diſſembling their Opinions: for it is not ſaid, “That they were to be “ſubject to the Church of *Rome*, but to the Church of Chriſt: and “they were to be obedient to their Superiors according to their duties, which was a good reſerve for their Conſciences. I ſtand the longer on this, that it may appear how willing the Cardinal was to accept of any ſhew of ſubmiſſion from them, and to ſtop *Bonners* rage. Upon this, they were ſet at liberty. But *Bonner* got three Men and two Women preſented to him in *London* in *January*, and after he had allowed them a little more time than he had granted others, they ſtanding ſtill firm to their Faith, were burnt at *Smithfield* on the 12*th* of *April*. After that, *White*, the new Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, condemned three, who were burnt on the third of *May* in *Southwark*; one of theſe, *Stephen Gratwick*, being of the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*, appealed from him to his own Ordinary: whether he expected more favour from him, or did it only to gain time, I know not: but they brought in a Counterfeit, who was pretended to be the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, (as *Fox* has printed it from the account written with the Mans own Hand) and ſo condemned him. On the ſeventh of *May*, three were burnt a *Briſtol*. On the 18*th* of *June*, two Men, and five Women, were burnt at *Maidſton*: and on the 19*th*, three Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*; fourteen being thus in two days deſtroyed by *Thornton* and *Harpſfield*: in which it may ſeem ſtrange, that the Cardinal had leſs influence to ſtop the Proceedings in his own Dioceſs, than in *London*: but he was now under the Popes diſgrace, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn. On the 22*d* of *June*, ſix Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Lewis* in *Suſſex*, condemned by *White*; for *Chriſtopherſon*, Biſhop Elect of *Chicheſter*, was not yet conſecrated. On the 13*th* of *July* two were burnt at *Norwich*: On the ſecond of *Auguſt* ten were burnt at *Colcheſter*, ſix in the Morning, and four in the Afternoon: they were ſome of thoſe who had been formerly diſcharged by the Cardinals Orders; but the Prieſts in the Country complained, that the mercy ſhewed to them had occaſioned great diſorders among them; Hereticks and the favourers of them growing inſolent upon it; and thoſe who ſearched after them being diſheartned: ſo now, *Bonner* being under no more reſtraints from the Cardinal, new Complaints being made that they came not to Church, condemned them upon their Anſwers to the Articles, which he objected to them. 1557.

At this time one *George Eagle*, a Taylor, who uſed to go about from place to place, and to meet with thoſe who ſtood for the Reformation, where he prayed and diſcourſed with them about Religion; and from his indefatigable diligence was nicknamed *Trudge-over*, was taken near *Colcheſter*, and was condemned of Treaſon for gathering the Queens Subjects together; though it was not proved, that he had ever ſtirred them up to Rebellion; but did it only (as himſelf always proteſted) to encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt in the Faith: he ſuffered as a Traitor. On the fifth of *Auguſt* one was burnt at *Norwich*; and on the 20*th* a Man, and a Woman more, were burnt at *Rocheſter*: One was alſo burnt at *Litchfield* in *Auguſt*, but the day is not named.

The ſame Month, a Complaint was brought to the Council, of the Magiſtrates of *Briſtol*, that they came ſeldom to the Sermons at the Cathedral; ſo that the Dean and Chapter uſed to go to their Houſes in Proceſſion, with their Croſs carried before them, and to fetch them from thence: upon which, a Letter was written to them, requiring them to conform themſelves more willingly to the Orders of the Church, to frequent the Sermons, and go thither of their own accord. On the 17*th* of *September* three Men, and one Woman, were burnt at *Iſlington* near *London*: and on the ſame day two Women were burnt at *Colcheſter*. On the 20*th* a Man was burnt at *Northampton*: and in the ſame Month one was burnt at *Laxefield* in *Suffolk*. On the 23*d* a Woman was burnt at *Norwich*. There were ſeventeen burnt in the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*, about this time: one was a Prieſt, thirteen were Lay-men, and three Women: but the day is not marked. On the 18*th* of *November* three were burnt in *Smithfield*. On the 22*d* of *December John Rough* a *Scotchman* was burnt, whoſe ſuffering was on this occaſion. On the 12*th* of *December* there was a private Meeting of ſuch as continued to Worſhip God according to the Service ſet out by King *Edward*, at *Iſlington*; where he was to have adminiſtred the Sacrament, according to the Order of that Book. The new Inquiſitors had corrupted one of this Congregation to betray his Brethren; ſo that they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion. But *Rough* being a Stranger, it was conſidered by the Council whether he ſhould be tried as a Native. He had a Benefice in *Yorkſhire* in King *Edwards* days; ſo it was reſolved, and ſignified to the Biſhop of *London*, that he ſhould be proceeded againſt as a Subject. Thereupon *Bonner* objected to him, his condemning the Doctrine of the Church, and ſetting out the Hereſies of *Cranmer* and *Ridley* concerning the Sacrament, and his uſing the Service ſet out by King *Edward*; that he had lived much with thoſe who for their Hereſies had fled beyond Sea; that he had ſpoken reproachfully of the Pope and Cardinals, ſaying, That when he was at *Rome*, he had ſeen a Bull of the Popes that licenſed Stews, and a Cardinal riding openly with his Whore with him: with ſeveral other Articles. The greateſt part of them he confeſſed, and thereupon he, with a Woman that was one of the Congregation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. And thus ended the Burnings this Year; ſeventy nine in all being burnt.

1557.

The Lord *Stourton* hanged for Murder.

Theſe ſeverities againſt the Hereticks, made the Queen ſhew leſs pity to the Lord *Stourton*, than perhaps might have been otherwiſe expected. He had been all King *Edwards* time a moſt zealous Papiſt, and did conſtantly diſſent in Parliament from the Laws then made about Religion. But he had the former Year murdered one *Argill* and his Son, with whom he had been long at variance: and after he had knock'd them down with Clubs, and cut their Throats, he buried them fifteen Foot under ground, thinking thereby to conceal the Fact: but it breaking out, both he and four of his Servants were taken, and indicted for it. He was found guilty of Felony, and condemned to be hanged with his Servants, in *Wilt-ſhire*, where the Murder was committed. On the ſixth of *March* they were hanged at *Saliſbury*. All the difference that was made in their Deaths, being only thus, That whereas his Servants were hanged in common Halters, one of Silk was beſtowed on their Lord. It ſeemed an indecent thing, when they were proceeding ſo ſeverely againſt Men for their Opinions, to ſpare one that was guilty of ſo foul a Murder, killing both Father and Son at the ſame time. But it is ſtrange, that neither his Quality, nor his former zeal for Popery, could procure a change of the Sentence, from the more infamous way of hanging, to beheading; which had been generally uſed to Perſons of his Quality. It has been ſaid, and it paſſes for a Maxim of Law, That though in Judgments of Treaſon the King can order the Execution to be by cutting off the Head, ſince it being a part of the Sentence, that the Head ſhall be ſevered from the Body, the King may in that Caſe remit all the other parts of the Sentence except that; yet in Felonies the Sentence muſt be Executed in the way preſcribed by Law; and that if the King ſhould order beheading in ſtead of hanging, it would be Murder in the Sheriff, and thoſe that Execute it: So that in ſuch a Caſe they muſt have a Pardon under the Great Seal for killing a Man unlawfully. But this ſeems to be taken up without good Grounds, and againſt clear Precedents: For in the former Reign the Duke of *Somerſet*, though condemned for Felony, yet was beheaded. And in the Reign of King *Charles* the firſt, the Lord *Audley*, being likewiſe condemned for Felony, all the Judges delivered their Opinons, that the King might change the Execution from hanging to beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards queſtioned. So it ſeems the hanging the Lord *Stourton* flowed not from any ſcruple as to the Queens Power of doing it lawfully, but that on this occaſion ſhe reſolved to give a publick Demonſtration of her Juſtice and Horror at ſo cruel a Murder; and therefore ſhe left him to the Law, without taking any further care of him. On the laſt of *February* he was ſent from *London*, with a Letter to the Sheriff of *Wilt-ſhire*, to receive his Body, and execute the Sentence given againſt him, and his Servants; which was accordingly done, as has been already ſhewn. Upon this, the Papiſts took great advantage to commend the ſtrictneſs and impartiality of the Queens Juſtice; that would not ſpare ſo zealous a Catholick, when guilty of ſo foul a Murder. It was alſo ſaid, That the killing of Mens Bodies was a much leſs crime, than the killing of Souls, which was done by the Propagators of Hereſie; and therefore if the Queen did thus execute Juſtice on a Friend, for that which was a leſſer degree of Murder, they who were her Enemies, and guilty of higher Crimes, were to look for no mercy. Indeed, as the Poor Proteſtants looked for none, ſo they

1557.

they met with very little; but what the Cardinal ſhewed them: and he was now brought under trouble himſelf, for favouring them too much, it being that which the Pope made uſe of to cover his malice againſt him.

Now the War had again broken out between *France* and *Spain*, and the King ſtudied to engage the *Engliſh* to his aſſiſtance. The Queen had often complained to the *French* Court, that the Fugitives, who left her Kingdom, had been well entertained in *France*. She underſtood that the practiſes of *Wiat*, and of her other rebellious Subjects, were encouraged from thence: particularly of *Aſhton*, who went often between the two Kingdoms, and had made uſe of the Lady *Elizabeths* Name to raiſe Seditions, as will appear by a Letter, (that is in the *Collection*) which ſome of the Council writ to one that attended that Princeſs. She was indeed the more ſtrictly kept, and worſe uſed upon that occaſion. But beſides, it ſo happened, that this Year one *Stafford* had gone into *France*, and gathered ſome of the *Engliſh* Fugitives together, and with Money and Ships, that were ſecretly given him by that Court, had come and ſeized on the Caſtle of *Scarborough:* from whence he publiſhed a *Maniſeſto* againſt the Queen, that by bringing in the *Spaniards*, ſhe had fallen from her Right to the Kingdom; of which he declared himſelf Protector. The Earl of *Weſtmorland* took the Caſtle on the laſt of *April*, and *Stafford*, with three of his Complices, being taken, ſuffered as Traitors on the 28*th* of *May*. His coming out of *France* added much to the Jealouſie, though the *French* King diſowned that he had given him any aſſiſtance. But Dr. *Wotton*, who was then Ambaſſador there, reſolved to give the Queen a more certain diſcovery of the inclinations of the *French*, that ſo he might engage her in the War, as was deſired by *Philip:* He therefore cauſed a Nephew of his own to come out of *England*, whom when he had ſecretly inſtructed, he ordered him to deſire to be admitted to ſpeak with the *French* King; pretending that he was ſent from ſome that were diſcontented in *England*, and deſired the *French* Protection. But the King would not ſee him, till he had firſt ſpoken with the Conſtable. So *Wotton* was brought to the Conſtable, and *Melvill*, from whoſe Memoirs I draw this, was called to interpret. The young man firſt offered him the Service of many in *England*; that, partly upon the account of Religion, partly for the hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, were ready, if aſſiſted by *France*, to make ſtirs there. The Conſtable received and anſwered this but coldly; and ſaid, He did not ſee what Service they could do his Maſter in it. Upon which, he replied, They would put *Calais* into his Hands. The Conſtable not ſuſpecting a Trick, ſtarted at that, and ſhewed great joy at the Propoſition; but deſired to know, how it might be effected. Young *Wotton* told him, there were a thouſand Proteſtants in it, and gave him a long formal Project of the way of taking it: with which the Conſtable ſeemed pleaſed, and had much diſcourſe with him about it; he promiſed him great Rewards, and gave him directions how to proceed in the Deſign. So the Ambaſſador having found out what he had deſigned to diſcover, ſent his Nephew over to the Queen; who was thereupon ſatisfied, that the *French* were reſolved to begin with her, if they found an opportunity. Her Husband King *Philip* finding it was not ſo eaſie by Letters or Meſſages, to draw her into the War,

Collection Number 34.

The Queen becomes jealous of the *French*.

came

1557.

And denounces War.

The great defeat given the *French* at St. *Quintin.*

came over himſelf about the 20*th* of *May*, and ſtayed with her till the beginning of *July*. In that time he prevailed ſo far with her and the Council, that ſhe ſent over a Herauld with a formal Denunciation of War, who made it at *Rhemes*, where the King then was, on the ſeventh of *June*. Soon after ſhe ſent over 8000 Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, to joyn the *Spaniſh* Army, that conſiſting of near 50000 Men, ſate down before St. *Quintin*. The Conſtable was ſent to raiſe the Siege, with a great Force, and all the chief Nobility of *France*. When the two Armies were in view of one another, the Conſtable intended to draw back his Army; but by a miſtake in the way of it, they fell in ſome diſorder. The *Spaniards* upon that, falling on them, did, with the loſs only of fifty of their Men, gain an entire Victory: 2500 were killed on the Place; the whole Army was diſperſed, many of the firſt Quality were killed, the Conſtable with many others were taken Priſoners. The *French* King was in ſuch a conſternation upon it, that he knew not which way to turn himſelf. Now all the *French* curſed the Popes Counſels, for he had perſwaded their King to begin this War, and that with a manifeſt breach of his Faith. This Action loſt the Conſtable that great reputation, which he had acquired and preſerved in a courſe of much ſucceſs; and raiſed the credit of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was now ſent for in all haſt, to come with his Army out of *Italy*, for the preſervation of his own Country. *France* indeed was never in greater danger than at that time. For if King *Philip* had known how to have uſed his Succeſs, and marched on to *Paris*, he could have met with no reſiſtance. But he ſate down before St. *Quintins*, which *Coligny* kept out ſo long, till the firſt terror was over, that ſo great a Victory had raiſed: and then, as the *French* took Heart again, ſo the *Spaniards* grew leſs, as well in ſtrength as reputation, and the *Engliſh* finding themſelves not well uſed, returned home into their Country.

The Popes offended with Cadrinal *Pool.*

As ſoon as the Pope heard, that *England* had made War upon *France*, he was not a little inflamed with it: and his wrath was much heightned, when he heard of the defeat at St. *Quintins*; and that the Duke of *Guiſe* Army was recalled out of *Italy*; by which he was expoſed to the mercy of the *Spaniards*. He now ſaid openly, they might ſee how little Cardinal *Pool* regarded the Apoſtolick See, when he ſuffered the Queen to aſſiſt their Enemies, againſt their Friends. The Pope being thus incens'd againſt *Pool*, ſought all ways to be revenged of him. At firſt he made a Decree (in *May* this Year) for a General Revocation of all Legates and Nuntio's in the King of *Spains* Dominions; and among theſe, Cardinal *Pool* was mentioned with the reſt. But *Carne*, underſtanding this, went firſt to the Cardinals, and informed them what a prejudice it would be to their Religion, to recall the Cardinal, while things were yet in ſo unſetled a ſtate in *England*. Of this they were all very ſenſible, and deſired him to ſpeak to the Pope about it. So in an Audience he had of him, he deſired a Suſpenſion might be made of that Revocation. The Pope pretended he did it in General, in all the *Spaniſh* Dominions; yet he promiſed *Carne* to propoſe it to the Congregation of the Inquiſition, but he was reſolved not to recall it; and ſaid, it did not conſiſt with the Majeſty of the Place he ſate in, to revoke any part of a Decree which he had ſolemnly given. In the Congregation the Pope endeavoured to have got the Concurrence of the Cardinals, but

1557.

but they were unwilling to joyn in it. So he told *Carne*, that though he would recall no part of his Decree, yet he would give Orders that there ſhould be no Intimation made of it to Cardinal *Pool:* and that if the Queen writ to him to deſire his Continuance in *England*, it might be granted. He alſo let fall ſome words to *Carne* of his willingneſs to make Peace with King *Philip*; and indeed at that time he was much diſtaſted with the *French*. Of this *Carne* advertiſed the King, though he was then ſo much better acquainted with the Popes diſſimulation than formerly that he did not lay much weight on what he ſaid to him; as will appear by the diſpatch he made upon this occaſion, which is in the *Collection*. Whether the Queen did upon this write to the Pope or not, I do not know. It is probable ſhe did: for this matter lay aſleep till *September*; and then the Pope did not only recall *Pool*, but intended to deſtroy him. He did not know where to find a Perſon to ſet up againſt the Cardinal, ſince *Gardiner* was dead, and none of the other Biſhops in *England* were great enough, or ſure enough to him, to be raiſed to ſo high a Dignity. *Peito* the *Franciſcan* Friar ſeemed a Man of his own temper, becauſe he had railed againſt King *Henry* ſo boldly to his face: and he being choſen by the Queen to be her Confeſſor, was looked on as the fitteſt to be advanced. So the Pope wrote for him into *England*; and when he came to *Rome*, made him a Cardinal; and ſent over his Bulls; declaring that he recalled *Pools* Legatine Power, and required him to come to *Rome*, to anſwer for ſome Accuſations he had received of him, as a favourer of Hereticks. This might have perhaps been grounded on his diſcharging that Year ſo many delated of Hereſie, upon ſo ambiguous a ſubmiſſion as they had made. The Pope alſo wrote to the Queen, that he was to ſend over Cardinal *Peito* with full power, requiring her to receive him as the Legate of the Apoſtolick See. The Queen called for the Bulls, and according to the way formerly practiſed in *England*, and ſtill continued in *Spain*, when Bulls that were unacceptable were ſent over, ſhe ordered them to be laid up without opening them. It has been ſhewn in the former part, how Arch-biſhop *Chicheley*, when he was ſo proceeded againſt by Pope *Martin*, appealed to the next General Council; and ſome that deſired to ſee the Form of ſuch Appeals in thoſe Ages, have thought it an Omiſſion in me, that I had not publiſhed his Appeal in the Collection of Records, at the end of that Work: therefore upon this occaſion, I ſhall refer the Reader to it, which he will find in the *Collection*. But now, Cardinal *Pool* reſolved to behave himſelf with more ſubmiſſion. For though the Queen had ordered the Popes Breve to him, not to be delivered, yet of himſelf he laid down the Enſigns of his Legatine Power: and ſent *Ormaneto*, who had the Title of the Popes Datary, and was his Friend and Confident, to give an account of his whole behaviour in *England*; and to clear him of theſe Imputations of Hereſie. This he did, with ſo much ſubmiſſion, that he mollified the Pope: only he ſaid, that *Pool* ought not to have conſented to the Queens joyning in War with the Enemies of the Holy See. *Peito* had begun his Journey to *England:* but the Queen ſent him word, not to come over; otherwiſe ſhe would bring him, and all that owned his Authority, within the *Præmunire*. So he ſtopt in his Journey; and dying in *April* following, enjoyed but a ſhort while his new Dignity; together with the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*, to which the Pope had advanced him,

Collection Number 35.

And recalls his Legatine Power.

Collection Number 36.

The Queen refuſes to admit of Cardinal *Peito* the new Legate.

1557. clearly contrary to the old Law then in force againſt Proviſions from *Rome.*

This Storm againſt *Pool* went ſoon over, by the Peace that was made between *Philip* and the Pope, of which it will not be unpleaſant to give the Relation. The Duke of *Guiſe* having carried his Army out of *Italy*, the Duke of *Alva* marched towards *Rome*, and took and ſpoiled all Places on his way. When he came near *Rome*, all was in ſuch confuſion, that he might have eaſily taken it; but he made no aſſault. The Pope called the Cardinals together, and ſetting out the danger he was in, with many Tears, ſaid, he would undauntedly ſuffer Martyrdome: which they, who knew that the trouble he was in, flowed only from his reſtleſs ambition and fierceneſs, could ſcarce hear without laughter. The Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The Pope ſtood high on the Points of Honour; and would needs keep that entire, though he was forced to yield in the chief matters: he ſaid, rather than loſe one jot that was due to him, he would ſee the whole World ruined; pretending, it was not his own Honour, but Chriſts, that he ſought. In fine, the Duke of *Alva* was required by him to come to *Rome*, and on his Knees to ask pardon, for invading the Patrimony of the Church; and to receive Abſolution for himſelf, and his Maſter. He being ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the Papacy, and having got ſatisfaction in other things, conſented to this. So the Conqueror was brought to ask pardon, and the vain Pope received him, and gave him Abſolution, with as much haughtineſs and ſtate as if he had been his Priſoner. This was done on the 14*th* of *September*, and the news of it being brought into *England* on the 6*th* of *October:* Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, requiring them to come to St. *Pauls*, where high Maſs was to be ſaid, for the Peace now concluded between the Pope and the King, after which, Bonfires were ordered. One of the ſecret Articles of the Peace, was the reſtoring *Pool* to his Legatine Power.

A Peace made between the Pope and the King of *Spain*.

The beginnings of a War between *England* and *Scotland*.

War being now proclaimed between *England* and *France*, the *French* ſent to the *Scotiſh* Queen Regent, to engage *Scotland* in the War with *England.* Hereupon a Convention of the Eſtates was called. But in it there were two different Parties. Thoſe of the Clergy liked now the *Engliſh* Intereſt, as much as they had been formerly jealous of it; and ſo refuſed to engage in the War: ſince they were at Peace with *England.* They had alſo a ſecret diſlike to the Regent, for her kindneſs to the Heretical Lords. On the other hand, thoſe Lords were ready enough to gain the protection of the Regent, and the favour of *France*; and therefore were ready to enter into the War; hoping that thereby they ſhould have their Party made the ſtronger in *Scotland*, by the entertainment that the Queen Regent would be obliged to give to ſuch as ſhould fly out of *England*, for Religion. Yet the greater part of the Convention were againſt the War. The Queen Regent thought at leaſt to engage the Kingdom in a defenſive War, by forcing the *Engliſh* to begin with them. Therefore ſhe ſent *D'Oiſel*, who was in chief command, to fortifie *Aymouth*; which by the laſt Treaty with *England*, was to be unfortified. So the Governour of *Berwick* making Inroads into *Scotland* for the diſturbing of their Works; upon that, *D'Oiſel* began the War, and went into *England*; and beſieged *Warke* Caſtle. The *Scotiſh* Lords upon this, met at *Edenburgh*, and complained that *D'Oiſel* was engaging them in a War with *England*, without their conſent; and required him to return back, under pain of being declared an Enemy to the Nation: which he very unwillingly obeyed. But while he lay there, the Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent down with ſome Troops, to defend the Marches. There was only one Engagement between him and the *Kers*; but after a long diſpute, they were defeated, and many of them taken. The Queen Regent ſeeing her Authority was ſo little conſidered, writ to *France*, to haſten the Marriage of her Daughter to the Dolphin; for that he being thereupon inveſted with the Crown of *Scotland*, the *French* would become more abſolute. Upon this a Meſſage was ſent from *France* to a Convention of Eſtates that ſate in *December*, to let them know, that the Dolphin was now coming to be of Age, and therefore they deſired they would ſend over ſome, to treat about the Articles of the Marriage. They ſent the Arch-biſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who afterwards was Earl of *Murray*, the Earls of *Rothes*, and *Caſſils*, the Lord *Fleeming*; and the Provoſts of *Edenburgh* and *Mountroſe*; ſome of every Eſtate, that in the Name of the three Eſtates they might conclude that Treaty. 1557.

Theſe Wars coming upon *England*, when the Queens Treaſure was quite exhauſted, it was not eaſie to raiſe Money for carrying them on. They found ſuch a backwardneſs in the laſt Parliament, that they were afraid the ſupply from thence would not come eaſily, or at leaſt, that ſome favour would be deſired for the Hereticks. Therefore they tried firſt to raiſe Money by ſending Orders under the Privy Seal, for the borrowing of certain Sums. But though the Council writ many Letters, to ſet on thoſe Methods of getting Money; yet they being without, if not againſt Law, there was not much got this way: ſo that after all, it was found neceſſary to ſummon a Parliament, to aſſemble on the 20*th* of *January*. In the end of the Year the Queen had Advertiſements ſent her from the King, that he underſtood the *French* had a deſign on *Calais*; but ſhe, either for want of Money, or that ſhe thought the place ſecure in the Winter, did not ſend theſe Supplies that were neceſſary; and thus ended the Affairs of *England* this Year.

The Affairs of Germany.

In *Germany*, there was a Conference appointed, to bring matters of Religion to a fuller ſettlement. Twelve Papiſts and twelve Proteſtants were appointed to manage it. *Julius Pflugius*, that had drawn the *Interim*, being the chief of the Papiſts, moved, that they ſhould begin firſt with condemning the Hereſie of *Zuinglius*. *Melancthon*, upon that, ſaid it was prepoſterous to begin with the condemnation of errors, till they had firſt ſetled the Doctrines of Religion. Yet that which the Papiſts expected, followed upon this: for ſome of the fiercer *Lutherans*, being much ſet againſt the *Zuinglians*, agreed to it. This raiſed heats among themſelves, which made the Conference break up, without bringing things to any iſſue. Upon this occaſion, Men could not but ſee that Artifice of the *Roman* Church, which has been often uſed before and ſince, with too great ſucceſs. When they cannot bear down thoſe they call Hereticks with open force, their next way is to divide them among themſelves, and to engage them into Heats about thoſe leſſer matters, in which they differ; hoping that by thoſe animoſities their endeavours, which being united, would be dangerous to the common Enemy, may not only be broken, but directed one againſt another. This is well enough known

1557. to all the Reformed; and yet many of them are ſo far from conſidering it, that upon every new occaſion they are made uſe of to ſerve the ſame deſigns; never reflecting upon the advantages that have been formerly taken from ſuch contentions.

A Perſecution of Proteſtants in *France*.

In *France*, the number of the Proteſtants was now encreaſed much; and in *Paris*, in *September* this Year, there was a Meeting of about 200 of them in St. *Germains* to receive the Sacrament according to the way of *Geneva*: which being known to ſome of their Neighbours, they furniſhed themſelves with Stones to throw at them when they broke up their Meeting. So when it was late, as they went home, Stones were caſt at ſome of them: and the enraged Zealots forced the doors, and broke in upon the reſt. The Men, drawing their Swords, made their way through them, and moſt of them eſcaped: but 160 Women, with ſome few Men, delivered themſelves Priſoners to the Kings Officers that came to take them. Upon this there were publiſhed all the blackeſt calumnies that could be deviſed, of the looſe and promiſcuous embraces that had been in this Meeting: and ſo exactly had their Accuſers copied from what the Heathens had anciently charged on the Meetings of the Chriſtians, that it was ſaid, they found the Blood of a Child, whom they had Sacrificed and eaten among them. Theſe things were confidently told at Court, where none durſt contradict them, for fear of being judged a favourer of them. But afterwards there was printed an Apology for the Proteſtants. In it they gloried much, that the ſame falſe accuſations by which the Heathens had defamed the Primitive Chriſtians, were now caſt on them. Thoſe that were taken were proceeded againſt: Six Men and one Woman were burnt. It had gone further, if there had not come Envoys, both from the *German* Princes, and the Cantons of *Switzerland*, to interpoſe for them: upon which, ſince the King needed aſſiſtance in his Wars, eſpecially from the latter, the Proſecution was let fall. The Pope was much troubled, when he heard that the King would exerciſe no further ſeverity on the Hereticks: and though himſelf had hired them in his Wars, yet he ſaid, the Affairs of *France* could not ſucceed, as long as their King had ſo many Hereticks in his Army. That King had alſo made two Conſtitutions that gave the Pope great offence: the one, that Marriages made by Sons under thirty, and Daughters under twenty five, without their Fathers conſent, ſhould be void; the other was for charging the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices with a Tax, and requiring all Biſhops and Curates to reſide on their Benefices. So ſcandalous a thing was Non-reſidence then held, that every where the Papiſts were aſhamed of it. Upon which the Pope complained a-new, that the King preſumed to meddle with the Sacraments, and to tax the Clergy.

1558. *Calais* is beſieged.

The beginning of the next Year was famous for the loſs of *Calais*. The Lord *Wentworth* had then the command of it; but the Garriſon conſiſted only of 500 Men; and there were not above 200 of the Townſmen, that could be ſerviceable in a Siege. The Duke of *Guiſe*, having brought his Army out of *Piedmont*, was now in *France*, and being deſirous, when the Conſtable was a Priſoner, to do ſome great Action which might raiſe him in reputation above the other, who was his only Competitor in *France*, ſet his thoughts on *Calais*, and the Territory about it. There were two Forts on which the ſecurity of the Town depended. The one *Newnambridge*, a Mile from it, that commanded the Avenues to it from the Land; from which to the Town there was a way raiſed thorough a Marſh lying on both hands of it. On the other ſide, to the Sea, the Fort of *Risbanck* commanded the Harbour; ſo that the whole ſtrength of the Place, lay in thoſe two Forts.

On the firſt of *January* the Duke of *Guiſe* came and ſate down before it. The Governour having but a ſmall Force within, did not think fit to weaken it by ſending ſuch Supplies as thoſe Forts required; ſo they were taken without any oppoſition. Then the Town being thus ſhut up, the Enemy preſſed it hard, and drew the Water out of its Current, by which the Ditches about the Town and Caſtle were drained; and having prepared devices for their Soldiers to paſs them without ſticking in the Mire, they made the Aſſault; after they had opened a great breach by their Ordnance: and when the Sea was out, others croſſed on that ſide, and ſo carried the Caſtle by Storm; which the Governour had look'd on as impregnable, and ſo had brought his chief Force to the defence of the Town. Seeing the Caſtle thus unexpectedly loſt, he did all he could with his ſmall Force to regain it; but being ſtill repulſed, and having loſt 200 of his beſt Men, he was forced to render the Place on the *7th* of *January*. By their Articles, all the Townſmen and Soldiers were to go whither they pleaſed, only he and fifty more were to be Priſoners of War. Thus in one Weeks time, and in Winter, was ſo ſtrong a Town loſt by the *Engliſh*, that had been for many Ages in their Hands. It was taken 210 years ago by *Edward* the third after the Battle of *Creſſy*; and was ſtill called the Key of *France*, as long as it continued in *Engliſh* Hands. But now, in a time of War, it was in as ill a condition, as if they had been in the profoundeſt Peace: And though *Philip* had offered to put Men into it, yet the *Engliſh*, being jealous that thoſe Advertiſements were but Artifices of his, to perſwade them to admit a *Spaniſh* Garriſon into it, left it in ſo naked a condition, that the Governour could do little to preſerve it. But yet, that it might appear he had not been too careful of himſelf, he was content to agree that he ſhould be a Priſoner of War.

And taken.

From this, the Duke of *Guiſe* went to *Guiſnes*, commanded by the Lord *Gray*; whoſe Garriſon conſiſted of about 1100 Men: but the loſs of *Calais* had much diſheartned them. At the firſt impreſſion the *French* carried the Town, and the Garriſon retired into the Caſtle: but *Gray*, breaking out on the Soldiers that were fallen to plundering, did beat them out again, and burnt the Town. The *French* battered the Caſtle, till they made a breach in the Out-works of it, which they carried, after a long reſiſtance, in which the *Engliſh* loſt 300. So the Lord *Gray* was fain to render it; He, and all the Officers, being made Priſoners of War. There was another Caſtle in that little County, *Hammes*, which lay in ſuch a Mariſh, that it was thought inacceſſible: but the Garriſon that was in it, abandoned it, without ſtaying till the Enemy came before them. The *French* Writers ſpeak more meanly of the reſiſtance made by the Lord *Gray*, than of that made by the Lord *Wentworth*: for there went out of *Guiſnes* about 800 Soldiers, whereas there went not out of *Calais* above 300. But one of our own Writers magnifies the Lord *Gray*, and ſpeaks diſhonourably of the Lord *Wentworth*, adding, which was an Invention

Guiſnes and the reſt of that Territory taken by the *French*.

1558. vention of his own, that he was attainted for the loſing of *Calais*. All that Hiſtorians ground for it, is only this, that there was indeed a Mock-citation iſſued out againſt the Lord *Wentworth*; to which he could not appear, being not freed from his impriſonment by the *French* all this Reign: but he came over in the beginning of the next, when, the Treaty of Peace being on foot, he obtained his liberty, and was tried by his Peers in the firſt Parliament in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and acquitted. It was, as he alledged for himſelf, his misfortune to be employed in a Place, where he had not ſo much as a fourth part of that Number of Men that was neceſſary to hold out a Siege. But in the declinations of all Governments, when loſſes fall out, they muſt be caſt on thoſe that are entruſted, to excuſe thoſe who are much more guilty, by neglecting to ſupply them as the Service required. Among the Priſoners, one of the chief was Sir *Edward Grimſton*, the Comptroller of *Calais*, and a Privy-Counſellor: He had often, according to the duty of his Place, given advertiſement of the ill condition the Garriſon was in. But whether thoſe to whom he writ were corrupted by *French* Money, or whether the Low ſtate of the Queens Treaſury made that they were not ſupplied, is not certain. It was intended he ſhould not come over to diſcover that; and therefore he was let lie a Priſoner in the *Baſtile*; and no care was taken of him or the other Priſoners: The Ranſome ſet on him was ſo high, that having loſt a great eſtate, which he had purchaſed about *Calais*, he reſolved not to do any further prejudice to his Family by redeeming his liberty at ſuch a rate; and intended either to continue a Priſoner, or make his eſcape. He lay above two years in the *Baſtile*, and was lodged in the top of it: at the end of that time he procured a File, and ſo cut out one of the Bars of the Window, and having a Rope conveyed to him, he changed Clothes with his Servant, and went down on the Rope, which proving a great deal too ſhort, he leaped a great way, and having done that before the Gates were ſhut, made his eſcape without being diſcovered.. But his Beard, which was grown long, made him fear he ſhould be known by it. Yet by a happy Providence he found in the Pockets of his Servants Cloaths a pair of Sciſſars, and going into the Fields, did ſo cut his Beard, that he could not have been known; and having learnt the Art of War in the Company of the *Scotch* Guard *de Manche*, he ſpake that Dialect: So he paſſed as a *Scotch* Pilgrim; and by that means eſcaped into *England*. And there he offered himſelf to a Trial, where, after the Evidence was brought, his Innocence did ſo clearly appear, that the Jury were ready to give their Verdict without going from the Bar. So he was acquitted, and lived to a great Age, dying in his 98*th* Year. He was Great-Grand-father to my Noble Patron and Benefactor Sir *Harbotle Grimſton*, which has made me the more willing to enlarge thus concerning him, to whoſe Heir I owe the chief opportunities and encouragements I have had in compoſing this Work.

Now the Queen had nothing left of all thoſe Dominions that her Anceſtors had once in *France*, but the Iſles of *Jerſey*, *Gernſey*, *Alderney*, and *Sarke*. The laſt of theſe, being a naked Place, only inhabited by ſome Hermites; but having the advantage of a Harbour, the *French* made themſelves Maſters of it. The ſtrength of it conſiſted in the difficulty of the aſcent: the little Fort they had, being acceſſible but in one place,

Sarke taken by the *French*.

where two could only go up a-breaſt. So an ingenious *Fleming* reſolved to beat them out of it: He came thither, and pretending he had a Friend dead in his Ship, offered them a good Preſent, if he might bury him within their Chappel. The *French* conſented to it, if he would ſuffer himſelf and his Men to be ſo narrowly ſearched, that they might not bring ſo much as a Knife a-ſhoar. This he conſented to; and as he landed with his Coffin, the *French-men* were to ſend ſome to his Ship to receive the Preſent. So the Coffin being carried into the Chappel; and the *French* apprehending nothing from unarmed Men; the Coffin was opened, which was full of good Arms, and every man furniſhing himſelf they broke out upon the *French*, and took them all; as their Companions in the Ship did thoſe who went a-board to bring the Preſent.

1558.

And retaken by an Ingenious Stratagem.

The news of the loſs of *Calais*, filled *England* with great diſcontent. Thoſe who were otherwiſe diſſatisfied with the conduct of Affairs, took great advantages from it, to diſparage the Government, which the Queen had put into the Hands of Prieſts, who underſtood not War, and were not ſenſible of the Honour of the Nation. It was ſaid, they had drained her Treaſury by the reſtitutions and foundations they got her to make; and being ſenſible how much the Nation hated them, they had ſet the Queen on other ways of raiſing Money than by a Parliament; ſo that never did the Parliament meet, with greater diſorder and trouble, than now. But that loſs affected none ſo deeply as the Queen her ſelf; who was ſo ſenſible of the diſhonour of it, that ſhe was much oppreſſed with melancholly, and was never cheerful after it. Thoſe who took on them to make Comments on Divine Providence, expounded this loſs as their affections led them. Thoſe of the Reformation ſaid, it was Gods heavy Judgment upon *England*, for rejecting the light of his Goſpel, aud perſecuting ſuch as ſtill adhered to it. But on the other hand, the Papiſts ſaid, *Calais* could not proſper, ſince it had been a Receptacle of Hereticks, where the Laws againſt them had never been put in execution. King *Philip*, as ſoon as he heard of this loſs, wrote over to *England*, deſiring them to raiſe a great Force with all poſſible haſt, and ſend it over to recover *Calais* before it was fortified: and he would draw out his Army, and joyn with them; for if they did not retake it before the ſeaſon of working about it came on, it was irrecoverably loſt. Upon which, there was a long Conſultation held about it. They found they could not to any purpoſe ſend over under 20000 Men; the Pay of them for five Months would riſe to 170000 *l.* Garriſons, and an Army againſt the *Scots*, and ſecuring the Coaſts againſt the *French*, would come to 150000 *l.* The ſetting out of a Fleet, and an Army by Sea, would amount to 200000 *l.* and yet all that would be too little, if the *Danes* and *Swedes*, which they were afraid of, ſhould joyn againſt them. There was alſo great want of Ammunition and Ordnance, of which they had loſt vaſt quantities in *Calais* and *Guiſnes*. All this would riſe to above 520000 *l.* and they doubted much whether the People would endure ſuch Impoſitions, who were now grown ſtubborn, and talked very looſely. So they did not ſee how they could poſſibly enter into any Action this Year. One Reaſon, among the reſt, was ſuggeſted by the Biſhops, they ſaw a War would oblige them to a greater moderation in their Proceedings at home:

Great diſcontents in *England*.

1558. home: they had not done their Work, which they hoped a little more time would perfect; whereas a ſlack'ning in that, would raiſe the drooping Spirits of thoſe whom they were now purſuing. So they deſired another Year to proſecute them, in which time they hoped ſo to clear the Kingdom of them, that with leſs danger they might engage in a War, the Year after. Nor did they think it would be eaſie to bring new raiſed Men, to the hardſhips of ſo early a Campagne; and they thought the *French* would certainly work ſo hard in repairing the breaches, that they would be in a good condition to endure a ſtrait and long Siege. All this they wrote over to the King on the firſt of *February*, as appears from their Letter, which will be found in the *Collection*. Collection Number 37.

A Parliament is called.

The Parliament was opened on the 20*th* of *January*, where the Convocation, to be a good Example to the two Houſes, granted a Subſidy of eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years: In the Houſe of Peers, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Prior of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, took their Places according to their Writs. *Treſham*, that had given great aſſiſtance to the Queen upon her firſt coming to the Crown, was now made Prior. But how much was done towards the endowing of that Houſe, which had been formerly among the richeſt of *England*, I do not know. On the 24*th* of *January* the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, deſiring that the Speaker, with ten or twelve of that Houſe, ſhould meet with a Committee of the Lords; which being granted, the Lords propoſed, that the Commons would conſider of the defence of the Kingdom. What was at firſt demanded, does not appear; but after ſeveral days arguing about it, they agreed to give one Subſidy, a Fifteenth, and a Tenth; and ordered the Speaker to let the Queen know what they had concluded: who ſent them her hearty Thanks for it. Then, Complaints being made of ſome *French-men* that were not Denizens, it was carried, that they ſhould go out of the Kingdom, and not return during the War. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, finding the Revenues of his Houſe were much impaired, thought, that if the old Priviledges of the Sanctuary were confirmed, it would bring him in a good Revenue from thoſe that fled to it: ſo he preſſed for an Act to confirm it. He brought a great many ancient Grants of the Kings of *England*, which the Queen had confirmed by her Letters Patents; but they did not prevail with the Houſe, who proceeded no further in it. In this Parliament the Procurers of wilful Murder were denied the Benefit of Clergy; which was carried in the Houſe of Lords by the greater number, as it is in their Journals. The Biſhops did certainly oppoſe it, though none of them entred their diſſent. Sir *Ambroſe*, and Sir *Robert Dudley*, two Sons of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were reſtored in Blood. The Counteſs of *Suſſex*'s Joynture was taken from her for her living in Adultery ſo publickly, as was formerly mentioned. In the end of the Seſſion a Bill was put in, for the confirming of the Queens Letters Patents: It was deſigned chiefly for confirming the Religious Foundations ſhe had made. As this went through the Houſe of Commons, one *Coxley* ſaid, He did not approve ſuch a general Confirmation of thoſe ſhe had given, or might give: leſt this might be a colour for her to diſpoſe of the Crown from the right Inheritors. The Houſe was much offended at this, and expreſſed ſuch diſlike at the imagination that the Queen would alienate the Crown; that they both ſhewed their eſteem for the Queen, and their reſolution to have the Crown deſcend after her death to her Siſter. *Coxley* was made to withdraw, and voted guilty of great irreverence to the Queen. He asked pardon, and deſired it might be imputed to his youth: yet he was kept in the Serjeants Hands, till they had ſent to the Queen to deſire her to forgive his offence. She ſent them word, that at their ſute ſhe forgave it; but wiſhed them to examine him, from whence that motion ſprung. There is no more entred about it in the Journal, ſo that it ſeems to have been let fall. The Parliament was, on the ſeventh of *March*, prorogued to the ſeventh of *November*.

1558.

The King of *Sweden* treats a Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Soon after this, the King of *Sweden* ſent a Meſſage ſecretly to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who was then at *Hatfield*, to propoſe Marriage to her. King *Philip* had once deſigned to marry her to the Duke of *Savoy*, when he was in hope of Children by the Queen: but that hope vaniſhing, he broke it off, and intended to reſerve her for himſelf. How far ſhe entertained that motion, I do not know: but for this from *Sweden*, ſhe rejected it, ſince it came not to her by the Queens direction. But to that it was anſwered, the King of *Sweden* would have them begin with her ſelf, judging that fit for him as he was a Gentleman; and her good liking being obtained, he would next, as a King, addreſs himſelf to the Queen. But ſhe ſaid, as ſhe was to entertain no ſuch Propoſitions unleſs the Queen ſent them to her; ſo if ſhe were left to her ſelf, ſhe aſſured them ſhe would not change her ſtate of Life. Upon this, the Queen ſent Sir *Tho. Pope* to her, in *April*, to let her know how well ſhe approved of the Anſwer ſhe had made to them; but they had now delivered their Letters, and made the Propoſition to her, in which ſhe deſired to know her mind. She thanked the Queen for her favour to her, but bade *Pope* tell her, that there had been one or two noble Propoſitions made for her in her Brother King *Edwards* time; and ſhe had then deſired to continue in the ſtate ſhe was in, which of all others pleaſed her beſt, and ſhe thought there was no ſtate of Life comparable to it: She had never before heard of that King, and ſhe deſired never to hear of that Motion more: She would ſee his Meſſenger no more, ſince he had preſumed to come to her without the Queens leave. Then *Pope* ſaid, he did believe, if the Queen offered her ſome Honourable Marriage, ſhe would not be averſe to it: She anſwered, What ſhe might do afterwards ſhe did not know; but proteſted ſolemnly, that as ſhe was then inclined, if ſhe could have the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendome, ſhe would not accept of him; though perhaps the Queen might think, this flowed rather from a Maids modeſty, than any ſetled determination in her. This I take from a Letter *Pope* wrote about it, which is in the *Collection*. Yet her Life at this time was, neither ſo pleaſant, nor ſo well ſecured, but that, if her averſion to a married ſtate had not been very much rooted in her, it is not unlikely, ſhe would have been glad to be out of the Hands of her unkind Keepers; who grew the more apprehenſive of her, the more they obſerved her Siſter to decay: and, as the Biſhops did apprehend

Which is rejected by her.

Collection Number 38.

1558. hend, ſhe would overthrow all that they had been building, and cementing with ſo much Blood; ſo ſome of them did not ſpare to ſuggeſt the putting of her out of the way: and now that ſhe is ſo near the Throne, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, I ſhall look back through this Reign, to give account of what befel her in it.

She was hardly uſed all this Reign.

When ſhe was ſuſpected to be acceſſory to *Wiats* Conſpiracy; the day after his breaking out, the Lord *Haſtings*, Sir *Tho. Cornwallis*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*, were ſent for her to come to Court. She then lay ſick at her Houſe at *Aſhridge*: but that excuſe not being accepted, ſhe was forced to go: ſo being ſtill ill, ſhe came by ſlow Journeys to the Queen. She was kept ſhut up in private at Court, from the fourth of *March* to the *16th*, and then *Gardiner*, with nineteen of the Council, came to examine her about *Wiats* Rebellion. She poſitively denied ſhe knew any thing of it, or of Sir *Peter Carew's* deſigns in the *Weſt*, which they alſo objected to her. In concluſion, they told her the Queen had ordered her to be ſent to the *Tower*, till the Matter ſhould be further enquired into; and though ſhe made great Proteſtations of her Innocence, yet ſhe was carried thither, and led in by the Traitors Gate; all her own Servants being put from her. Three Men, and as many Women, of the Queens Servants, were appointed to attend on her; and no Perſon was ſuffered to have acceſs to her. Sir *John Gage*, who was the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, treated her very ſeverely, kept her cloſely ſhut up, without leave to walk either in the Galleries, or on the Leads; nor would he permit her Servants to carry in her Meat to her, but he did that by his own Servants. The other Priſoners were often examined about her, and ſome were put to the Rack, to try if they could be brought any way to accuſe her: but though *Wiat* had done it, when he hoped to have ſaved his own Life by ſo baſe an Action; yet he afterwards denied that ſhe knew any of their deſigns: and leſt thoſe denials he made at his Examinations might have been ſuppreſſed, and his former Depoſitions be made uſe of againſt her, he declared it openly on the Scaffold at his death. After ſome days cloſe Impriſonment, upon great interceſſion made by the Lord *Chandois*, then Conſtable of the *Tower*, it was granted that ſhe might ſometimes walk in the Queens Rooms, in the preſence of the Conſtable, the Lieutenant, and three Women, the Windows being all ſhut. Then ſhe got leave to walk in a little Garden for ſome Air; but all the Windows that opened to it were to be kept ſhut, when ſhe took her Walk: and ſo jealous were they of her, that a Boy of four years old was ſeverely threatned, and his Father ſent for and chid, for his carrying Flowers to her. The Lord *Chandois* was obſerved to treat her with too much reſpect; ſo he was not any more truſted with the charge of her, which was committed to Sir *Hen. Benefield*. About the middle of *May* ſhe was ſent, under the Guard of the Lord *Williams*, and *Benefield*, to *Woodſtock*. She was ſo ſtraitly kept, and *Benefield* was ſo ſullen to her, that ſhe believed they intended to put her privately to death. The Lord *Williams* treated her nobly at his Houſe on the way, at which *Benefield* was much diſguſted. When ſhe was at *Woodſtock*, ſhe was ſtill kept under Guards, and but ſeldom allowed to walk in the Gardens, none being ſuffered to come near her. After many Months Impriſonment, ſhe obtained leave to write to the Queen; *Benefield* being to ſee all ſhe wrote. It was believed that ſome were ſent ſecretly to kill her; but the Orders were given ſo ſtrictly, that none of them could come near her, without a Special Warrant; and ſo ſhe eſcaped at that time. But after King *Philip* underſtood the whole Caſe, he broke all thoſe deſigns, as was formerly ſhewn; and prevailed to have her ſent for to Court. When ſhe came to *Hampton-Court*, ſhe was kept ſtill a Priſoner. Many of the Council, *Gardiner* in particular, dealt often with her, to confeſs her offences, and ſubmit to the Queens mercy. She ſaid, ſhe had never offended her, not ſo much as in her thoughts; and ſhe would never betray her own Innocency by ſuch a Confeſſion. One night when it was late, ſhe was ſent for by the Queen, before whom ſhe kneeled down, and proteſted ſhe was, and ever had been, a moſt faithful Subject to her. The Queen ſeemed ſtill to ſuſpect her, and wiſhed her to confeſs her guilt; otherwiſe ſhe muſt think, ſhe had been unjuſtly dealt with: She anſwered, That ſhe was not to complain, but to bear her burden, only ſhe begged her to conceive a good opinion of her. So they parted fairly, which King *Philip* had perſwaded the Queen to; and being afraid that the ſowrneſs of the Queens temper, might lead her into paſſion, he was ſecretly in a corner of the Room, to prevent any further breach, in caſe ſhe ſhould have been tranſported into new heats: but there was no occaſion given for it. Soon after that, ſhe was diſcharged of her Guards, and ſuffered to retire into the Country; but there were always many Spies about her, and ſhe, to avoid all ſuſpition, medled in no ſort of buſineſs, but gave her ſelf wholly to Study. And thus ſhe paſſed theſe five years, under no ſmall fears and apprehenſions; which was perhaps a neceſſary preparation for that high degree to which ſhe was ſoon after advanced, and which ſhe held in the greateſt and longeſt courſe of Proſperity and Glory, that ever any of her Sex attained to. 1558

The Progreſs of the Perſecution.

The Biſhops, when the Parliament was ſitting, did always intermit their cruelties: but as ſoon as it was over, they fell to them afreſh. On the 28th of *March*, *Cuthbert Simpſon*, that was in Deacons Orders, with two others, were burnt in *Smithfield*. *Simpſon* had been taken with *Rough*, that ſuffered the Year before this. He was put to much torture, he lay three hours on the Rack; beſides, two other Inventions of Torture were made uſe of to make him diſcover all thoſe in *London* who met with them in their private Aſſemblies: but he would tell nothing, and ſhewed ſuch patience, that the Biſhops did publickly commend him for it. On the ninth of *April* a Man was burnt at *Hereford*: On the 19th of *May* three Men were burnt at *Colcheſter*. At this time, Complaints being made to the Queen, that Books of Hereſie, Treaſon, and Sedition, were either brought in from Forreign Parts, or ſecretly printed in *England*, and diſperſt among her Subjects; ſhe ſet out, on the ſixth of *June*, a Proclamation of a ſtrange nature: "That whoſoever had "any of theſe, and did not preſently burn them, without reading,

1558. “ or ſhewing them to any other Perſon, they ſhould be eſteemed Rebels; and without any further delay, be executed by the Martial “Law.” On the 27th of that Month, when ſeven were to be led out to be burnt in *Smithfield*, it was proclaimed in the Queens Name, that no Man ſhould pray for them, or ſpeak to them, or ſay, *God help them*: which was thought a ſtrain of barbarity beyond all the Examples of former times, to deprive dying Men of the good wiſhes and prayers of their Friends. But however this might reſtrain Men from giving outward Signs of their praying for them, it could not bind up their inward and ſecret Devotions. Thoſe ſeven had been taken at a Meeting in *Iſlington*, with many others; of whom ſome died in Priſon, and ſix others were burnt at *Brainford* the 14*th* of *July*. The reſt of them were kept by *Bonner*, who now ſeemed to have been glutted with the Blood of ſo many Innocents, and therefore to have put a ſtop to the effuſion of more: yet thoſe that were kept Priſoners by him, did not ſo entirely eſcape his fury, but that he diſciplined them himſelf with Rods, till he was weary; and ſo gave over that odd way of Paſtoral Correction, rather to eaſe himſelf, than in pity to them whom he whipt. On the tenth of *July* a Miniſter was burnt at *Norwich*: On the ſecond or third of *Auguſt*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Wincheſter*: In *Auguſt* four were burnt at *Bury*; and in *November* three more were burnt there. On the fourth of *November* a Man, and a Woman, were burnt at *Ipſwich*: At that time a Woman was burnt at *Exeter*: and to cloſe up all, on the tenth of *November* three Men, and two Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*, which made in all thirty nine this Year. There had been ſeventy nine burnt the former Year, ninety four the Year before that, and ſeventy two the firſt Year of the Perſecution: which in all come to 284. But he that writ the Preface to Biſhop *Ridley's* Book *De Cœna Domini*, who is ſuppoſed to be *Grindal*, afterwards Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſays, That in the two firſt Years of the Queens Perſecution there were above eight hundred put to moſt cruel kinds of death for Religion: by which it ſeeems *Fox*, on whom I depend in the Numbers I have aſſigned, has come far ſhort in his account. Beſides thoſe that were burnt, many others died in Bonds, of whom there are ſixty reckoned. There were alſo great Numbers of thoſe who were vexed with long and grievous Impriſonment: and though they redeemed their Lives by the renouncing, or rather the diſſembling of their Conſciences; yet this being but forced from them, they carried with them their old Opinions; and the Wound they gave their Conſciences to ſave their Lives, as it begot in many of them great horrour for what they had done, ſo it raiſed in them the moſt mortal hatred to thoſe who had driven them to ſuch ſtraits: ſo that if that Religion was hateful before to the Nation, for the Impoſtures and Scandals that were diſcovered in the Clergy, and ſome few Inſtances of their Cruelty, the repeated Burnings, and other Cruelties, of which now they ſaw no end, did encreaſe their averſion to it beyond all expreſſion.

The Method of the Perſecutions of this Reign.

At firſt the Biſhops dealt earneſtly with thoſe who were brought before them, to recant; and were ready at any time to receive them: the Queens Pardon was alſo ſent to them as they were ready to

1558.

to be tied to the Stake, if they would then turn. But now it was far otherwiſe. For in the Council-Books there is an Entry made of a Letter, written on the firſt of *Auguſt* this Year, to Sir *Richard Pexall* Sheriff of *Hampſhire*, ſignifying, "That the Queen thought it very "ſtrange, that he had delayed the Execution of the Sentence againſt "one *Bembridge*, condemned of Hereſie, becauſe he had recanted: "requiring him to execute it out of hand, and if he ſtill continued "in the Catholick Faith, which he outwardly pretended, he was "then to ſuffer ſuch Divines as the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſhould ap-"point, to have acceſs to him for confirming him in the Faith, and "to attend on him at his death, that he might die Gods Servant: "and as ſoon as the Sheriff had thus burnt him, he was to come to "the Council, and anſwer for his preſumption in delaying it ſo long. The Matter of Fact was thus: *Bembridge* being tied to the Stake, and the Fire taking hold on him, he, through the violence of it, yielded, and cried out, *I recant*. Upon which, the Sheriff made the Fire be put out; and *Bembridge* Signed ſuch a Recantation as Doctor *Seton*, who was near him, writ for him: but for all that, upon this Order of Council, he was burnt; and the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet*: ſo that now it appeared that it was not ſo much the converſion of thoſe they called Hereticks, as their deſtruction, that the Biſhops deſired: and ſo much were their Inſtruments ſet on theſe ſeverities, that though they ſaw the Queen declining ſo faſt, that there was no appearance of her living many days; yet the Week before ſhe died, they burnt, as hath been ſaid, five together in one Fire at *Canterbury*.

An unhappy Expedition againſt *France*.

There was nothing done in the War with *France* this Year, but the ſending out a Fleet of 120 Ships, with 7000 Land-men in it, under the Command of the Lord *Clinton*; who landed at *Port Conquet*, in the Point of *Brittain*, where after a ſmall reſiſtance made by the *French*, he burnt the Town; but the Country being gathered together, the *Engliſh* were forced to return to their Ships, having loſt above 600 of their Men. The deſign was, to have ſeized on *Breſt*, and fortified it; which was propoſed by King *Philip*, who had ſent thirty of his Ships to their aſſiſtance. This the *French* knowing by ſome of the Priſoners whom they took, went and fortified *Breſt*, and kept a great Body of Men together, to reſiſt in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould make a ſecond impreſſion. But the Lord *Clinton*, ſeeing he could do nothing, returned, having made a very expenſive and unproſperous attempt. The *Engliſh* had loſt their Hearts; the Government at home was ſo little acceptable to them, that they were not much concerned to ſupport it; they began to think, Heaven was againſt them.

Strange and unuſual accidents.

There were many ſtrange accidents at home, that ſtruck terror in them. In *July*, Thunder broke near *Nottingham*, with ſuch violence, that it beat down two little Towns, with all the Houſes and Churches in them: the Bells were carried a good way from the Steeples, and the Lead that covered the Churches, was caſt 400 Foot from them, ſtrangely wreathed: The River of *Trent*, as it is apt upon Deluges of Rain to ſwell and over-run the Country; ſo it broke out this Year with extraordinary violence; many Trees were plucked

1558. up by the Roots, and with it there was ſuch a Wind, that carried ſeveral Men and Children a great way, and daſhed them againſt Trees or Houſes, ſo that they died. Hail-ſtones fell that were fifteen Inches about in other Places: and which was much more terrible, a contagious intermitting Feaver, not unlike the Plague, raged every where: ſo that three parts of four of the whole Nation were infected with it. So many Prieſts died of it, that in many Places there were none to be had for the performing of the Offices. Many Biſhops died alſo of it, ſo that there were many vacancies made by the Hand of Heaven, againſt Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown: and it ſpreading moſt violently in *Auguſt*, there were not Men enough, in many Counties, to reap the Harveſt: ſo that much Corn was loſt. All theſe Symptoms concurred to encreaſe the averſion the People had to the Government; which made the Queen very willing to conſent to a Treaty of Peace, that was opened at *Cambray* in *October*; to which ſhe ſent the Earl of *Arundel*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Wotton*, as her Plenipotentiaries.

A Treaty of Peace between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*.

The occaſion of the Peace was from a meeting that the Biſhop of *Arras* had with the Cardinal of *Lorrain* at *Peronne*; in which he propoſed to him, how much *Philip* was troubled at the continuance of the War; their Forces being ſo much engaged in it, that they could make no reſiſtance to the *Turk*, and the mean while Hereſie encreaſing and ſpreading in their own Dominions, while they were ſo taken up that they could not look carefully to their Affairs at home, but muſt connive at many things: therefore he preſſed the Cardinal to perſwade the King of *France* to an Accommodation. The Cardinal was eaſily induced to this, ſince beſides his own zeal for Religion, he ſaw that he might thereby bear down the Conſtables greatneſs; whoſe Friends, chiefly his two Nephews, the Admiral, and *Dandelot*, who went then among the beſt Captains in *France*, were both ſuſpect of being Proteſtants; upon which, the latter was ſhortly after put in Priſon: ſo he uſed all his endeavours to draw the King to conſent to it; in which he had the leſs oppoſition, ſince the Court was now filled with his Dependants, and his four Brothers, who had got all the great Officers of *France* into their Hands: and the Conſtable, and Admiral being Priſoners, there was none to oppoſe their Councils. The King thinking, that by the recovery of *Calais*, and the Places about it, he had gained enough to ballance the loſs of St. *Quintin*, was very willing to hearken to a Treaty: and he was in an ill ſtate to continue the War, being much weakned both by the loſs he ſuffered laſt Year, and the blow that he received in *July* laſt: the Marſhal de *Thermes* being encloſed by the Count of *Egmont* near *Graveling*, where the *French* Army being ſet on by the Count, and galled with the *Engliſh* Ordnance from their Ships that lay near the Land, was defeated, 5000 killed, the Marſhal and the other chief Officers being taken Priſoners. Theſe loſſes made him ſenſible, that his Affairs were in ſo ill a condition, that he could not gain much by the War.

The Battel of *Graveling*.

The Number of the Proteſtants growing in *France*.

The Cardinal was the more earneſt to bring on a Peace, becauſe the Proteſtants did not only encreaſe in their Numbers, but they came ſo openly to avow their Religion, that in the publick Walks without the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, they began to ſing *Davids* Pſalms in *French* Verſe. The newneſs of the thing amuſed many, the devotion of it wrought on others, the Muſick drew in the reſt; ſo that the Multitudes that uſed to divert themſelves in thoſe Fields, in ſtead of their ordinary ſports, did now nothing for many nights, but go about ſinging Pſalms: and that which made it more remarkable was, that the King and Queen of *Navarre* came and joyned with them. That King, beſides the Honour of a Crowned Head, with the ſmall part of that Kingdom that was yet left in their Hands, was the firſt Prince of the Blood. He was a ſoft and weak Man; but his Queen, in whoſe right he had that Title, was one of the moſt extraordinary Women that any Age hath produced, both for knowledge far above her Sex, for a great judgment in Affairs, an Heroical Greatneſs of Mind, and all other Vertues; joyned to a high meaſure of Devotion, and true Piety: all which, except the laſt, ſhe derived to her Son *Henry the Great.* When the King of *France* heard of this Pſalmody, he made an Edict againſt it; and ordered the doers of it to be puniſhed: but the Numbers of them, and the reſpect to thoſe Crowned Heads, made the buſineſs to go no further. 1558.

The Dolphin marries the Queen of *Scotland.*

On the 24*th* of *April* was the Dolphin married to the Queen of *Scotland.* Four Cardinals, *Bourbon*, *Lorrain*, *Chaſtilion*, and *Bertrand*, with many of the Princes of the Blood, and the other great Men of *France*, and the Commiſſioners ſent from *Scotland*, were preſent. But ſcarce any thing adorned it more than the *Epithalamium* written upon it by *Buchanan*; which was accounted one of the perfecteſt Pieces of *Latin* Poetry. After the Marriage was over, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were deſired to offer the Dolphin the Enſigns of the Regality of *Scotland*, and to acknowledge him their King; but they excuſed themſelves, ſince that was beyond their Commiſſion, which only empow'red them to treat concerning the Articles of the Marriage, and to carry an account back to thoſe that ſent them. Then it was deſired that they would promote the buſineſs at their return to their Country; but ſome of them had expreſſed their averſion to thoſe Propoſitions ſo plainly, that it was believed they were poiſoned by the Brethren of the Houſe of *Guiſe.* Four of them died in *France*; the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and the Earls of *Rothes*, and *Caſſils*, and the Lord *Flemming.* The Prior of St. *Andrews* was alſo very ſick; and though he recovered at that time, yet he had never any perfect health after it. When the other four returned into *Scotland*, a Convention of the Eſtates was called, to conſult about the Propoſitions they brought.

A Convention of Eſtates in *Scotland.*

This Aſſembly conſiſts of all thoſe Members that make up a Parliament, who were then, the Biſhops, and Abbots, and Priors, who made the firſt Eſtate; the Noblemen, that were the ſecond Eſtate; and the Deputies from the Towns; one from every Town, only *Edenburgh* ſends two, were the third Eſtate. Anciently all that held Lands of the Crown, were ſummoned to Parliaments, as well the greater as the leſſer Barons. But in King *James* the firſt's time, the leſſer Barons, finding it a great charge to attend on ſuch Aſſemblies, deſired to be excuſed from it; and procured an Act of Parlia-

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1558. ment exempting them, and giving them power to ſend from every County, two, three, four, or more, to repreſent them: but they afterwards thought this rather a Charge than a Priviledge, and did not uſe it; ſo that now the ſecond Eſtate conſiſted only of the Nobility. But the Gentry finding the prejudice they ſuffered by this, and that the Nobility grew too abſolute, procured, by King *James* the ſixth's favour, an Act of Parliament reſtoring them to that Right of ſending Deputies, two from every County, except ſome ſmall Counties that ſend only one. But according to the Ancient Law, none has a Vote in the Elections, but thoſe who hold Lands immediately of the Crown, of ſuch a value. The difference between a Parliament, and a Convention of Eſtates, is, that the former muſt be ſummoned forty days before it ſits; and then it meets in State, and makes Laws, which are to be prepared by a Committee of all the Eſtates, called the Lords of the Articles: but a Convention may be called within as few days as are neceſſary for giving notice to all parts of the Nation to make their Elections: They have no Power of making Laws, being only called for one particular Emergent; which, during the diviſion of the Iſland, was chiefly upon the breaking out of War betwixt the two Nations, and ſo their Power was confined to the giving of Money for the occaſion which then brought them together.

In the Convention now held, after much debate and oppoſition, whether they ſhould conſent to the demand made by the Ambaſſador ſent from *France*, it was carried, that the Dolphin ſhould be acknowledged their King: great aſſurances being given, that this ſhould be only a bare Title, and that he ſhould pretend to no Power over them. So the Earl of *Argile*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who had been the main ſticklers for the *French* Intereſt, upon the promiſes that the Queen Regent made them, that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their Religion, were appointed to carry the Matrimonial Crown into *France.* But as they were preparing for their Journey, a great revolution of Affairs fell out in *England.*

Seſſion of Parliament in *England.*

The Parliament met on the fifth of *November.* On the ſeventh the Queen ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and ordered him to open to them the ill condition the Nation was in: for though there was a Treaty begun at *Cambray*, yet it was neceſſary to put the Kingdom in a poſture of defence, in caſe it ſhould miſcarry. But the Commons were now ſo diſſatisfied, that they could come to no reſolution. So on the 14*th* day of *November* the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, and *Pembroke*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, the Viſcount *Mountacute*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, came down to the Houſe of Commons, and ſate in that place of the Houſe, where the Privy-Counſellors uſed to ſit. The Speaker left his Chair, and he, with the Privy-Counſellors that were of the Houſe, came and ſate on low Benches before them. The Lord Chancellor ſhewed the neceſſity of granting a Subſidy, to defend the Nation, both from the *French*, and the *Scots*. When he had done, the Lords withdrew; but though the Commons entred, both that, and the two following days, into the debate, they came to no iſſue in their Conſultation.

The Queens ſickneſs.

The Queen had never enjoyed her health perfectly, ſince the falſe conception that was formerly ſpoken of; upon which followed the neglect from her Husband, and the deſpair of Iſſue, that encreaſed her Melancholly: and this receiving a great addition from the loſs of *Calais*, and the other misfortunes of this Year; ſhe, by a long declination of Health, and decay of her Spirits, was now brought ſo low, that it was viſible ſhe had not many days to live: and a Dropſie coming on her, put a concluſion to her unhappy Reign, and unfortunate Life, on the *17th* of *November*, in the *43d* Year of her Age, after ſhe had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days.

And death.

Cardinal *Pool* dies.

At the ſame time Cardinal *Pool*, as if one Star had governed both their Nativities, was alſo dying; and his end being haſtened by the Queens death, he followed her within ſixteen hours, in the *59th* Year of his Age. He left his whole eſtate to *Aloiſi Prioli* a Noble *Venetian*, with whom he had lived ſix and twenty years in ſo entire a friendſhip, that as nothing could break it off, ſo neither was any thing able to ſeparate them from one anothers company. *Prioli*, being invited by Pope *Julius* to come and receive a Cardinals Hat, preferred *Pools* company before it; and as he had ſupplied him in his neceſſities in *Italy*, ſo he left his Country now, to live with him in *England*. *Pool* made him his Executor: But *Prioli* was of a more Noble temper, than to enrich himſelf by his Friends Wealth; for as he took care to pay all the Legacies he left, ſo he gave away all that remained, reſerving nothing to himſelf but *Pools* Breviary and Diary. And indeed the Cardinal was not a Man made to raiſe a Fortune, being, by the greatneſs of his Birth, and his excellent Vertues, carried far above ſuch mean deſigns. He was a Learned, Modeſt, Humble, and good natured Man; and had indeed ſuch Qualities, and ſuch a Temper, that if he could have brought the other Biſhops to follow his Meaſures, or the Pope and Queen to approve of them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this Nation to Popery again. But God deſigned better things for it: ſo he gave up the Queen to the Bloody Councils of *Gardiner*, and the reſt of the Clergy. It was the only thing in which ſhe was not led by the Cardinal. But ſhe imputed his Opinion in that Particular, rather to the ſweetneſs of his Temper, than to his Wiſdom and Experience and he, ſeeing he could do nothing of what he projected in *England*, fell into a languiſhing, firſt of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his Health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiouſly on his Character, being willing to deny to none, of whom I write, the Praiſes that are due to them: and he being the only Man of that whole Party, of whom I found any reaſon to ſay much good I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the World ſee how little I am biaſſed in the account I give, by Intereſt or Opinion. So that if I have written ſharply of any others that have been mentioned in this Reign, it was the force of Truth, and my abhorrence o their barbarous Cruelties, that led me to it, more than my being of a contrary Perſwaſion to them. It is certain, that *Pool's* method, of correcting the manners of the Clergy, and being gentle to the Reformed would in all appearance have been much more fatal to the progreſs of the Reformation; that was ſet forward by nothing more, than

His Character.

1558. by the ſeverities ſhewed to thoſe that differed from them, and the indulgence of the Biſhops to the vices of their own Party. Yet *Pool* had a vaſt ſuperſtition to the See of *Rome*; and though his being at the Council of *Trent*, had opened his Eyes to many things, which he had not obſerved before; yet he ſtill retained his great ſubmiſſion to that See, and thought it impoſſible to maintain the Order and Unity of the Church, but by holding Communion with it; which carried him, in oppoſition to many apprehenſions himſelf had of ſome Theological Points, ſtill to ſupport the Intereſts of the Papacy. His neglect of the offer of it, when it was made to him, ſhewed this flowed from no aſpirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: ſo that what miſtakes ſoever, his Education, and Heats with King *Henry*, and the diſaſters of his Family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied, that he was a Man of as great Probity and Vertue as moſt of the Age, if not all of that Church, in which he lived.

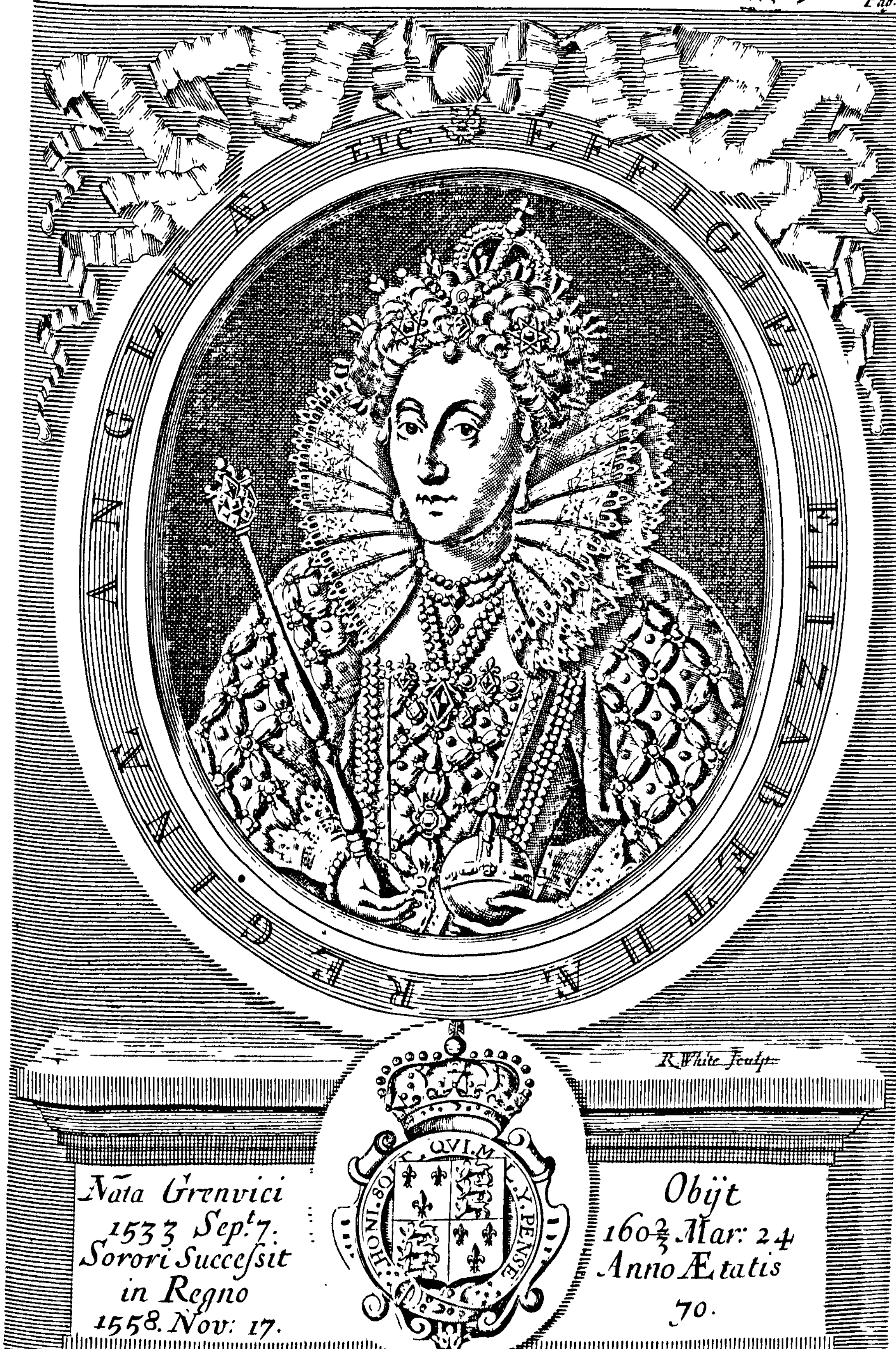
The Queens Character.

For the Queen her ſelf, her Character has appeared ſo manifeſtly in her Reign, that I need make no further deſcription of her. She was a Woman of a ſtrict and innocent Life; that allowed her ſelf few of the diverſions, with which Courts abound. She was bred to Learning, and underſtood the *Latin* Tongue well; but what further knowledge ſhe had, does not appear to me. She was conſtant at her Devotions, and was as much addicted to the Intereſts and Humours of the Clergy, as they could have wiſhed her. She had great reſentments of her own ill uſage in her Fathers and Brothers times; which made her be eaſily induced to take her revenge, though ſhe coloured it with her zeal againſt Hereſie. She did not much mind any other Affairs, but thoſe of the Church: ſo that if ſhe could have extirpated Hereſie, ſhe ſeemed to regard all other things very little: and being given up to follow the Dictates of *Rome*, with a nice ſcrupuloſity of Conſcience, it was no wonder ſhe went on in theſe deſigns very vigorouſly. For as the Pope was ever calling on all Princes that were under his obedience, to ſet up the Courts of Inquiſition; ſo the fourth General Council of *Lateran*, to which, with the other General Councils, ſhe payed no leſs reverence than to the Scriptures, charged Catholick Princes to extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions; ſuch as were ſlack muſt be required to do it by their Biſhops; and if that prevailed not, they were to be excommunicated by them; and if they continued negligent, and under that Cenſure a year, they were to be deprived by the Pope, and their Dominions to be given to others, who ſhould take more care to extirpate Hereſie. The Pope had alſo in *February* this Year publiſhed a Conſtitution, to which he had made all the Cardinals ſet their Hands; confirming all former Decrees and Canons againſt Hereticks; declaring, that all Prelates, Princes, Kings, and Emperors, that had fallen into Hereſie, ſhould be underſtood to be deprived of their Dominions, without any further Sentence: and that any Catholicks who would take the Forfeiture, ſhould have a good Title to all that they invaded and ſeized. The Biſhops, beſides the other Canons binding them to proceed againſt Hereticks, were, by the Words of the Oath of Obedience which they ſwore to the Pope at their Conſecration, engaged to *oppoſe and perſecute the Hereticks with all their might*: ſo that their giving ſevere Counſels, and the Queens following them, flowed mainly from the Principles of their Religion: in which the ſowrneſs of her temper made it the more eaſie to perſwade her to a Compliance to thoſe courſes, to which her inclination led her without any ſuch Motives. To conclude, her death was as little lamented, as any of all our Princes ever was, the Popiſh Clergy being almoſt the only Mourners that were among her own People. 1558.

Thus lived and died *Mary* Queen of *England* by Inheritance, and of *Spain* by Marriage.

The END of the Second BOOK.

Vol: 2.d   Pag: 373


EFFIGIES ELIZABETHA REGINA ANGLIÆ ETC.
HONI.SOIT.QUI.MAL.Y.PENSE
R. White sculpt.
Nata Grenvici
1533 Sept. 7.
Sorori Succeſsit
in Regno
1558. Nov: 17.
Obijt
160⅔ Mar: 24
Anno Ætatis
70.

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BOOK III.

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign.

1558.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeds.

QUEEN *Maries* Death was conceal'd for ſome hours. What the ſecret Conſultations were upon it is not known; but the Iſſue of them appeared about nine a Clock. Then the Lord Chancellor went to the Houſe of Lords, and firſt imparted to them the News of the Queens Death; which, as it ſtruck the Biſhops with no ſmall fear, ſo thoſe Counſellors who had been ſevere in their advices about her Siſter, did apprehend ſhe might remember it againſt them. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her *Queen*: and by the Zeal they expreſſed for her coming to the Crown, intended to ballance the Errors they had formerly been led to, rather in compliance to the late Queens reſentments, than out of any ill will they bore her ſelf. They ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and the Lord Chancellor ſignified to them the Queens Death; which, he ſaid, would have been a much more ſorrowful loſs to them, if they had not ſuch a Succeſſor, that was the next and indiſputed Heir to the Crown, *Elizabeth*, of whoſe Right and Title none could make any queſtion; therefore they intended to proclaim her Queen, and deſired their Concurrence. This was Ecchoed with many and long repeated Cries, *God ſave Queen* Elizabeth. *Long and happily may She Reign.*

The

1558.

And proclaimed Queen.

The Parliament being declared to be diſſolved by the late Queens death, the Lords proclaimed *Elizabeth* Queen; and went into *London*, where it was again done by the Lord Major, and received every where with ſuch exceſſive Joy, that there was no ſign of ſorrow expreſſed for the death of Queen *Mary*, but what the Prieſts ſhewed; who, in ſo publick and univerſal a Joy, were forced to betake themſelves to ſecret Groans, ſince they durſt not vent them in publick. Never did any before her come to the Throne with ſo many good Wiſhes and Acclamations, which the horror of the Cruelties, and the reflection of the Diſaſters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to ſee better Times.

And comes to *London*.

The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, where having received the news of her Siſters death, and of her being proclaimed *Queen*, ſhe came from thence to *London*. On the 19*th* at *Highgate* all the Biſhops met her, whom ſhe received civilly, except *Bonner*, on whom ſhe looked as defiled with ſo much Blood that ſhe could not think it fit to beſtow any mark of her favour on him. She was received into the City, with Throngs much greater than even ſuch Occaſions uſed to draw together, and followed with the loudeſt ſhouts of Joy that they could raiſe. She lay that night at the Duke of *Norfolk's* Houſe in the *Charter-houſe*, and next day went to the *Tower*. There at her Entry ſhe kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her Condition; that whereas ſhe had been formerly a Priſoner in that Place, every hour in fear of her Life, ſhe was now raiſed to ſo high a Dignity. She ſoon cleared all Peoples apprehenſions as to the hardſhips ſhe had formerly met with, and ſhewed ſhe had abſolutely forgot from whom ſhe had received them: even *Benefield* himſelf not excepted; who had been the chief Inſtrument of her Sufferings: But ſhe called him always her *Goaler*; which though ſhe did in a way of Raillery, yet it was ſo ſharp that he avoided coming any more to the Court.

She ſends a Diſpatch to *Rome*.

But to no effect.

She preſently diſpatched Meſſengers to all the Princes of Chriſtendome, giving notice of her Siſters death, and her Succeſſion. She writ in particular to King *Philip*, a large acknowledgment of his kindneſs to her, to whom ſhe held her ſelf much bound for his interpoſing ſo effectually with her Siſter for her Preſervation. She alſo ſent to Sir *Edward Karn*, that had been her Siſters Reſident at *Rome*, to give the Pope the news of her Succeſſion. The haughty Pope received it in his ordinary Stile, declaring, "That *England* was held in Fee of the Apoſtolick See, that ſhe "could not ſucceed being Illegitimate, nor could he contradict the De"clarations made in that matter by his Predeceſſors, *Clement* the ſeventh, "and *Paul* the third: He ſaid, it was great boldneſs in her to aſſume the "Crown without his conſent; for which in reaſon ſhe deſerved no favour "at his hands: yet, if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and refer "her ſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a fatherly affection to her, and "do every thing for her that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apo"ſtolick See. When ſhe heard of this, ſhe was not much concerned at it; for ſhe had written to *Karn* as ſhe did to her other Miniſters, and had renewed his Powers upon her firſt coming to the Crown, being unwilling in the beginning of her Reign to provoke any Party againſt her: But hearing how the Pope received this Addreſs, ſhe recalled *Karns* Powers, and commanded him to come home. The Pope on the other hand re-

quired

1558.

quired him not to go out of *Rome*, but to ſtay and take the care of an Hoſpital over which he ſet him: which it was thought that *Karn* procured to himſelf, becauſe he was unwilling to return into *England*, apprehending the change of Religion that might follow, for he was himſelf zealouſly addicted to the See of *Rome*.

King *Philip* courts her in Marriage.

As ſoon as *Philip* heard the news, he ordered the Duke of *Feria*, whom he had ſent over in his Name to comfort the late Queen in her ſickneſs, to Congratulate the new Queen, and in ſecret to propoſe Marriage to her; and to aſſure her he ſhould procure a Diſpenſation from *Rome*: and at the ſame time he ſent thither to obtain it. But the Queen, though very ſenſible of her Obligation to him, had no mind to the Marriage. It appeared by what hath been ſaid in the former Book, and by the Sequel of her whole Life, that though upon ſome occaſions, when her Affairs required it, ſhe treated about her Marriage, yet ſhe was firmly reſolved never to marry. Beſides this, ſhe ſaw her People were generally averſe to any Forreigner, and particularly to a *Spaniard*: and ſhe made it the ſteady Maxime of her whole Reign, from which ſhe never departed, to rule in their affections as well as over their Perſons. Nor did ſhe look on the Popes Diſpenſation as a thing of any force to warrant what was otherwiſe forbidden by God: And the Relation between King *Philip* and her being the Reverſe of that which was between her Father and Queen *Katharine*, it ſeeming to be equally unlawful for one Man to marry two Siſters, as it was for one Woman to be married to two Brothers, ſhe could not conſent to this Marriage without approving King *Henry's* with Queen *Katharine*: and if that were a good Marriage, then ſhe muſt be Illegitimate, as being born of a Marriage which only the unlawfulneſs of that could juſtifie. So Inclination, Intereſt, and Conſcience, all concurred to make her reject King *Philip's* motion. Yet ſhe did it in terms ſo full of Eſteem and Kindneſs for him, that he ſtill inſiſted in the Propoſition; in which ſhe was not willing to undeceive him, ſo entirely, as to put him out of all hopes, while the Treaty of *Cambray* was in dependance, that ſo ſhe might tie him more cloſely to her Intereſts.

The Queen of *Scots* pretends to the Crown of *England*.

The *French*, hearing of Queen *Maries* Death, and being allarum'd at *Philips* deſign upon the new Queen, ſent to *Rome*, to engage the Pope to deny the Diſpenſation, and to make him declare the Queen of *Scotland* to be the right Heir to the Crown of *England*, and the pretended Queen to be Illegitimate. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* prevailed alſo with the *French* King, to order his Daughter-in-law to aſſume that Title, and to put the Arms of *England* on all her Furniture.

The Queens Council.

But now to return to *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* continued to employ ſome of the ſame Counſellors that had ſerved Queen *Mary*: namely, *Heath* the Lord Chancellor, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurer, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, and *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *John Maſon*, Sir *Richard Sackvile*, and Dr. *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Moſt of theſe had complied with all the Changes that had been made in Religion backward and forward ſince the latter end of King *Henry's* Reign, and were ſo dexterous at it, that they were ſtill employed in every new Revolution. To them, who were all Papiſts, the Queen added, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas*

Parre,

1558. *Parre*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, whom ſhe made Secretary of State; and ſoon after ſhe ſent for Sir *Nicolas Bacon*; who were all of the Reformed Religion. She renewed all the Commiſſions to thoſe formerly intruſted, and ordered, that ſuch as were impriſoned on the account of Religion ſhould be ſet at liberty. After this, a Man that uſed to talk pleaſantly, ſaid to her, that he came to ſupplicate in behalf of ſome Priſoners not yet ſet at liberty: She asked who they were: he ſaid they were *Mathew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, that were ſtill ſhut up; for the People longed much to ſee them abroad. She anſwered him as pleaſantly, ſhe would firſt talk with themſelves, and ſee whether they deſired to be ſet at ſuch liberty as he requeſted for them.

A Conſultation about the change of Religion.

Now the two great things under Conſultation were Religion, and Peace. For the former, ſome were appointed to conſider how it was to be Reform'd. *Beal*, a Clerk of the Council, gave advice to *Cecil*, that the Parliaments under Queen *Mary* ſhould be declared void; the firſt being under a force, (as was before related) and the Title of *Supream Head* being left out of the Summons to the next Parliament before it was taken away by Law: from whence he inferred, that both theſe were not lawfully held or duly ſummoned; and this being made out, the Laws of King *Edward* were ſtill in force: but this was laid aſide as too high and violent a way of proceeding, ſince the annulling of Parliaments, upon little errors in Writs, or ſome particular diſorders, was a Precedent of ſuch conſequence that to have proceeded in ſuch a manner, would have unhinged all the Government and ſecurity of the Nation. More moderate Courſes were thought on. The Queen had been bred up from her Infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and a Love to the Reformation: But yet as her firſt Impreſſions in her Fathers Reign were in favour of ſuch old Rites as he had ſtill retained; ſo in her own Nature ſhe loved State, and ſome Magnificence, in Religion, as well as in every thing elſe: She thought that in her Brothers Reign they had ſtript it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in ſome Points; therefore ſhe intended to have ſome things explained in more general terms, that ſo all Parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up Images in Churches: and to have the manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament left in ſome general words; that thoſe who believed the Corporal Preſence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an Explanation of it. Nor did ſhe like the Title of *Supream Head*; ſhe thought it imported too great a Power, and came too near that Authority which Chriſt only had over the Church. Theſe were her own private thoughts. She conſidered, nothing could make her Power great in the World abroad, ſo much as the uniting all her People together at home: Her Fathers and her Brothers Reign had been much diſtracted by the Rebellions within *England*, and ſhe had before her Eyes the Inſtance of the Coldneſs that the People had expreſſed to her Siſter on all occaſions for the maintaining or recovering of the Dominions beyond Sea: Therefore ſhe was very deſirous to find ſuch a Temper in which all might agree. She obſerved, that in the Changes formerly made, particularly in renouncing the Papacy, and making ſome Alterations in Worſhip, the whole Clergy had concurred, and ſo ſhe reſolved to follow and imitate theſe by eaſie ſteps.

1558.

There was a long Conſultation had about the Method of the Changes ſhe ſhould make: The ſubſtance of which ſhall be found in the *Collection*, in a Paper, where, in the way of Queſtion and Anſwer, the whole deſign of it is laid down. This Draught of it was given to Sir *William Cecil*, and does exactly agree with the account that *Cambden* gives of it. That Learned and Judicious Man has written the Hiſtory of this Queens Reign, with that Fidelity and Care, in ſo good a Stile, and with ſo much Judgment, that it is without queſtion the beſt part of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory: but he himſelf often ſays, that he had left many things to thoſe who ſhould undertake the Hiſtory of the Church; therefore in the Account of the beginnings of this Reign, as I ſhall in all things follow him with the credit that is due to ſo extraordinary a Writer, ſo having met with ſome things which he did not know, or thought not neceſſary in ſo ſuccinct a Hiſtory to enlarge on, I ſhall not be afraid to write after him, though the Eſteem he is juſtly in may make it ſeem ſuperfluous to go over theſe matters any more.

A Method of doing it propoſed.

Collection Number 1.

The Heads of it.

“ It ſeemed neceſſary for the Queen to do nothing before a Parliament “ were called; for only from that Aſſembly could the affections of the “ People be certainly gathered. The next thing ſhe had to do, was to bal- “ lance the dangers that threatned her both from abroad and at home. “ The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depoſe her, and ſtir up “ all Chriſtian Princes againſt her: The King of *France* would lay hold “ of any opportunity to embroil the Nation; and by the aſſiſtance of “ *Scotland*, and of the *Iriſh*, might perhaps raiſe troubles in her Dominions. “ Thoſe that were in Power in Queen *Maries* time, and remained firm “ to the old Superſtition, would be diſcontented at the Reformation of “ Religion: the Biſhops and Clergy would generally oppoſe it: and “ ſince there was a neceſſity of demanding Subſidies, they would take “ occaſion, by the diſcontent the People would be in on that account, “ to inflame them: and thoſe who would be diſſatisfied at the retaining “ of ſome of the old Ceremonies, would on the other hand diſparage “ the Changes that ſhould be made, and call the Religion a Cloak'd- “ Papiſtry, and ſo alienate many of the moſt zealous from it. To “ remedy all theſe things, it was propoſed to make Peace with *France*, “ and to cheriſh thoſe in that Kingdom that deſired the Reformation. “ The Curſes and Practiſes of *Rome* were not much to be feared. In “ *Scotland* thoſe muſt be encouraged who deſired the like change in Re- “ ligion; and a little Money among the Heads of the Families in “ *Ireland*, would go a great way. And for thoſe that had born Rule “ in Queen *Maries* time, ways were to be taken to leſſen their credit “ throughout *England*: they were not to be too ſoon truſted or em- “ ployed, upon pretence of Turning; but thoſe who were known “ to be well affected to Religion, and the Queens Perſon, were to be “ ſought after and encouraged. The Biſhops were generally hated by “ the Nation: It would be eaſie to draw them within the Statute of “ *Præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they muſt be kept under “ it, till they had renounced the Pope, and conſented to the Altera- “ tions that ſhould be made. The Commiſſions of the Peace, and for “ the Militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and ſuch Men were to be “ put in them, as would be firm to the Queens Intereſts. When the

1558.

“ Changes ſhould be made, ſome ſevere puniſhments would make the
“ reſt more readily ſubmit. Great care was to be had of the Univer-
“ ſities, and other publick Schools, as *Eaton* and *Wincheſter*, that the
“ next Generation might be betimes ſeaſoned with the Love and Know-
“ ledge of Religion. Some learned Men, as *Bill*, *Parker*, *May*, *Cox*,
“ *Whitehead*, *Grindall*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, were to be
“ ordered to meet and conſider of the Book of Service. In the mean
“ while the People were to be reſtrained from Innovating without Au-
“ thority; and the Queen, to give ſome hope of a Reformation, might
“ appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds. The Perſons
“ that were thought fit to be truſted with the Secret of theſe Conſul-
“ tations, were the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Bedford*, and
“ *Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Gray*. The Place that was thought moſt
“ convenient for the Divines to meet in, was Sir *Thomas Smiths* Houſe
“ in *Channon-Row*, where an Allowance was to be given for their En-
“ tertainment.

The forwardneſs in many to the Reformation.

As ſoon as the News of the Queens coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, all thoſe who had fled thither for ſhelter did return into *England*: and thoſe who had lived in Corners during the late Perſecution, now appeared with no ſmall aſſurance: and theſe, having notice of the Queens Intentions, could not contain themſelves, but in many Places begun to make Changes, to ſet up King *Edwards* Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Prieſts. Upon this, the Queen, to make ſome diſcovery of her own Inclinations, gave order, that the Goſpels and Epiſtles, and the Lords Prayer, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Ten Commandements, ſhould be read in *Engliſh*, and that the Letany ſhould be alſo uſed in *Engliſh*: and ſhe forbade the Prieſts to Elevate the Hoſt at Maſs. Having done this, on the 27*th* of *December* ſhe ſet out a Proclamation againſt all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to uſe no other Forms of Worſhip than thoſe ſhe had in her Chappel, till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed by the Parliament, which ſhe had ſummoned to meet on the 23*d* of *January*. The Writs were iſſued out by *Bacon*, into whoſe Hands ſhe had delivered the Great Seal. On the fifth of *December*, ſhe performed her Siſters Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at *Weſtminſter*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being appointed to preach the Sermon, did ſo mightily extoll her and her Government, and ſo ſeverely taxed the diſorders which he thought the Innovators were guilty of, not without reflections on the Queen, that he was thereupon confined to his Houſe till the Parliament met.

Parker deſigned to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

One of the chief things under conſultation, was, to provide Men fit to be put into the Sees that were now vacant, or that might fall to be ſo afterwards, if the Biſhops ſhould continue intractable. Thoſe now vacant, were the Sees of *Canterbury*, *Hereford*, *Briſtol*, and *Bangor*: and in the beginning of the next Year the Biſhops of *Norwich*, and *Gloceſter* died: ſo that, as *Cambden* hath it, there were but fourteen Biſhops living when the Parliament met. It was of great importance to find Men able to ſerve in theſe Imployments, chiefly in the See of *Canterbury*. For this, Dr. *Parker* was ſoon thought on. Whether others had the offer of it before him,

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1558. or not, I cannot tell: but he was writ to by Sir *Nicholas Bacon* on the ninth of *December*, to come up to *London*; and afterwards on the 30*th* of *December*, by Sir *William Cecil*; and again by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, on the fourth of *January*. He underſtood, that it was for ſome high preferment; and being a Man of an humble Temper, diſtruſtful of himſelf, that loved privacy, and was much diſabled by ſickneſs, he declined coming up all he could: he begged he might not be thought of for any publick Imployment, but that ſome Prebend might be aſſigned him, where he might be free both from Care and Government; ſince the Infirmities, which he had contracted by his flying about in the Nights in Queen *Maries* time, had diſabled him from a more publick ſtation. That to which he pretended, ſhews how moderate his deſires were: for he profeſſed, an Imployment of twenty Nobles a year would be more acceptable to him than one of two hundred Pound. He had been Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bullen*, and had received a ſpecial charge from her, a little before ſhe died, to look well to the Inſtruction of her Daughter in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion; and now the Queen had a grateful Remembrance of thoſe Services. This, joyned with the high Eſteem that Sir *Nicholas Bacon* had of him, ſoon made her reſolve to raiſe him to that great Dignity. And ſince ſuch high Preferments are generally, if not greedily ſought after, yet very willingly undertaken by moſt Men; it will be no unfit thing to lay open a modern Precedent, which indeed ſavours more of the Ancient than the latter Times; for then in ſtead of that *Ambitus*, which has given ſuch offence to the World in the latter Ages, it was ordinary for Men to fly from the offer of great Preferments. Some run away when they underſtood they were to be Ordained, or had been Elected to great Sees, and fled to a Wilderneſs. This ſhewed they had a great ſenſe of the Care of Souls, and were more apprehenſive of that weighty Charge, than deſirous to raiſe or enrich themſelves or their Families. It hath been ſhewed before, that *Cranmer* was very unwillingly engaged in the See of *Canterbury*; and now, he that ſucceeded him in that See with the ſame deſigns, was drawn into it with ſuch unwillingneſs, that it was almoſt a whole year before he could be prevailed upon to accept of it: The account of this will appear in the Series of Letters both written to him, and by him, on that Head; which were communicated to me by the preſent moſt Worthy and moſt Reverend Primate of this Church. I cannot mention him in this place without taking notice, that as in his other great Vertues and Learning he has gone in the ſteps of thoſe moſt eminent Arch-biſhops that went before him; ſo the whole Nation is witneſs how far he was from aſpiring to high Preferment, how he withdrew from all thoſe opportunities that might be ſteps to it, how much he was ſurprized with his unlooked-for advancement, how unwillingly he was raiſed, and how humble and affable he continues in that high Station he is now in: but this is a Subject that I muſt leave for them to enlarge on that ſhall write the Hiſtory of this preſent Age.

1559. Bacon made Lord Keeper.

In the beginning of the next Year, the Queen having found that *Heath* Arch-biſhop of *York*, then Lord Chancellor, would not go along with her, as he had done in the Reigns of her Father and Brother; and having therefore taken the Seals from him, and put them into Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Hand, did now by Patent create him Lord Keeper. Formerly thoſe that were Keepers of the Seal, had no Dignity nor Authority annexed to their Office; they did not hear Cauſes, nor preſide in the Houſe of Lords, but were only to put the Seals to ſuch Writs or Patents as went in courſe; and ſo it was only put in the Hands of a Keeper but for ſome ſhort Interval. But now, *Bacon* was the firſt Lord Keeper, that had all the Dignity and Authority of the Lord Chancellor conferred on him; and his not being raiſed to that high Title, perhaps flowed from his own modeſty; for as he was one of the moſt Learned, moſt Pious, and Wiſeſt Men of the Nation; ſo he retained in all his greatneſs a Modeſty equal to what the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* had carried with them to their higheſt advancement. He was Father to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viſcount St. *Albans*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, that will be always eſteemed one of the greateſt Glories of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The Queens Coronation.

The Queen was now to be Crowned; and having gone on the twelfth of *January* to the *Tower*, ſhe returned from thence in State on the thirteenth. As ſhe went into her Chariot, ſhe lifted up her "Eyes to Heaven, and bleſſed God that had preſerved her to ſee "that Joyful Day, and that had ſaved her as he did his Prophet "*Daniel* out of the Mouth of the Lyons. She acknowledged her "Deliverance was only from him, to whom ſhe offered up the "Praiſe of it. She paſſed through *London* in great Triumph: and having obſerved that her Siſter, by the ſullenneſs of her behaviour to the People, had much loſt their affections; therefore ſhe always uſed, as ſhe paſſed through Crowds, but more eſpecially this day, to look out of her Coach cheerfully on them, and to return the reſpects they paid her with great ſweetneſs in her Looks; commonly ſaying, *God bleſs You, my People*; which affected them much. But nothing pleaſed the City more than her behaviour as ſhe went under one of the Triumphal Arches: There was a rich Bible let down to her, as from Heaven, by a Child, repreſenting *Truth*; She with great Reverence kiſſed both her Hands, and receiving it, kiſſed it, and laid it next her Heart; and profeſſed ſhe was better pleaſed with that Preſent, than with all the other Magnificent ones that had been that day made her by the City: This drew Tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes. And indeed this Queen had a ſtrange Art of inſinuating her ſelf by ſuch ways into the affections of her People. Some ſaid ſhe was too Theatrical in it; but it wrought her end; ſince by theſe little things in her deportment ſhe gained more on their affections, than other Princes have been able to do by more real and ſignificant Arts of Grace and Favour. The day following ſhe was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, all the other Biſhops refuſing to aſſiſt at that Solemnity. He, and the

1559.

reſt of that Order, perceived that ſhe would change the Religion then eſtabliſhed, and looked on the Alterations ſhe had already made, as Pledges of more to follow; and obſerved by the favour that *Cecil* and *Bacon* had with her, that ſhe would return to what had been ſet up by her Brother. They had already turned ſo oft, that they were aſhamed to be turning at every time. *Heath*, *Tonſtall*, and *Thirleby*, had complied in King *Edwards* time, as well as in King *Henry's*; and though *Thirleby* had continued in credit and favour with them to the laſt; yet he had been one of thoſe who had gone to *Rome*, where he made ſuch publick Profeſſions of his reſpect to the Apoſtolick See; and he had alſo aſſiſted at the degradation and condemnation of *Cranmer*; ſo that he thought it indecent for him to return to that Way any more: Therefore he with all the reſt reſolved to adhere to what they had ſet up in Queen *Maries* time. There were two of King *Edwards* Biſhops yet alive, who were come into *England*, yet the Queen choſe rather to be conſecrated by a Biſhop actually in Office, and according to the old Rites, which none but *Oglethorp* could be perſwaded to do. After that, ſhe gave a general Pardon according to the Common Form.

The Parliament meets.

On the 23*d* of *January*, being the day to which the Parliament was ſummoned, it was Prorogued till the 25*th*, and then it was opened with a long Speech of the Lord *Bacons*, in which he laid "before them the diſtracted eſtate of the Nation, both in matters of Religion, and the other Miſeries that the Wars and late Calamities had brought upon them: all which he recommended to their care. For Religion, the Queen deſired they would conſider of it without heat or partial affection, or uſing any reproachful term of *Papiſt* or *Heretick*; and that they would avoid the Extreams, of Idolatry and Superſtition on the one hand, and contempt and irreligion on the other; and that they would examine matters without Sophiſtical Niceties, or too ſubtil Speculations, and endeavour to ſettle things ſo as might bring the People to an Uniformity and Cordial Agreement in them. As for the ſtate of the Nation, he ſhewed the Queens great unwillingneſs to lay new Impoſitions on them, upon which he run out largely in her commendation, giving them all aſſurance that there was nothing ſhe would endeavour more effectually than the advancing of their Proſperity, and the preſerving their affections. He laid open the loſs of *Calais*, with great reflections on thoſe who had been formerly in the Government; yet ſpoke of it as a thing which they could not at that time hope to recover; and laid before them the charge the Government muſt be at, and the neceſſities the Queen was in; adding in her Name, that ſhe would deſire no Supply, but what they did freely and cheerfully offer.

One of the firſt things that the Commons conſidered, was, whether the want of the Title of *Supream Head*, which the Queen had not yet aſſumed, was a Nullity in the Summons for this and other Parliaments in which it had been omitted; but after this had been conſidered ſome days, it was judged to be no nullity; for the annulling

1559. nulling of a Parliament, except it had under a force, or for ſome other error in the Conſtitution, was a thing of Dangerous Conſequence.

The Treaty at *Cambray.* But leaving the Conſultations at *Weſtminſter*, I ſhall now give an account of the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray.* That at which things ſtuck moſt, was the rendring of *Calais* again to the *Engliſh*, which the *French* did poſitively refuſe to do. For a great while *Philip* demanded it with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he declared he would make Peace on no other terms; ſince as he was bound in Point of Honour to ſee the *Engliſh*, who engaged in the War only on his account, reſtored to the condition that they were in at the beginning of it; ſo his Intereſt made him deſire that they might be Maſters of that Place, by which, it being ſo near them, they could have the Conveniency of ſending over Forces to give a diverſion to the *French* at any time thereafter, as their Alliances with him ſhould require. But when *Philip* ſaw there was no hope of a Marriage with the Queen, and perceived that ſhe was making alterations in Religion, he grew leſs careful of her Intereſts, and ſecretly agreed a Peace with the *French.* But that he might have ſome colour to excuſe himſelf for abandoning her, he told her Ambaſſador, that the *French* had offered him full ſatisfaction in all his own concerns, ſo that the Peace was hindered only by the Conſideration of *Calais*; and therefore, unleſs the *Engliſh* would enter into a League with him for keeping up the War ſix years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his Affairs. The Queen perceiving that ſhe was to expect no more aſſiſtance from the *Spaniard*, who was ſo much engaged to the old Superſtition, that he would enter into no ſtrict League with any whom he accounted an Heretick, was willing to liſten to the Meſſages that were ſent her from *France*, by the Conſtable and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace. She on the other hand complained that the Queen of *Scotland*, and her Huſband in her Right, had aſſumed the Title and Arms of *England:* It was anſwered, That was done as the younger Brothers in *Germany* carried the Title of the great Families from whence they were deſcended; and for Titles, the Queen of *England* had little reaſon to quarrel about that, ſince ſhe carried the Title, and gave the Arms of *France.*

A Peace with *France* agreed to. The Queen and her Council ſaw it was impoſſible for her to carry on the War with *France* alone. The laying heavy Impoſitions on her Subjects in the beginning of her Reign, might render her very ingrateful to the Nation, who loved not to be charged with many Subſidies: and when the War ſhould produce nothing but ſome Waſts on the *French* Coaſts, which was all that could be expected, ſince it was unreaſonable to look for the Recovery of *Calais*, it might turn all the Joy they were now in at her coming to the Crown into as general a diſcontent. It was the ruine of the Duke of *Somerſet*, that he had engaged in a War in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign, when he was making Changes in Religion at home: therefore it was neceſſary to yield to the neceſſity of the time, eſpecially ſince the loſs of *Calais* was no reproach on the

1559.

Queen, but on her Siſter: ſo it was reſolved on, to make a general Peace, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might with the leſs danger apply themſelves to the correcting what was amiſs in *England*, both in Religion, and the Civil Government. At length a Peace was made on theſe terms, That there ſhould be free Commerce between the Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: the *French* ſhould keep *Calais* for eight years; and at the end of that time ſhould deliver it to the *Engliſh*: and if it were not then delivered, they ſhould pay to the *Engliſh* 500000 Crowns, for which they ſhould give good ſecurity by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and give Hoſtages till the Security were given: but if during theſe years the Queen made War on *France*, or *Scotland*, ſhe was to loſe her Right to that Town; or if the *French* or *Scots* made War on her, *Calais* ſhould be preſently reſtored; to which ſhe was ſtill to reſerve her Right: *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be razed, and a Commiſſion was to be ſent down to ſome of both Kingdoms, to agree all leſſer differences. On theſe terms a Peace was made, and proclaimed between thoſe Crowns; to which many of the *Engliſh*, that did not apprehend what the charge of a War for the regaining of *Calais* would have amounted to, were very averſe; thinking it highly diſhonourable, that they, whoſe Anceſtors had made ſuch Conqueſts in *France*, ſhould be now beaten out of the only remainder that they had on the Continent; and thus make a Peace by which it was in effect parted with for ever. For all theſe Conditions about reſtoring it were underſtood to be only for palliating ſo Inglorious a buſineſs. But the Reformed caſt the blame of this on the Papiſts; and ſome moved, that all the late Queens Council ſhould be queſtioned for their Miſgovernment in that Particular: for it was thought, nothing would make them ſo odious to the Nation, as the charging that on them. They on the other hand did caſt the blame of it on the Lord *Wentworth*, that had been Governour of *Calais*, and was now profeſſedly one of the Reformed, and had been very gentle to theſe of that Perſwaſion during his Government. But he put himſelf on a Trial by his Peers, which he underwent on the 22*d* of *April*, and there did ſo clear himſelf, that he was by the Judgment of the Peers acquitted.

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

The Queens Government being thus quieted abroad, ſhe was thereby at more leiſure to do things at home. The firſt Bill that was put into the Houſe of Lords to try their affections and diſpoſition to a Change in the matters of Religion, was that for the Reſtitution of the Tenths and Firſt Fruits to the Crown. It was agreed to by the Lords on the fourth of *February*, having been put in the 30*th* of *January*, and was the firſt Bill that was read: the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Landaffe*, *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, and *Carliſle*, proteſted againſt it, theſe were all of that Order that were at the Seſſion, except the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, who it ſeems were occaſionally abſent. On the ſixth of *February* it was ſent down to the Commons, to which they readily agreed; and ſo it had the Royal Aſſent. By it, not only the Tenths and Firſt Fruits were again reſtored to the

Crown, but alſo all Impropriated Benefices which had been ſurrendred up by Queen *Mary*.

They addreſs to the Queen for her marrying.

But the Commons, reflecting on the Miſeries in which they had been lately involved by Queen *Maries* Marriage, had much debate about an Addreſs to the Queen to induce her to marry. On the fourth of *February* it was argued in the Houſe of Commons; and on the ſixth, the Speaker, with the Privy-Counſellors of the Houſe, and thirty Members more, were ſent with their deſires to the Queen. "They expreſſed the affections of the Nation to her, and ſaid, That "if they could hope ſhe might be Immortal they would reſt ſatiſfied; but that being a vain Imagination, they earneſtly beſought "her to chooſe ſuch a Husband as might make the Nation and her "ſelf happy; and by the bleſſing of God, bring ſuch Iſſue as might "Reign after her death, which they prayed God might be very late.

The Queens Anſwer.

She ſaid, "She looked on that as an expreſſion both of their "affection and reſpect, ſince they had neither limited Time nor "Place. She declared that ſhe had hitherto lived in a ſingle ſtate "with great ſatisfaction; and had neither entertained ſome Honourable Propoſitions which, the Lord Treaſurer knew, had been made "to her in her Brothers time, nor had been moved by the fears of "death that ſhe was in, while ſhe was under her Siſters diſpleaſure, "(of which ſhe would ſay little; for though ſhe knew, or might juſtly ſuſpect, by whoſe means it was, yet ſhe would not utter it, nor "would ſhe charge it on the Dead, or caſt the burthen of it wholly upon her Siſter:) But ſhe aſſured them, if ever ſhe married, ſhe "would make ſuch a Choice as ſhould be to the ſatisfaction and "good of her People: She did not know what credit ſhe might "yet have with them; but ſhe knew well, ſhe deſerved to have it, "for ſhe was reſolved never to deceive them: Her People were to "her in ſtead of Children, and ſhe reckoned her ſelf married to them, "by her Coronation: They would not want a Succeſſor when ſhe "died; and for her part, ſhe ſhould be well contented that the Marble ſhould tell Poſterity, HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT "REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A "VIRGIN: She took their Addreſs in good part, and deſired "them to carry back her hearty thanks for the care the Commons "had of her.

The Journals of the Houſe of Lords are imperfect, ſo that we find nothing in them of this matter: yet it appears that they likewiſe had it before them: for the Journals of the Houſe of Commons have it marked, that on the fifteenth of *February*, there was a Meſſage ſent from the Lords, deſiring that a Committee of thirty Commoners might meet with twelve Lords to conſider what ſhould be the Authority of the Perſon whom the Queen ſhould marry. The Committee was appointed to treat concerning it; but it ſeems, the Queen deſired them to turn to other things that were more preſſing: for I find nothing, after this, entred in the Journals of this Parliament concerning it.

1559.

They recognize her Title to the Crown.

On the ninth of *February* the Lords paſt a Bill for the Recognizing of the Queens Title to the Crown. It had been conſidered whether as Queen *Mary* had procured a former Repeal of her Mothers Divorce, and of the Acts that paſſed upon it declaring her Illegitimate, the like ſhould be done now. The Lord Keeper ſaid, The Crown purged all defects, and it was needleſs to look back to a thing which would at leaſt caſt a reproach on her Father: the enquiring into ſuch things too anxiouſly would rather prejudice than advance her Title. So he adviſed that there ſhould be an Act paſſed in general words aſſerting the lawfulneſs of her deſcent, and her Right to the Crown, rather than any ſpecial Repeal. Queen *Mary* and her Council were careleſs of King *Henry's* Honour; but it became her rather to conceal than expoſe his Weakneſs. This being thought both Wiſe and Pious Council, the Act was conceived in general Words, “That they did aſſuredly believe and declare, that by the Laws of God and of the Realm ſhe was their lawful Queen, and that ſhe was rightly, lineally, and lawfully deſcended from the Royal Blood, and that the Crown did without all doubt or ambiguity belong to her, and the Heirs to be lawfully begotten of her Body after her; and that they, as repreſenting the Three Eſtates of the Realm, did declare and aſſert her Title, which they would defend with their Lives and Fortunes. This was thought to be very wiſe Council: for if they had gone to repeal the Sentence of Divorce which paſſed upon her Mothers acknowledging a Precontract, they muſt have ſet forth the force that was on her when ſhe made that Confeſſion: and that, as it was a great diſhonour to her Father, ſo it would have raiſed diſcourſes likewiſe to her Mothers prejudice; which muſt have rather weakned than ſtrengthened her Title: And, as has been formerly obſerved, this ſeems to be the true reaſon why in all her Reign there was no Apology printed for her Mother. There was another Act paſſed for the reſtoring of her in Blood to her Mother, by which ſhe was qualified, as a private Subject, to ſucceed, either to her Grand-fathers Eſtate, or to any others by that Blood.

The Acts that were paſſed concerning Religion.

But for the matters of Religion, the Commons began; and on the fifteenth of *February*, brought in a Bill for the *Engliſh* Service, and concerning the Miniſters of the Church. On the 21*ſt* a Bill was read for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown again; and on the 17*th* of *March* another Bill was brought in, confirming the Laws made about Religion in King *Edwards* time: and on the 21*ſt* another was brought in, That the Queen ſhould have the Nomination of the Biſhops, as it had been in King *Edwards* time. The Bill for the Supremacy was paſt by the Lords on the 18*th* of *March*; the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Viſcount *Mountacute*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, *Landaffe*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, and *Carliſle*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, diſſenting. But afterwards the Commons annexed many other Bills to it, as that about the Queens making Biſhops, not according to the Act made in King *Edwards* time, but by the old way of Elections, as it was Enacted in the 25*th* Year of her Fathers Reign,

1559. with ſeveral Proviſoes; which paſſed in the Houſe of Lords with the ſame diſſent. By it, "all the Acts paſt in the Reign of King *Henry*, "for the aboliſhing of the Popes Power, are again revived; and the "Acts in Queen *Maries* time, to the contrary, are repealed. There "was alſo a Repeal of the Act made by her for proceeding againſt "Hereticks. They revived the Act made in the firſt Parliament of "King *Edward*, againſt thoſe that ſpoke irreverently of the Sacrament, and againſt private Maſſes, and for Communion in both kinds: "And declared the Authority of Viſiting, Correcting, and Reforming "all things in the Church, to be for ever annexed to the Crown, "which the Queen and her Succeſſors might by her Letters Patents "depute to any Perſons to exerciſe in her Name. All Biſhops, and "other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and all in any Civil Imployment, were "required to ſwear that they acknowledged the Queen to be the *Supream Governour in all Cauſes as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal within her Dominions; that they renounced all Forreign Power and Juriſdiction; and ſhould bear the Queen Faith and true Allegiance:* "Whoſoever ſhould refuſe to ſwear it, was to forfeit any Office he "had either in Church or State; and to be from thenceforth diſabled to hold any Imployment during Life. And if within a Month "after the end of that Seſſion of Parliament, any ſhould, either by "diſcourſe or in writing, ſet forth the Authority of any Forreign "Power, or do any thing for the advancement of it, they were to "forfeit all their Goods and Chattels: and if they had not Goods "to the value of twenty Pounds, they were to be Impriſoned a "whole year; and for the ſecond offence they were to incur the "Pains of a *Præmunire:* and the third offence in that kind was made "Treaſon. To this a Proviſo was added, That ſuch Perſons as ſhould "be Commiſſioned by the Queen to Reform and Order Eccleſiaſtical Matters, ſhould judge nothing to be Hereſie but what had been "already ſo Judged, by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, "or by the firſt four General Councils, or by any other General "Council in which ſuch Doctrines were declared to be Hereſies by "the expreſs and plain Words of Scripture: All other Points, not "ſo decided, were to be judged by the Parliament with the aſſent "of the Clergy in their Convocation.

This Act was in many things ſhort of the Authority that King *Henry* had claimed, and the ſeverity of the Laws he had made. The Title of *Supream Head* was left out of the Oath: This was done to mitigate the Oppoſition of the Popiſh Party; but beſides, the Queen her ſelf had a ſcruple about it, which was put in her Head by one *Lever*, a famous Preacher among thoſe of the Reformation, of which *Sands*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, complained to *Parker* in a Letter that is in the *Collection*. There was no other puniſhment inflicted on thoſe that denied the Queens Supremacy, but the loſs of their Goods; and ſuch as refuſed to take the Oath, did only loſe their Imployments; whereas to refuſe the Oath in King *Henry*'s time, brought them into a *Præmunire*, and to deny the Supremacy was Treaſon. But againſt this Bill the Biſhops made Speeches in the Houſe of Lords. I have ſeen a Speech of this kind was ſaid to have

Collection Number 2.

The Biſhops oppoſe the Queens Supremacy.

have been made by Arch-biſhop *Heath*; but it muſt be forgery put out in his Name: for he is made to ſpeak of the Supremacy as a new and unheard of thing, which he, who had ſworn it ſo oft in King *Henry's* and King *Edwards* times, could not have the face to ſay. The reſt of the Biſhops oppoſed it, the rather, becauſe they had lately declared ſo high for the Pope that it had been very indecent for them to have revolted ſo ſoon. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* came not to this Parliament. There were ſome hopes of gaining him to concur in the Reformation: for in the Warrant the Queen afterwards gave to ſome for Conſecrating the new Biſhops, he is firſt named; and I have ſeen a Letter of Secretary *Cecils* to *Parker*, that gives him ſome hope that *Tonſtal* would joyn with them. He had been offended with the Cruelties of the late Reign; and though the reſentments he had of his ill uſage in the end of King *Edwards* time, had made him at firſt concur more heartily to the reſtoring of Popery, yet he ſoon fell off, and declared his diſlike of thoſe violent Courſes; and neither did he, nor *Heath*, bring any in trouble within their Dioceſſes upon the account of Religion; though it is hardly credible that there was no occaſion for their being ſevere, if they had been otherwiſe enclined to it. The Biſhop of *Ely* was alſo abſent at the paſſing of this Act; for though he would not conſent to it, yet he had done all that was preſcribed by it ſo often before, that it ſeems he thought it more decent to be abſent, than either to conſent to it, or to oppoſe it. 1559.

The beginning of the High Commiſſion.

The Power that was added for the Queens Commiſſionating ſome to Execute her Supremacy, gave the Riſe to that Court, which was commonly called the *High Commiſſion Court*; and was to be in the room of a ſingle Perſon, to whom, with the Title of Lord Vice-gerent, King *Henry* did delegate his Authority. It ſeems, the Clergy-men with whom the Queen conſulted at this time, thought this too much to be put in one Mans Hand, and therefore reſolved to have it ſhared to more Perſons, of whom a great many would certainly be Church-men: ſo that they ſhould not be altogether kept under by the hard Hands of the Laity, who having groaned long under the Tyranny of an Eccleſiaſtical Yoke, ſeemed now diſpoſed to revenge themſelves by bringing the Clergy as much under them; for ſo Extreams do commonly riſe from one another.

The Popiſh Clergy were now every where beginning to declaim againſt Innovation and Hereſie. *Harpsfield* had, in a Sermon at *Canterbury* in *February*, ſtirred the People much to Sedition: and the Members belonging to that Cathedral had openly ſaid, that Religion ſhould not nor could not be altered. The Council alſo heard that the Prebendaries there had bought up many Arms: ſo a Letter was written to Sir *Thomas Smith*, to examine that matter. *Harpsfield* was not put in Priſon, but received only a Rebuke. There came alſo complaints from many other Places of many Seditious Sermons: So the Queen, following the Precedent her Siſter had ſet her, did, in the beginning of *March*, forbid all Preaching, except by ſuch as had a Licence under the Great Seal. But leſt the Clergy might now in the Convocation ſet out Orders in oppoſition to what the Queen was about to do; ſhe ſent, and required them, under the Pains of a *Præmunire*, to make no Canons. Yet

1559. *Harpsfield*, that was Prolocutor, with the reſt of the lower Houſe, made an Addreſs to the upper Houſe, to be by them preſented to the Queen, for the diſcharge of their Conſciences. They reduced the Particulars into five Articles. 1. That Chriſt was corporally preſent in the Sacrament. 2. That there was no other Subſtance there but his Body and Blood. 3. That in the Maſs there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and the Living. 4. That St. *Peter* and his lawful Succeſſors had the Power of feeding and governing the Church. 5. That the Power of treating about Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Order of Divine Worſhip, belonged only to the Paſtors of the Church. Theſe they had ſent to the two Univerſities, from whence they were returned, with the Hands of the greateſt part in them to the firſt four; but it ſeems they thought it not fit to ſign the laſt: For now the Queen had reſolved to have a publick Conference about Religion in the Abby-Church of *Weſtminſter*.

The Arch-biſhop of *York* was continued ſtill to be of the Council; ſo the Conference being propoſed to him, he, after he had Communicated it to his Brethren, accepted of it, though with ſome unwillingneſs. It was appointed that there ſhould be nine of a ſide, who ſhould confer about theſe three Points. 1. *Whether it was not againſt the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the Ancient Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the People, in the Common-Prayers and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments?* 2. *Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away, Ceremonies, and Eccleſiaſtical Rites, ſo the ſame were done to edification.* 3. *Whether it could be proved by the Word of God, that in the Maſs there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living?* All was ordered to be done in Writing. The Biſhops, as being actually in Office, were to read their Papers firſt upon the firſt Point, and the Reformed were to read theirs next; and then they were to exchange their Papers, without any diſcourſe concerning them, for the avoiding of jangling. The next day they were to read their Papers upon the ſecond, and after that, upon the third Head: and then they were to anſwer one anothers Papers. The Nine on both ſides were, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Litchfield*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, and *Lincoln*, and Doctors *Cole*, *Harpsfield*, *Langdale*, and *Chedſey*, on the Popiſh ſide: and *Scory* late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Cox*, *Whitehead*, *Grindal*, *Horn*, *Sands*, *Gueſt*, *Almer*, and *Jewel*, for the Proteſtants. The laſt of *March* was appointed to be the firſt day of Conference, where the Privy Council was to be preſent, and the Lord Keeper was to ſee that they ſhould not depart from the Rules to which they had agreed.

The noiſe of this drew vaſt numbers of People to ſo unuſual a ſight: it being expected that there ſhould be much fairer dealings now, than had been in the Diſputes in Queen *Maries* time. The whole Houſe of Commons came to hear it, as no doubt the Lords did alſo, though it is not marked in their Journal. At their meeting, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid their Paper was not quite ready, and pretended they had miſtaken the Order: But Dr. *Cole* ſhould deliver what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order that they could copy it out. The Secret of this was, the Biſhops had in their private Conſultations agreed to read their Paper, but not to give thoſe they called Hereticks a

Copy

1559.

Copy of it: They could not decently refuſe to give a publick account of their Doctrine, but they were reſolved not to enter into Diſputes with any about it: This ſeemed to be the giving up of the Faith, if they ſhould ſuffer it again to be brought into queſtion: Beſides, they look'd on it as the Higheſt Act of Supremacy, for the Queen to appoint ſuch Conferences: for ſhe and her Council would pretend to judge in theſe Points, when they had done diſputing. For theſe Reaſons they would not engage to make any Exchange of Papers. The Lord Keeper took notice that this was contrary to the Order laid down at the Council Board, to which the Arch-biſhop of *York* had in their Names conſented. But they pretending they had miſtaken the Order, *Cole* was appointed to deliver their Minds, which he did in a long Diſcourſe, the greateſt part of which he read out of a Book, that will be found in the *Collection.* For though they refuſed to deliver a Copy of it, yet *Parker* ſome way procured it, among whoſe Papers I found it. The Subſtance of it was, “ That although it might “ ſeem that the Scriptures had appointed the Worſhip of God to be “ in a known Tongue; yet that might be changed by the Authority “ of the Church, which had changed the Sabbath, appointed in the “ Scripture, without any Authority from thence. Chriſt waſhed his “ Diſciples Feet, and bid them do the like, yet this was not kept up: “ Chriſt Inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood after Supper; and yet the Church appointed it to be received faſting: ſo “ had the Church alſo given it only in one kind, though Chriſt himſelf “ gave it in both: And whereas the Apoſtles, by Authority from the “ Holy Ghoſt, commanded all Believers to abſtain from Blood, yet “ that was not thought to oblige any now: and though there was a “ Community of Goods in the Apoſtles times, it was no obligation to “ Chriſtians to ſet up that now: ſo that this matter was in the Power of “ the Church. And ſince the Church of *Rome* had appointed the “ *Latin* Service to be every where uſed, it was Schiſmatical to ſeparate “ from it: for according to *Ireneus*, all Churches ought to agree with “ her, by reaſon of her great Preeminence. Upon which they run out “ largely to ſhew the miſchiefs of Schiſm, both in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and in other Countries. And for the *Brittains* and *Saxons* of “ *England*, their firſt Apoſtles, that converted them to Chriſtianity, were “ Men of other Nations, and did never uſe any Service but that of their “ Native Language. All the Vulgar Tongues did change much, but the “ *Latin* was ever the ſame: and it was not fit for the Church to be changing her Service. The Queen of *Ethiopia's* Eunuch read *Iſaiah's* Book, “ though he underſtood it not; upon which, God ſent *Philip* to him to “ expound it: So the People are to come to their Teachers, to have “ thoſe things explained to them which they cannot underſtand of themſelves. There were many Rites in the Jewiſh Religion, the ſignification whereof the People underſtood as little then, as the Vulgar do “ the *Latin* now; and yet they were commanded to uſe them. The “ People were to uſe their private Prayers in what Tongue they pleaſed, “ though the publick Prayers were put up in *Latin*; and ſuch Prayers “ may be for their profit, though they underſtand them not, as abſent “ Perſons are the better for the Prayers which they do not hear, much

Collection Number 4.

Arguments for the *Latin* Service.

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1559.

"leſs underſtand. They ſaid, it was not to be thought that the Holy Ghoſt had ſo long forſaken his Church, and that a few lately riſen up were to teach all the World. They concluded, that they could bring many more Authorities; but they, being to defend a Negative, thought it needleſs, and would refer theſe to the Anſwers they were to make.

Arguments againſt it.

Collection Number 3.

When this was done, the Lord Keeper turned to thoſe of the other ſide, and deſired them to read their Paper. *Horn* was appointed by them to do it. He began with a ſhort Prayer to God to enlighten their minds, and with a Proteſtation that they were reſolved to follow the Truth according to the Word of God. Then he read his Paper, which will be alſo found in the *Collection*. "They founded their Aſſertion on St. *Pauls* words, who, in the 14*th* Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, had treated on that Subject of ſet purpoſe; and ſpake in it, not only of Preaching, but of Praying with the Underſtanding; and ſaid, that the Unlearned were to ſay *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. From that Chapter they argued, that St. *Paul* commanded that all things ſhould be done to Edification, which could not be by an unknown Language: He alſo charged them that nothing ſhould be ſaid that had an uncertain ſound; and that, as the ſound of a Trumpet muſt be diſtinct, ſo the People muſt underſtand what is ſaid, that ſo they might ſay *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. He alſo required thoſe that ſpake in a ſtrange Language, and could not get one to interpret, to hold their peace; ſince it was an abſurd thing for one to be a Barbarian to others in the Worſhip of God: and though the ſpeaking with ſtrange Tongues was then an extraordinary Gift of God, yet he ordered that it ſhould not be uſed where there was no Interpreter. They added, that theſe things were ſo ſtrictly commanded by St. *Paul*, that it is plain they are not indifferent, or within the Power of the Church. In the Old Teſtament, the *Jews* had their Worſhip in the Vulgar Tongue; and yet the new Diſpenſation being more Internal and Spiritual, it was abſurd that the Worſhip of God ſhould be leſs underſtood by Chriſtians, than it had been by the *Jews*. The chief end of Worſhip is, according to *David*, that we may ſhew forth Gods Praiſes, which cannot be done, if it is in a ſtrange Tongue. Prayer is the offering up of our deſires to God, which we cannot do, if we underſtand not the Language they are in. *Baptiſme* and the *Lords Supper* are to contain Declarations of the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt, which muſt be underſtood, otherwiſe why are they made? The uſe of Speech is to make known what one brings forth to another. The moſt Barbarous Nations perform their Worſhip in a known Tongue, which ſhews it to be a Law of Nature. It is plain from *Juſtin Martyrs* Apology, that the Worſhip was then in a known Tongue; which appears alſo from all the Ancient Liturgies: and a long Citation was brought out of St. *Baſil*, for the ſinging of Pſalms, duly weighing the Words with much attention and devotion; which, he ſays, was practiſed in all Nations. They concluded, wondering how ſuch an abuſe could at firſt creep in, and be ſtill ſo ſtifly maintained; and why thoſe who would be thought the Guides and Paſtors of the Church, were ſo unwilling to return to the Rule of St. *Paul*, and the Practiſe of the Primitive Times.

1559.

There was a great ſhout of Applauſe, when they had done. They gave their Paper, ſigned with all their Hands, to the Lord Keeper, to be delivered to the other ſide, as he ſhould think fit. But he kept it till the other ſide ſhould bring him theirs. The Papiſts, upon this, ſaid, they had more to add on that Head, which was thought diſingenuous by thoſe that had heard them profeſs they had nothing to add to what *Cole* had ſaid. Thus the Meeting broke up for that day, being *Saturday*; and they were ordered to go forward on *Munday*, and to prepare what they were to deliver on the other two Heads. The Papiſts, though they could complain of nothing that was done, except the applauſe given to the Paper of the Reformers; yet they ſaw by that, how much more acceptable the other Doctrine was to the People; and therefore reſolved to go no further in that matter. At the next meeting, they deſired that their Anſwer to the Paper read by the Reformed might be firſt heard: To this the Lord Keeper ſaid, That they had delivered their mind the former day, and ſo were not to be heard till they had gone through the other Points; and then they were to return on both ſides to the anſwering of Papers. They ſaid that what *Cole* had delivered the former day, was *Ex tempore*, and of himſelf; but it had not been agreed on by them. This appeared to all the Aſſembly to be very foul dealing; ſo they were required to go on to the ſecond Point. Then they preſſed that the other ſide might begin with their Paper, and they would follow: for they ſaw what an advantage the others had the former day, by being heard laſt. The Lord Keeper ſaid, the Order was that they ſhould be heard firſt, as being Biſhops now in Office. But both *Wincheſter*, and *Lincoln*, refuſed to go any further, if the other ſide did not begin. Upon which there followed a long debate; *Lincoln* ſaying that the firſt Order, which was, that all ſhould be in *Latin*, was changed; and that they had prepared a Writing in *Latin:* But in this, not only the Counſellors, among whom ſate the Arch-biſhop of *York*, but the reſt of his own Party contradicted him. In concluſion, all, except *Fecknam*, refuſed to read any more Papers: he ſaid, he was willing to have done it, but he could not undertake ſuch a thing alone; and ſo the Meeting broke up.

The Conference between the Papiſts and Proteſtants breaks up.

But the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, and of *Lincoln*, ſaid, the Doctrine of the Catholick Church was already eſtabliſhed, and ought not to be diſputed; except it were in a Synod of Divines: that it was too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to hear them thus diſcourſe againſt the Faith before the unlearned Multitude: and that the Queen by ſo doing had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; and they talked of excommunicating her and her Council. Upon this they were both ſent to the *Tower*. The Reformed took great advantage from the Iſſue of this Debate, to ſay, their Adverſaries knew that upon a fair hearing the Truth was ſo manifeſtly on their ſide, that they durſt not put it to ſuch hazard. The whole World ſaw that this Diſputation was managed with great Impartiality, and without noiſe or diſorder; far different from what had been in Queen *Maries* time: ſo they were generally much confirmed in their former belief, by the Papiſts flying the Field. They on the other hand ſaid, they ſaw the rude Multitude were now carried with a Fury againſt them; the Lord Keeper was their profeſſed Enemy;

1559. the Laity would take on them to judge, after they had heard them; and they perceived they were already determined in their minds; and that this Diſpute was only to ſet off the changes that were to be made with the Pomp of a Victory: and they blamed the Biſhops for undertaking it at firſt, but excuſed them for breaking it off in time. And the Truth is, the ſtrength of their Cauſe, in moſt Points of Controverſie, reſting on the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, that was now a thing of ſo odious a ſound, that all Arguments brought from thence, were not like to have any great effect. Upon this whole matter, there was an Act of State made, and Signed by many Privy Counſellors, giving an account of all the ſteps that were made in it, which will be found in the *Collection*.

Collection Number 5.

This being over, the Parliament was now in a better diſpoſition to paſs the Bill for the Uniformity of the Service of the Church. Some of the Reformed Divines were appointed to review King *Edwards* Liturgie, and to ſee if in any Particular it was fit to change it. The only conſiderable Variation was made about the Lords Supper, of which ſomewhat will appear from the Letter of *Sandys* to *Parker*. It was propoſed to have the Communion Book ſo contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the Corporal Preſence: for the chief deſign of the Queens Council was, to unite the Nation in one Faith; and the greateſt part of the Nation continued to believe ſuch a Preſence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to ſee that there ſhould be no expreſs definition made againſt it; that ſo it might lie as a Speculative Opinion, not determined, in which every Man was left to the Freedom of his own Mind. Hereupon the Rubrick that explained the reaſon for kneeling at the Sacrament, *That thereby no Adoration is intended to any Corporal Preſence of Chriſts natural Fleſh and Blood*, becauſe, *that is only in Heaven*, which had been in King *Edwards* Liturgy, was now left out. And whereas at the delivery of the Elements in King *Edwards* firſt Liturgy, there was to be ſaid, *The Body or Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt Preſerve thy Body and Soul to Everlaſting Life*; which words had been left out in his ſecond Liturgy, as favouring the Corporal Preſence too much; and in ſtead of them, theſe words were ordered to be uſed in the diſtribution of that Sacrament, *Take and eat this, in remembrance that Chriſt died for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thankſgiving*; and *Drink this in remembrance that Chriſts Blood was ſhed for thee, and be thankful.* They now joyned both theſe in one. Some of the Collects were alſo a little altered: and thus was the Book preſented to the Houſe. But for the Book of Ordination, it was not in expreſs terms named in the Act; which gave an occaſion afterwards to queſtion the lawfulneſs of the Ordinations made by that Book. But by this Act the Book that was ſet out by King *Edward*, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth Year of his Reign, was again authorized by Law; and the Repeal of it in Queen *Maries* time was made void. So the Book of Ordinations being in that Act added to the Book of Common-Prayer, it was now legally in force again; as was afterwards declared in Parliament, upon a Queſtion that was raiſed about it by *Bonner*.

1559.

Debates about the Act of Uniformity.

The Bill that was put in on the 15th of *February*, concerning the new Service, being laid aſide, a new one was framed, and ſent up by the Commons on the 18th of *April*, and debated in the Houſe of Lords: *Heath* made a long Speech againſt it, rather Elegant than Learned; “He enlarged much on the ſeveral Changes which had been made in King *Edward's* time: he ſaid, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* changed their Opinions in the matter of Chriſt's preſence: he called *Ridley* the moſt notably learned Man that was of that way. Theſe Changes he imputed to their departing from the Standard of the Catholick Church: he complained much of the robbing of Churches, the breaking of Images, and the Stage-Plays made in mockery of the Catholick Religion. Upon all theſe Reaſons he was againſt the Bill. The Biſhop of *Cheſter* ſpake alſo to it: “He ſaid, the Bill was againſt both Faith and Charity: that Points once defined were not to be brought again into queſtion; nor were Acts of Parliament Foundations for a Churches Belief: he enlarged on the Antiquity of their Forms; and ſaid, it was an inſolent thing to pretend that our Fathers had lived in Ignorance. The Prophets oftentimes directed the *Iſraelites* to ask of their Fathers. Matters of Religion could not be underſtood by the Laity. It was of great conſequence to have their Faith well grounded. *Jeroboam* made Iſrael to Sin, when he ſet up a new way of Worſhip: and not only the Orthodox, but even the *Arrian* Emperours ordered, that points of Faith ſhould be examined in Councils. *Gallio* by the light of Nature knew that a Civil Judge ought not to meddle with matters of Religion: In the Service-Book that was then before them, they had no Sacrifice for their Sins, nor were they to adore Chriſt in the Hoſt; and for theſe reaſons he could not agree to it: but if any thought he ſpoke this becauſe of his own concern, or pittied him for what he might ſuffer by it, he would ſay in the words of our Saviour *Weep not for me, Weep for your ſelves.*

After him ſpake *Fecknam* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; “He propoſed three Rules by which they ſhould judge of Religion; it's Antiquity, its conſtancy to it ſelf, & the influence it had on the Civil Government: he ſaid the old Religion began in the time of King *Lucius*, according to *Gildas*; the Book now propoſed, was not uſed before the two laſt years of King *Edward*; the one was always the ſame, the other was changed every ſecond year, as appeared in the point of the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament: there had been great Order and Obedience in Queen *Maries* Reign; but now every where great Inſolences were committed by the People, with ſome very indecent Prophanations of the moſt holy things: he recommended to them, in St. *Auſtines* words, the adhering to the Catholick Church: the very name *Catholick*, which Hereticks had not the confidence to aſſume, ſhewed their Authority. The Conſent of the whole Church in all Ages, with the perpetual Succeſſion of Paſtors in St. *Peter's* Chair, ought to weigh more with them, than a few new Preachers, who had diſtracted both *Germany* and *England* of late.

Thus I have given the ſubſtance of their Speeches, being all that I have ſeen of that ſide. I have ſeen none at all on the other ſide; tho it is not probable but ſome were made in defence of the Service, as well as theſe were againſt it. But upon this Occaſion I ſhall ſet down the

1559 ſubſtance of the ſecond Paper, which the Reformed Divines had prepared on the ſecond point, for the Conference about the Authority of every particular Church to change or take away Ceremonies. I do not put it in the Collection, becauſe I have not that which the Papiſts prepared in Oppoſition to it. But the heads of this Paper were as followeth.

Arguments for the Changes made in the Service.

“ It is clear by the Epiſtles which St. *Paul* writ to the Corinthians “ and other Churches, that every Church has Power in it ſelf to order “ the Forms of their Worſhip, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, “ among them, ſo as might beſt tend to Order, Edification, and Peace. The “ like Power had alſo the ſeven Angels of the Churches to whom St. “ *John* writ. And for the firſt three Ages, there was no General Meeting of the Church in Synods, but in thoſe times the neighbouring Paſtors and Biſhops, by mutual advice rather than Authority, ordered “ their affairs: and when Hereſies ſprung up, they condemned them, “ without ſtaying for a General Determination of the whole Church. “ There were alſo great differences among them in their Cuſtoms, as about obſerving *Lent* and *Eaſter*. Ceremonies grew too ſoon to a great “ number. When Errors or Abuſes appeared, private Biſhops reformed “ their own Dioceſſes: So thoſe who came in the room of *Arrian* Biſhops, even when that Hereſie was ſpread over all the Eaſt, and the “ See of *Rome* it ſelf was defiled with it, yet reformed their own Churches. “ *Ambroſe* finding the cuſtom of Feaſting in Churches on the Anniverſaries of the Martyrs gave occaſion to great Scandals, took it away. “ Even in Queen *Maries* time, many of the old Superſtitions of Pilgrimages and Reliques, which had been aboliſh'd in King *Henry*'s time, “ were not then taken up again: from which they argued, that if ſome “ things might be altered, why not more? So that if there was good “ reaſon to make any Changes, it could not be doubted but that as *Hezekiah* and *Joſiah* had made by their own power, ſo the Queen might “ make Reformations: which were not ſo much the ſetting up of new “ things, as the reſtoring of the ſtate of Religion to what it was anciently; which had been brought in by conſent of Parliament and Convocation in King *Edward*'s time. The Rules they offer'd in this Paper about Ceremonies, were, that they ſhould not be made neceſſary parts of Worſhip; that they ſhould not be too many, nor dumb and vain, nor ſhould be kept up for gain and advantage.

Theſe were the Arguments uſed on both ſides: But the Reformed being ſuperiour in number, the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords; the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Viſcount *Mountacute*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Ely*, *Coventry*, *Cheſter*, and *Carliſle*; and the Lords, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* diſſenting. By this Act the new Book was to take place by St. *John Baptiſt*'s day.

Another Act paſſed, That the Queen might reſerve to her ſelf the Lands belonging to Biſhopricks, as they fall void, giving the full value of them in Impropriated Tithes in lieu of them. To this the Biſhops diſſented on the 7th of *April*, when it paſſed in the Houſe of Lords. But when this came to the Commons, there was great oppoſition made to it. Many had obſerved, that in *Edward* the 6th's time, under a pretence of giving ſome Endowments to the Crown, the Courtiers got all the Church-Lands divided amongſt themſelves; ſo it was believed the uſe

1559.

to be made of this, would be the robbing of the Church, without enriching the Crown. After many days Debate, on the 17*th* of *April*, the Houſe divided, and 90 were againſt it, but 133 were for it, and ſo it paſſed.

On the 5*th* of *May*, another Bill paſſed with the like oppoſition. It was for annexing of all Religious Houſes to the Crown. After that there followed ſome private Acts for declaring the deprivation of the Popiſh Biſhops in K. *Edward's* Time to have been good. When they were reſtored by Q. *Mary*, the Sentences paſſed againſt them, were declared to have been void from the beginning; and ſo all Leaſes that were made by *Ridley*, *Poinet*, and *Hooper*, and the Patents granted by the King, of ſome of their Lands, were annulled. It was particularly remembred in the Houſe of Commons, that *Ridley* had made the confirming of theſe Leaſes his laſt deſire, when he was going to be tied to the Stake. The ground on which the Sentences were declared void, was, becauſe the Parties had appealed, though in the Commiſſion, by virtue of which the Delegates deprived them, they were impowered to proceed notwithſtanding any Appeal. To this, not only the Biſhops, but the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, and the Lords, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, and *North*, diſſented.

It ſhews the great Moderation of this Government, that this Marqueſs, notwithſtanding his adhering to the Popiſh Intereſt in the Houſe of Lords, was ſtill continued Lord Treaſurer; which employment he held fourteen Years after this, and died in the 97*th* Year of his Age, leaving 103 iſſued from his own Body, behind him. He was the greateſt inſtance of good Fortune and Dexterity, that we find in the Engliſh Hiſtory; who continued Lord Treaſurer in three ſuch different Reigns, as King *Edward's*, Queen *Mary's*, and Queen *Elizabeth's* were.

There was a Subſidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths given by the Parliament, with the Tonnage and Poundage, for the Queen's Life; and ſo on the 8*th* of *May* it was diſſolved.

Bills that were propoſed, but not paſſed.

There were three Bills that did not paſs in the Houſe of Commons, but upon what account they were laid aſide, it does not appear. The one was for the Reſtoring of the Biſhops that had been deprived by Q. *Mary*. There were but three of theſe alive, *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*; the firſt of theſe had reſigned, and the laſt, being old, had no mind to return to his Biſhoprick: So perhaps it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for one Man's ſake, eſpecially ſince there were ſo many vacant Biſhopricks in the Queen's hands, and more were like to fall. The other Bill was, for the reſtoring of all Perſons that were deprived from their Benefices becauſe they were married. This the Queen odered to be laid aſide; of which *Sands* complained much in his Letter to *Parker*: But yet the Queen took no notice of the Laws formerly made againſt their Marriage; and promoted many married Prieſts, particularly *Parker* himſelf. There was no Law now in force againſt Clergy-mens marrying; for Queen *Mary* had only repealed the Laws of *Edward* the 6*th*, which allowed it, but had made none concerning that Matter: So there was nothing but the Canon Law againſt it; and that was reſolved to be condemned, by continuing that Article of Religion concerning the Lawfulneſs of their Marriage, among thoſe that ſhould be ſet out. The next Bill, that came to nothing, was a new Act for giving Authority to 32 Perſons, to reviſe the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, 1559 and digeſt them into a Body; it was laid aſide at the ſecond Reading in the Houſe of Commons, and has ſlept ever ſince.

The Biſhops refuſe the Oath of Supremacy.

Vita Parkeri.

When the Parliament was over, the Oath of Supremacy was ſoon after put to the Biſhops and Clergy. They thought, if they could ſtick cloſe to one another in refuſing it, the Queen would be forced to diſpence with them, and would not at one ſtroke turn out all the Biſhops in *England*. It does not appear how ſoon after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the Oath was put to them; but it was not long after, for the laſt Collation *Bonner* gave of any Benefice, was on the *6th* of *May* this Year. The Oath being offered to *Heath*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, to *Bonner* of *London*, *Thirleby* of *Ely*, *Bourn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Chriſtopherſon* of *Chicheſter*, *Bain* of *Litchfield*, *White* of *Wincheſter*, and *Watſon* of *Lincoln*, *Oglethorpe* of *Carliſle*, *Turbervile* of *Exeter*, *Pool* of *Peterburgh*, *Scot* of *Cheſter*, *Pates* of *Worceſter*, and *Goldwell* of St. *Aſaph*, they did all refuſe to take it: So that only *Kitchin* Biſhop of *Landaff* took it. There was ſome hope of *Tonſtall*; ſo it was not put to him till *September*, but he being very old, choſe to go out with ſo much Company, more for the decency of the thing, than out of any ſcruple he could have about the Supremacy for which he had formerly writ ſo much. They were, upon their refuſal, put in Priſon for a little while; but they had all their Liberty ſoon after, except *Bonner*, *White*, and *Watſon*. There were great Complaints made againſt *Bonner*, that he had, in many things, in the proſecution of thoſe that were preſented for Hereſy, exceeded what the Law allowed; ſo that it was much deſired to have him made an Example. But as the Queen was of her own nature Merciful, ſo the Reformed Divines had learned in the Goſpel, not *to render Evil for Evil*, nor to ſeek Revenge; and as *Nazianzen* had of old exhorted the Orthodox, when they had got an Emperor that favoured them, not to retaliate on the *Arrians* for their former Cruelties: So they thought it was for the honour of their Religion, to give this real demonſtration of the Conformity of their Doctrine, to the Rules of the Goſpel, and of the Primitive Church, by avoiding all Cruelty and Severity, when it looked like Revenge.

The Queen's gentleneſs to them.

All this might have been expected from ſuch a Queen, and ſuch Biſhops. But it ſhewed a great temper in the whole Nation, that ſuch a Man as *Bonner* had been, was ſuffered to go about in ſafety, and was not made a Sacrifice to the Revenge of thoſe who had loſt their near Friends by his means. Many things were brought againſt him, and *White*, and ſome other Biſhops; upon which the Queen promiſed to give a Charge to the Viſitors, whom ſhe was to ſend over *England*, to enquire into theſe things; and after ſhe had heard their Report, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would proceed as ſhe ſaw cauſe: by this means ſhe did not deny juſtice, but gained a little time to take off the Edg that was on Mens Spirits, who had been much provoked by the ill uſage they had met with from them.

Heath was a Man of a generous temper, and was ſo well uſed by the Queen, for as he was ſuffered to live ſecurely at his own Houſe in *Surrey*, ſo ſhe went thither ſometimes to viſit him. *Tonſtall* and *Thirleby* lived in *Lambeth* with *Parker*, with great freedom and eaſe; the one was Learned and good natured, the other was a Man of Buſineſs: but too eaſy and flexible. *White* and *Watſon* were moroſe ſullen Men; to which their Studies, as well as their Tempers, had diſpoſed them; for they were

1559.

much given to Scholaſtical Divinity, which inclined Men to be Cinical, to over-value themſelves, and deſpiſe others. *Chriſtopherſon* was a good Grecian, and had tranſlated *Euſebius* and the other Church Hiſtorians into Latin, but with as little fidelity, as may be expected from a Man violently addicted to a Party. *Bain* was learned in the Hebrew, which he had profeſſed at *Paris*, in the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt. All theſe choſe to live ſtill in *England*; only *Pates*, *Scot*, and *Goldwell*, went beyond Sea. After them went the Lord *Morley*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, Sir *Robert Peckham*, Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and Sir *John Gage*; who it ſeems, deſired to live where they might have the free exerciſe of their Religion: And ſuch was the Queen's gentleneſs, that this was not denied them, tho ſuch favour had not been ſhewed in Q. *Mary*'s Reign. *Feeknam* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was a charitable and generous Man, and lived in great eſteem in *England*. Moſt of the Monks returned to a Secular courſe of Life, but the Nunns went beyond Sea.

A Viſitation and Injunctions ordered by the Queen.

Now the Queen intended to ſend *Injunctions* over *England*, and in the end of *June* they were prepared. There was great difficulty made about one of them; the Queen ſeemed to think the uſe of Images in Churches, might be a means to ſtir up Devotion, and that at leaſt it would draw all People to frequent them the more: for the great meaſure of her Councils was, to unite the whole Nation into one way of Religion. The Reformed Biſhops and Divines oppoſed this vehemently; they put all their Reaſons in a long Writing which they gave her concerning it; the Preface and Concluſion of which will be found in the *Collection*. 'They proteſted they could not comply with that, which, as it was againſt their own Conſciences, ſo it would prove a Snare to the Ignorant: they had often preſſed the Queen in that Matter; which, it ſeems, ſtuck long with her: They prayed her not to be offended with that Liberty they took, thus to lay their Reaſons before her, it being a thing which Chriſtian Princes had at all times taken well from their Biſhops. They deſired her to commit that Matter to the Deciſion of a Synod of Biſhops and Divines, and not to do ſuch a thing meerly upon ſome Political Conſiderations; which as it would offend many, ſo it would reflect much on the Reign of her moſt Godly Brother, and on thoſe who had then removed all Images, and had given their Lives afterwards for a Teſtimony to the Truth.

Coll. Numb. 6.

The Queen inclined to retain Images in Churches.

Reaſons brought againſt it.

'The ſubſtance of their Reaſons, (which for their length I have not put in the *Collection*) is, That the ſecond Commandment forbids the making of any Images, as a reſemblance of God. And, *Deut.* 27. there was a Curſe pronounced on thoſe *who made an Image, an abomination to the Lord, and put it in a ſecret place*; which they expounded of ſome *Sacraria* in private Houſes: and *Deut.* 4. among the Cautions *Moſes* gives to the People of *Iſrael* to beware of Idolatry; this is one, *that they do not make an Image*, for the uſe of theſe does naturally degenerate into Idolatry: The Jews were ſo ſenſible of this after the Captivity, that they would die, rather than ſuffer an Image to be put in their Temple. The Book of *Wiſdom*, calls an Image, *A Snare for the feet of the Ignorant*. St. *John* charged thoſe he writ to, *to beware of Idols*. So *Tertullian* ſaid, It was not enough to beware of Idolatry towards them, but of the very Images themſelves. And as *Moſes* had charged the People not to lay a ſtumbling-block in the way of the Blind; ſo

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1559. ‘it was a much greater Sin to leave ſuch a Trap for the weak Multitude. ‘This was not for Edification, ſince it fed the Superſtition of the Weak ‘and Ignorant, who would continue in their former dotage upon them, ‘and would alienate others from the Publick Worſhip; So that between thoſe that would ſeparate from them if they were continued, ‘and the Multitude that would abuſe them, the number of thoſe that ‘would uſe them aright, would be very inconſiderable: The outward ‘ſplendor of them would be apt to draw the minds of the Worſhippers, if not to direct Idolatry, yet to ſtaring and diſtraction of ‘Thoughts. Both *Origen* and *Arnobius* tell us, That the Primitive Chriſtians had no Images at all. *Ireneus* accuſed the *Gnoſticks* for carrying ‘about the Image of Chriſt. St. *Auſtin* commends *Varro*, for ſaying, ‘that the old *Romans* worſhipped God more chaſtly, without the uſe ‘of any Images. *Epiphanius* tore a Veil with an Image on it; and *Serenus* broke Images in *Gregory* the Great's Time. *Valens* and *Theodoſius*, made a Law againſt the Painting or Graving of the Image of ‘Chriſt: And the uſe of Images in the Eaſtern Churches, brought ‘thoſe diſtractions on that Empire, that laid it open to the Invaſions ‘of the Mahometans.

Theſe Reaſons prevailed with the Queen, to put it into her Injunctions, to have all Images removed out of the Church.

The Injunctions given by King *Edward*, at his firſt coming to the Crown, were all renewed, with very little variation. To theſe ſome things were added, of which I ſhall give account.

The Heads of the Injunctions.

‘It was no where declared, neither in the Scriptures, nor by the Primitive Church, that Prieſts might not have Wives; upon which, many ‘in King *Edward*'s Time had married. Yet great offence was given by ‘the indecent Marriages that ſome of them then made. To prevent the ‘like Scandals for the future, it was ordered, That no Prieſt or Deacon ‘ſhould marry without allowance from the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and ‘two Juſtices of the Peace, and the Conſent of the Womans Parents or ‘Friends. All the Clergy were to uſe Habits, according to their Degrees in the Univerſities; the Queen declaring, that this was not done ‘for any Holineſs in them, but for Order and Decency. No Man ‘might uſe any Charm, or conſult with ſuch as did. All were to reſort ‘to their own Pariſh Churches, except for an extraordinary Occaſion. ‘Inn-Keepers were to ſell nothing in the Times of Divine Service. None ‘were to keep Images, or other Monuments of Superſtition, in their ‘Houſes. None might Preach, but ſuch as were licenſed by their Ordinary. In all Places, they were to examine the Cauſes, why any ‘had been in the late Reign Impriſoned, Famiſhed, or put to Death, ‘upon the pretence of Religion; and all Regiſters were to be ſearched ‘for it. In every Pariſh the Ordinary was to name three or four diſcreet Men, who were to ſee that all the Pariſhioners did duly reſort on ‘*Sundays* and Holy-days to Church; and thoſe who did it not, and ‘upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the Ordinary. On *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, the Common Prayer and Litany ‘was to be uſed in all Churches. All ſlanderous words, as *Papiſt*, *Heretick*, *Schiſmatick*, or *Sacramentary*, were to be forborn, under ſevere ‘pains. No Books might be printed without a Licenſe, from the ‘Queen, the Arch-Biſhop, the Biſhop of *London*, the Chancellor of

'the Univerſities, or the Biſhop, or Arch-Deacon of the Place where
'it was printed. All were to kneel at the Prayers, and to ſhew a Re-
'verence when the Name of *Jeſus* was pronounced. Then followed
'an Explanation of the Oath of Supremacy, in which the Queen de-
'clared that ſhe did not pretend to any Authority for the miniſtring of
'Divine Service in the Church, and that all that ſhe challenged was
'that which had at all times belonged to the Imperial Crown of *Eng-*
'*land*; that ſhe had the Soveraignty and Rule over all manner of Per-
'ſons under God, ſo that no Forreign Power had any Rule over them;
'and if thoſe who had formerly appeared to have Scruples about it,took
'it in that ſence, ſhe was well-pleaſed to accept of it, and did acquit
'them of all Penalties in the Act. The next was about Altars and Com-
'munion-Tables; ſhe ordered, that for preventing of Riots, no Altar
'ſhould be taken down, but by the conſent of the Curat and Church-
'Wardens; that a Communion-Table ſhould be made for every Church,
'and that on Sacrament days it ſhould be ſet in ſome convenient Place in
'the Chancel; and at other Times ſhould be placed where the Altar had
'ſtood. The Sacramental Bread was ordered to be round and plain,
'without any Figure on it, but ſomewhat broader and thicker than the
'Cakes formerly prepared for the Maſs. Then the form of bidding
'Prayer was preſcribed,with ſome variation from that in King *Edward's*
'Time; for whereas to the Thankſgiving for God's Bleſſings to the
'Church in the Saints departed this Life,a Prayer was added,*That they with*
'*us,and we with them,may have a glorious Reſurrection*; now thoſe words,
'*they with us*, as ſeeming to import a Prayer for the Dead,were left out.

Reflections made on the Injunctions.

For the Rule about Church-men Marrying, thoſe who reflected on it, ſaid, They complained not of the Law, but as St. *Jerom* did in the making a Law in his Time, they complained of thoſe that had given occaſion for it. Miniſters wearing ſuch Apparel as might diſtinguiſh them from the Laity, was certainly a means to keep them under great reſtraint, upon every indecency in their Behaviour, laying them open to the Cenſures of the People; which could not be, if they were habited ſo,as that they could not be diſtinguiſhed from other Men: and humane nature being conſidered, it ſeems to be a kind of Temptation to many, when they do but think their Diſorders will paſs unobſerved. Bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, was thought a fit expreſſion of their grateful acknowledging of our Saviour, and an owning of his Divinity: And as ſtanding up at the Creed, or at the *Gloria Patri*, were ſolemn expreſſions of the Faith of Chriſtians; So ſince *Jeſus* is the Name by which Chriſt is expreſſed to be our Saviour, it ſeemed a decent piece of acknowledging our Faith in him, to ſhew a Reverence when that was pronounced; not as if there were a peculiar ſanctity or vertue in it, but becauſe it was his proper Name, *Chriſt* being but an Appellation added to it. By the Queen's care, to take away all words of Reproach, and to explain the Oath of Supremacy; not only clearing any ambiguity that might be in the words, but allowing Men leave to declare in what ſenſe they ſwore it, the moderation of her Government did much appear; in which, inſtead of inventing new Traps to catch the Weak, which had been practiſed in other Reigns, all poſſible care was taken to explain things ſo, that they might be as comprehenſive to all Intereſts as was poſſible. They

1559. reckoned, if that Age could have been on any terms ſeparated from the Papacy, though with allowance for many other ſuperſtitious Conceits, it would once unite them all; and in the next Age they would be ſo educated, that none of thoſe ſhould any more remain. And indeed this Moderation had all the effect that was deſigned by it for many Years, in which the Papiſts came to Church, and to the Sacraments. But afterwards, it being propoſed to the King of *Spain*, then ready to engage in a War with the Queen, upon the account of her ſupporting of the *United Provinces*, that he muſt firſt divide *England* at home, and procure from the Pope a Sentence againſt the Queen, and a condemnation of ſuch Papiſts as went to the Engliſh Service; and that for the maintaining and educating of ſuch Prieſts as ſhould be his Tools to diſtract the Kingdom, he was to found Seminaries at *Doway*, *Lovain*, and St. *Omers*, from whence they might come over hither, and diſorder the Affairs of *England*: The proſecution of thoſe Counſels, rais'd the Popiſh Party among us, which has ever ſince diſtracted this Nation, and has oftner than once put it into moſt threatning convulſive Motions, ſuch as we feel at this day.

The firſt high Commiſſion.

After the Injunctions were thus prepared, the Queen gave out Commiſſions for thoſe who ſhould viſit all the Churches of *England*: in which they loſt no time, for the New Book of Service was by Law to take place on St. *John Baptiſt's* day; and theſe Commiſſions were ſigned that ſame day. One of thoſe Commiſſions, which was for the Arch-Biſhoprick and Province of *York*, is put into the *Collection*. It was granted to the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, and ſome others, among whom Dr. *Sands* is one.

Coll. Num. 7.

The Preamble ſets forth, 'That God having ſet the Queen over the Nation, ſhe could not render an account of that Truſt, without endeavouring to propagate the True Religion with the right way of worſhipping God in all her Dominions; therefore ſhe intending to have a General Viſitation of her whole Kingdom, impowered them, or any two of them, to examine the true State of all the Churches in the Northern Parts; to ſuſpend or deprive ſuch Clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into their Places, to proceed againſt ſuch as were obſtinate, by Impriſonment, Church-Cenſure, or any other legal way. They were to reſerve Penſions for ſuch as would not continue in their Benefices, but quitted them by Reſignation; and to examine the condition of all that were Impriſoned on the account of Religion, and to diſcharge them; and to reſtore all ſuch to their Benefices, as had been unlawfully turned out in the late Times.

This was the firſt High Commiſſion that was given out; that for the Province of *Canterbury* was, without doubt, of the ſame nature. The prudence of reſerving Penſions for ſuch Prieſts as were turned out, was much applauded; ſince thereby they were kept from extream want, which might have ſet them on to do miſchief; and by the Penſion which was granted them upon their good Behaviour, they were kept under ſome awe, which would not have been otherwiſe. That which was chiefly condemned in theſe Commiſſions, was, the Queen's giving the Viſitors Authority to proceed by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, which ſeemed a great ſtretch of her Supremacy: but it was thought, that the

Queen might do that, as well as the Lay-Chancellors did it in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; So that one Abuſe was the excuſe for another.

Theſe Viſiters having made Report to the Queen of the Obedience given to the Laws and her Injunctions, it was found, that of 9400 Beneficed Men in *England*, there were no more but fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Arch-Deacons, fifteen Heads of Colledges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors of Pariſhes, that had left their Benefices upon the account of Religion. So compliant were the Papiſts generally. And indeed the Biſhops after this time had the ſame apprehenſion of the danger into which Religion was brought by the juglings of the greateſt part of the Clergy, who retained their affections to the old Superſtition, that thoſe in King *Edward's* time had: So that if Queen *Elizabeth* had not lived ſo long as ſhe did, till all that Generation was dead, and a new Set of Men better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their rooms; and if a Prince of another Religion had ſucceeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the old Superſtitions as nimbly as they had done before in Queen *Mary's* days. That which ſupported the ſuperſtitious Party in King *Edward's* time moſt, was, that many great Biſhops did ſecretly favour and encourage them: Therefore it was now reſolved to look well to the filling of the vacant Sees.

Parker's unwillingneſs to accept of the *Canterbury*.

Coll. Numb. 8.

It has been ſaid before, that *Parker* was ſent for to *London* by the Queen's Order, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* was offered him: he was, upon that, caſt into ſuch a perplexity of mind, that he was out of meaſure grieved at it. As ſoon as he was returned home, he writ a Letter to the Lord-Keeper; which, with all the other Letters that paſſed in this matter, I have put into the *Collection*: "He profeſſed he never had leſs joy of a Journey to *London*, and was never more glad to get from it, than upon his laſt being there. He ſaid, It was neceſſary to fill that See with a Man that was neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Covetous; an Arrogant Man would perhaps divide from his Brethren in Doctrine, whereas the whole ſtrength of the Church depended on their Unity; but if their ſhould be Heart-burnings among them, and the private quarrels, that had been beyond Sea, ſhould be brought home, the Peace of the Church would be loſt, and the Succeſs of all their Deſign would be blaſted: and if a fainthearted Man were put in, it would raiſe the Spirits of all their Adverſaries; A Covetous Man was good for nothing. He knew his own unfitneſs both of Body and Mind, ſo well, that though he ſhould be ſorry to offend him, and Secretary *Cecil*, whom he honoured above all Men in the World, and more ſorry to diſpleaſe the Queen; yet he muſt above all things avoid God's Indignation, and not enter into a ſtation into which he knew he could not carry himſelf ſo as to anſwer it either to God, or the World for his Adminiſtration. And if he muſt go to Priſon for his obſtinate untowardneſs, (with which it ſeems they had threatned him) he would ſuffer it rather with a quiet conſcience, than accept of an Imployment which he could not diſcharge. He ſaid, he intended by God's Grace never to be of that Order, neither higher nor lower. He knew what he was capable of: he was poor, and not able to enter on ſuch a ſtation; he had a Rupture which made him that he could not ſtir much; therefore he deſired ſome place in the Univerſity, 1559 “where he might wear out his Life tolerably. He knew he could not “anſwer their Expectation, which made him ſo importunate not to be “raiſed ſo high: He ſaid, he had great apprehenſions of Differences like “to fall out among themſelves; which would be a pleaſant diverſion to “thoſe of the Church of *Rome*: He ſaw ſome Men were Men ſtill, even “after all their teaching in the School of Affliction. He proteſted he “did not ſeek his own private gain or eaſe; he had but two or three “years more of life before him, and did not intend to heap up for his “Children. This he writ the firſt of *March*.

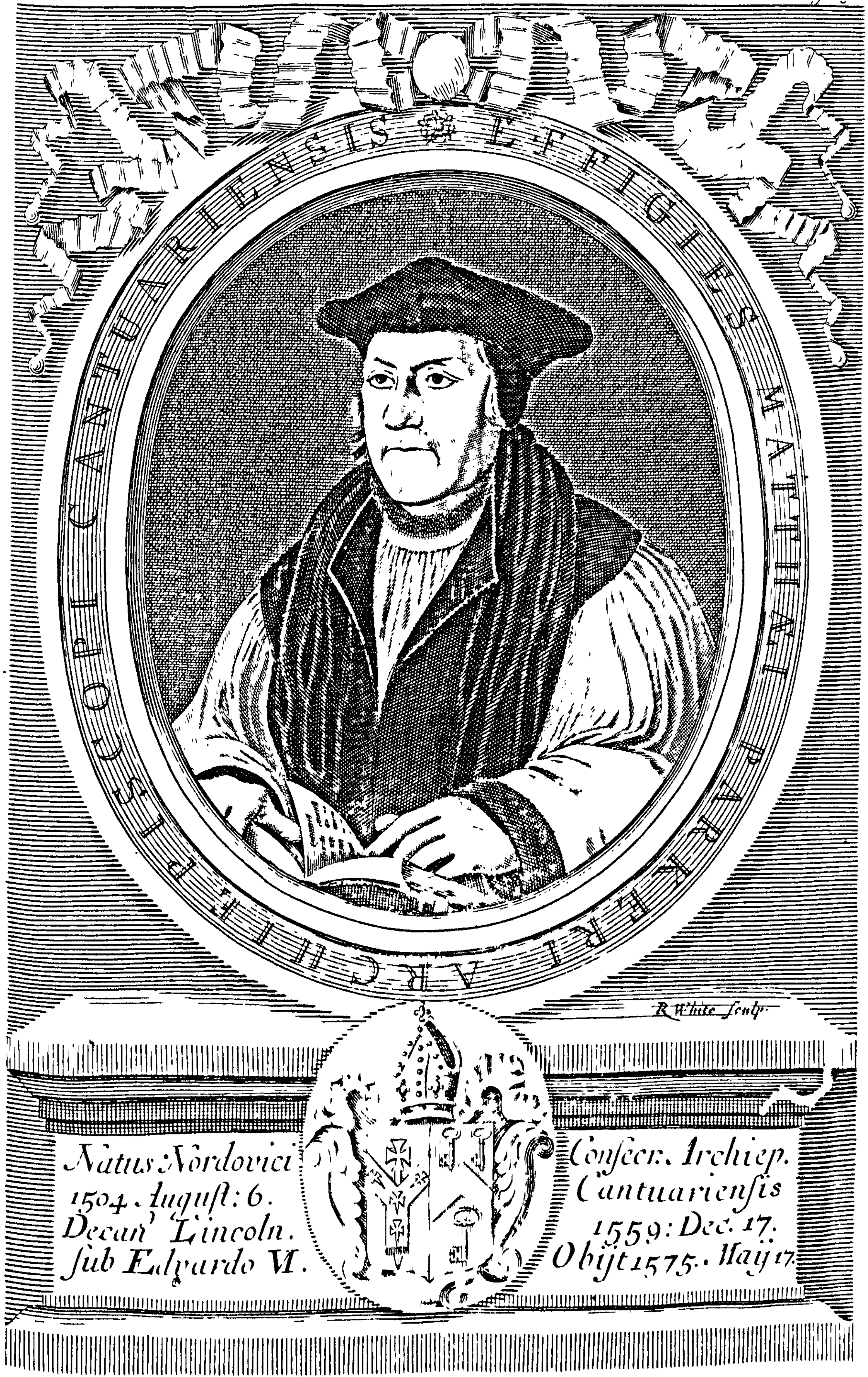
The buſineſs of the Parliament made this Motion to be laid aſide, till that was diſſolved; and then on the 17th of *May* the L. Keeper wrote to him concerning it: He told him, that he ſaw by a Reſolution taken that day in the Queen's Preſence, that it would be very hard for his Friends to get him delivered from that Charge. For his own part, if he knew a Man to whom the Characters in his Letter did agree better than to himſelf, he ſhould be for preferring of ſuch a one; but knowing no ſuch, he muſt be ſtill for him. On the 19*th* after that, the Lord Keeper, and Secretary *Cecil*, ſigned a Letter in the Queen's Name, requiring him to come up; and after that, they ſent a ſecond Command to him to come to Court, on the 28*th* of the Month. He came up, but again excuſed himſelf. Yet at laſt, being ſo often preſſed, he writ to the Queen her ſelf, “proteſting that extream Neceſſity forced him to “trouble her, both out of Conſcience to God, and regard to her Ser-“vice: he knew his great unworthineſs for ſo high a Function; there-“fore as on his Knees he humbly beſought her to diſcharge him of that “Office, which did require a Man of more Learning, Virtue, and “Experience, then he perfectly knew was in himſelf. He lamented “his being ſo meanly qualified, that he could not ſerve her in that “high ſtation; but in any other inferiour Office, he ſhould be ready to “diſcharge his Duty to her, in ſuch a Place as was ſuitable to his infir-“mity. But in the concluſion he ſubmitted himſelf to Her pleaſure. In the end he was with great difficulty brought to accept of it. So on the 8th day of *July* the *Conge d' Elire* was ſent to *Canterbury*; and upon that, on the 22d of *July* a *Chapter* was ſummoned to meet the firſt of *Auguſt*; where the Dean and Prebendaries meeting, they, according to a method often uſed in their Elections, did by a Compromiſe refer it to the Dean to name whom he pleaſed: and he naming Doctor *Parker*, according to the Queen's Letter, they all confirmed it, and publiſhed their Election, ſinging *Te Deum* upon it. On the 9th of *September* the Great Seal was put to a Warrant for his Conſecration, directed to the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Landaff*, and to *Barlow*, and *Scory* (ſtiled only Biſhops, not being then elected to any Sees) requiring them to Conſecrate him. From this it appears, that neither *Tonſtal*, *Bourn*, nor *Pool* were at that time turned out: It ſeems there was ſome hope of gaining them to obey the Laws, and ſo to continue in their Sees.

He is Conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

This matter was delay'd to the 6th of *December*. Whether this flow'd from *Parker*'s unwillingneſs to engage in ſo high a Station, or from any other ſecret Reaſon, I do not know. But then, the three Biſhops laſt named refuſing to do it, a new Warrant paſſed under the Great Seal to the Biſhop of *Landaff*, *Barlow* Biſhop Elect of *Chicheſter*, *Scory* Biſhop

Elect

Vol 2.d Pag 402


EFFIGIES MATTHAEI PARKERI ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS
R White ſculp

Natus Nordovici
1504. Auguſt: 6.
Decan' Lincoln.
Sub Edvardo VI.

Conſecr. Archiep.
Cantuarienſis
1559: Dec. 17.
Obijt 1575. May 17.

Printed for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard

Elect of *Hereford*, *Coverdale* late Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Hodgkins* Biſhop Suffragan of *Bedford*, *John* Suffragan of *Thetford*, and *Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſory*; that they, or any four of them, ſhould Conſecrate him. So by virtue of this, on the 9th of *December*, *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins* met at the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*; where, according to the Cuſtom, the *Conge d' Elire*, with the Election, and the Royal Aſſent to it, were to be brought before them: and theſe being read, Witneſſes were to be cited to prove the Election lawfully made; and all who would object to it were alſo cited. All theſe things being performed according to Law, and none coming to object againſt the Election, they Confirmed it according to the uſual manner. On the 17th of *December* *Parker* was Conſecrated in the Chappel at *Lambeth*, by *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins*, according to the Book of Ordinations made in King *Edward's* time: Only the Ceremony of putting the Staff in his hands was left out of the Office, in this Reign. He being thus Conſecrated himſelf, did afterwards Conſecrate Biſhops for the other Sees: namely, *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*, *Cox*, that had been King *Edward's* Almoner, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Sandys* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Merick* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Young* Biſhop of *S. Davids*, *Bullingham* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Jewel* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, (the great Ornament of that Age for Learning and Piety;) *Davis* Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, *Gueſt* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Berkley* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bentham* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Alley* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and *Par* Biſhop of *Peterborough*. *Barlow* and *Scory* were put into the Sees of *Chicheſter* and *Hereford*. And ſometime after this, in *February* 1561, *Young* was tranſlated from *S. Davids* to *York*; there being now no hopes of gaining *Heath* to continue in it; which it ſeems had been long endeavoured, for it was now two years that that See had been in vacancy. In like manner, after ſo long waiting to ſee if *Tonſtal* would conform, there being now no more hope of it, in *March* 1561, *Pilkington* was made Biſhop of *Dureſme*. *Beſt* was afterwards made Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Downham* Biſhop of *Cheſter*. 1559.

The Fable of the Nags-head confuted.

I have given the more diſtinct Accouut of theſe Promotions, becauſe of a moſt malicious Slander with which they were aſperſt in after-times. It was not thought on for forty years after this. But then it was forged, and publiſh'd, and ſpread over the World, with great confidence, That *Parker* himſelf was not legally nor truly Conſecrated. The Author of it was ſaid to be one *Neale*, that had been ſometime one of *Bonner's* Chaplains. The Contrivance was, that the Biſhop of *Landaff* being required by *Bonner* not to Conſecrate *Parker*, or to give Orders in his Dioceſs, did thereupon refuſe it: Upon that the Biſhops Elect being met in *Cheapſide* at the *Nags-head*-Tavern, *Neale*, that had watch'd them thither, peep'd in through an hole of the Door, and ſaw them in great diſorder, finding the Biſhop of *Landaff* was intractable. But (as the Tale goes on) *Scory* bids them all kneel, and he laid the Bible upon every one of their Heads or Shoulders, and ſaid, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of* God *ſincerely*, and ſo they roſe up all Biſhops. This Tale came ſo late into the World, that *Sanders*, and all the other Writers in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, had never heard of it: otherwiſe we may be ſure they would not have concealed it. And if the thing had been true, or if *Neale* had but pretended that he had ſeen any ſuch thing,

1559. there is no reaſon to think he would have ſuppreſſed it. But when it might be preſumed that all thoſe perſons were dead that had been preſent at *Parker's* Conſecration, then was the time to invent ſuch a Story; for then it might be hoped that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that ſome who had ſeen Biſhops go from *Bow*-Church to dine at that Tavern with their Civilians, as ſome have done after their Confirmation, might imagine that then was the time of this *Nags-head-Conſecration*. If it were boldly ſaid, one or other might think he remembred it. But as it pleaſed God, there was one then living that remembred the contrary. The old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been at the Conſecration, declared it was at *Lambeth*, and deſcribed all the Circumſtances of it, and ſatisfied all reaſonable men that it was according to the Form of the Church of *England*. The Regiſters both of the See of *Canterbury*, and of the Records of the Crown, do all fully agree with his Relation. For as *Parker's Conge d' Elire*, with the Queen's Aſſent to his Election, and the Warrant for his Conſecration, are all under the Great Seal: So upon the Certificate made by thoſe who Conſecrated him, the Temporalties were reſtored by another Warrant alſo enrolled; which was to be ſhewed in the Houſe of Lords when he took his Place there. Beſides that the Conſecrations of all the other Biſhops made by him, ſhew that he alone was firſt Conſecrated without any other. And above all other Teſtimonies, the Original Inſtrument of Archbiſhop *Parker's* Conſecration lies ſtill among his other Papers in the Library of *Corpus Chriſti* College at *Cambridge*, which I ſaw and read. It is as manifeſtly an Original Writing, as any that I ever had in my hands: I have put it in the Collection, for the more full diſcovery of the Impudence of that Fiction. But it ſerved thoſe ends for which it was deſigned. Weak people hearing it ſo poſitively told by their Prieſts, came to believe it; and I have my ſelf met with many that ſeemed ſtill to give ſome credit to it, after all that clear Confutation of it, made by the moſt Ingenious and Learned Biſhop *Bramhall*, the late Primat of *Ireland*. Therefore I thought it neceſſary to be the larger in the Account of this Conſecration; and the rather, becauſe of the influence it hath into all the Ordinations that have been ſince that time derived down in this Church.

*Coll.*Numb.9.

Some excepted againſt the Canonicalneſs of it, becauſe it was not done by all the Biſhops of the Province, and three of the Biſhops had no Sees when they did it, and the fourth was only a Suffragan-Biſhop. But to all this it was ſaid, That after a Church had been over-run with Hereſy, thoſe Rules, which were to be obſerved in its more ſetled ſtate, were always ſuperſeded; as appears particularly when the *Arrian* Biſhops were turned out of ſome great Sees, for the Orthodox Biſhops did then ordain others to ſucceed them, without judging themſelves bound by the Canons in ſuch Caſes. And Biſhops that had been rightly Conſecrated, could certainly derive their own Character to others, whether they were actually in Sees or not. And a Suffragan-Biſhop, being Conſecrated in the ſame manner that other Biſhops were, tho he had a limited Juriſdiction, yet was of the ſame Order with them. All theſe things were made out with a great deal of Learning by *Maſon*, who upon the publiſhing of that Fiction, wrote in Vindication of the Engliſh Miniſtry.

Thus were the Sees filled, the Worſhip Reformed, and the Queen's Injunctions ſent over *England.* Three things remained yet to be done. The firſt was, To ſet out the Doctrine of the Church, as it had been done in King *Edward*'s Time. The ſecond was, To Tranſlate the Bible, and publiſh it with ſhort Notes. And the third was, To regulate the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. The Biſhops therefore ſet about theſe. And for the firſt, Though they could not, by publick Authority, ſet out the Articles of the Church till they met in a Convocation; yet they ſoon after prepared them. And for the preſent, they agreed on a ſhort Profeſſion of their Doctrine, which all Incumbents were obliged to read and publiſh to their People. This will be found in the *Collection*, Coll.Num.11. copied from it, as it was then printed.

In the Articles made in King *Edward*'s Reign, which I have put in the *Collection*, the Reader will find on the Margent the differences between thoſe and theſe marked. In the third Article, the explanation of Chriſt's deſcent to Hell, was left out. In that about the Scriptures, they now added an enumeration of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books; declaring, that ſome Leſſons were read out of the latter, for the Inſtruction of the People, but not for the confirmation of the Doctrine. About the Authority of the Church, they now added, That the Church had power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and had Authority in Controverſies of Faith; but ſtill ſubordinate to the Scripture.

In the Article about the Lord's Supper, there is a great deal left out, for inſtead of that large refutation of the Corporal Preſence, from the impoſſibility of a Bodies being in more places at once; from whence it follows, that ſince Chriſt's Body is in Heaven, the Faithful ought not to believe or profeſs a Real or Corporal Preſence of it in the Sacrament. In the new Articles, it is ſaid, *That the Body of Chriſt is given and received after a Spiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is Faith.* But in the Original Copy of theſe Articles, which I M.SS. C.Cor. Chriſt.*Cant.* have ſeen ſubſcribed by the hands of all that ſat in either Houſe of Convocation, there is a further addition made. The Articles were ſubſcribed with that Precaution which was requiſite in a matter of ſuch conſequence; for before the Subſcriptions, there is ſet down the number of the Pages, and of the Lines in every Page of the Book, to which they ſet their hands.

In that Article of the Euchariſt, theſe words are added, *Chriſtus in Cœlum aſcendens, corpori ſuo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abſtulit: Humanæ enim naturæ veritatem, juxta ſcripturas perpetuo retinet, quam in uno & definito loco eſſe, & non in multa vel omnia ſimul loca diffundi, oportet: Quum igitur Chiſtus in Cœlum ſublatus, ibi uſque ad finem Sæculi ſit permanſurus, atque inde, non aliunde, (ut loquitur Auguſtinus) venturus ſit ad judicandum vivos & mortuos, non debet quiſquam fidelium, Carnis ejus & Sanguinis realem & corporalem (ut loquuntur) præſentiam in Euchariſtia, vel credere vel profiteri.* In Engliſh thus; 'Chriſt, when 'he aſcended into Heaven, made his Body Immortal, but took not from 'it the nature of a Body: For ſtill it retains, according to the Scrip'tures, the verity of a humane Body; which muſt be always in one 'definite place, and cannot be ſpread into many, or all places at once. 'Since then Chriſt being carried up to Heaven, is to remain there to 'the end of the World, and is to come from thence, and from no place

An Explanation of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament,

1559. ‘ elſe, (as ſays St. *Auſtin*) to judg the Quick and the Dead; None of ‘ the Faithful ought to believe or profeſs the real, or (as they call it), ‘ the corporal Preſence of his Fleſh and Blood in the Euchariſt.

But this in the Original is daſht over with *minium*; yet ſo, that it is But 'tis ſuppreſſed. ſtill legible. The Secret of it was this; The Queen and her Council ſtudied, (as hath been already ſhewn) to unite all into the Communion of the Church: and it was alleaged, that ſuch an expreſs definition againſt a Real Preſence, might drive from the Church many who were ſtill of that Perſwaſion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn Tranſubſtantiation, and to ſay, that Chriſt was preſent after a Spiritual manner, and received by Faith; to ſay more, as it was judged ſuperfluous, ſo it might occaſion Diviſion. Upon this, theſe words were, by common conſent, left out: And in the next Convocation, the Articles were ſubſcribed without them, of which I have alſo ſeen the Original.

This ſhews that the Doctrine of the Church, ſubſcribed by the whole Convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a Real or Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament; only it was not thought neceſſary or expedient to publiſh it. Though from this ſilence, which flowed not from their Opinion, but the Wiſdom of that Time, in leaving a Liberty for different Speculations, as to the manner of the Preſence; ſome have ſince inferred, that the chief Paſtors of this Church, did then diſapprove of the Definition made in King *Edward's* Time, and that they were for a Real Preſence.

For the Tranſlating of the Bible, it was divided into many Parcels. The *Pentateuch* was committed to *William Alley* Biſhop of *Exeter*. The Books from that, to the ſecond of *Samuel*, were given to *Richard Davis*, who was made Biſhop of St. *Davids*, when *Young* was removed to *York*. All from *Samuel*, to the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*, was aſſigned to *Edwin Sandys*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*. From thence to the end of *Job*, to one whoſe Name is marked *A. P. C.* The Book of the *Pſalms* was given to *Thomas Bentham*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. The *Proverbs* to one who is marked *A. P.* The *Song of Solomon* to one Marked *A. P. E.* All from thence to the *Lamentations of Jeremy*, was given to *Robert Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, to *Bentham*. From thence to *Malachi*, to *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*. The *Apocripha* to the Book of *Wiſdom*, was given to *Barlow* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and the reſt of it, to *Parkhurſt* Biſhop of *Norwich*. The *Goſpels*, *Acts*, and *Epiſtle* to the *Romans*, were given to *Richard Cox* Biſhop of *Ely*. The *Epiſtles* to the *Corinthians*, to one marked *G. G.* I know not to whom the reſt of the *New Teſtament* was aſſigned. All theſe Allotments I gather from the Bible it ſelf, as it was afterwards ſet out by *Parker*. What Method they followed in this Work, I cannot diſcover; unleſs the Rules afterwards given in King *James* his Time, *Coll.* Num. 10. when the Tranſlation was revived, were copied from what was now done: which Rules, for the curioſity of the thing, I ſhall put in the *Collection*, as I copied it from *B. Ravis's* Paper. They were given with that care that ſuch a matter required. There were many Companies appointed for every parcel of the Scripture, and every one of a Company was to tranſlate the whole Parcel: then they were to compare theſe together; and when any Company had finiſhed their Part, they were

1559.

to communicate it to the other Companies. So it is like, that at this Time thoſe ſeveral Biſhops that had undertaken the Tranſlation, did aſſociate to themſelves Companies, with whoſe aſſiſtance they perfected it afterwards; and when it was ſet out, at the end of every Section, the initial Letters of his Name, that had tranſlated it, were printed, as *W. E. E. W.* for *Will. Exon*, and *Edwin Wigorn*; and ſo in the reſt. In what Year this was firſt printed, I am not ſo well aſſured. For I have not ſeen the firſt Impreſſion of it, but I believe it was in the Year 1561, or ſoon after it; for the Almanack prefixed for the Moveable Feaſts, begins with that Year.

As for the Canons and Rules of the Church Goverment, they were not ſo ſoon prepared. There came out ſome in the Year 1571, and more in the Year 1597, and a far larger Collection of them in the firſt Year of King *James*'s Reign. But this Matter has yet wanted its chief force; for Penitentiary Canons have not been ſet up, and the Government of the Church is not yet brought into the Hands of Church-men. So that in this Point the Reformation of the Church wants ſome part of its finiſhing, in the Government and Diſcipline of it.

The Beginnings of the Diviſions of this Church.

Thus did Queen *Elizabeth* again recover the Reformation of Religion: and it might have been expected, that under ſuch moderate and wiſe Councils, things ſhould have been carried with that Temper, that this Church ſhould have united in its endeavours to ſupport it ſelf, and become the Bulwark of the Reformation, and the Terror of *Rome*. But that Bleſſing was, by the Sins of the Nation, the Paſſions of ſome, the Intereſts of others, and the Weakneſs of the greateſt part, in a great meaſure denied us. The Heats that had been raiſed beyond Sea, were not quite forgotten; and as ſome Sparks had been kindled about Clergy-mens Habits in K. *Edward*'s Reign; ſo, though *Hooper* and *Ridley* had buried that Difference in their Aſhes, it broke out again concerning the Veſtments of the Inferior Clergy. Other things were alſo much conteſted. Some were for ſetting up Eccleſiaſtical Courts in every Pariſh, for the exerciſing of Diſcipline againſt ſcandalous Perſons; others thought this might degenerate into Faction. Theſe leſſer Differences were craftily managed by ſome who intended to improve them ſo far, that they might have the Church-Lands divided among them, and they carried theſe Heats further in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, then one would imagine, that conſiders the temper of that Government. But ſince that, ſtill by many Degrees, and many Accidents in the Civil Government, they are now grown to that height; that, though conſidering the Grounds on which they have been, and ſtill are maintained, they appear to be of no great force or moment: Yet if the Animoſities and Heats that are raiſed by them, are well examined[illegible]re is ſcarce any probable hopes left of compoſing thoſe Differences,[illegible]nleſs our Lawgivers do vigorouſly apply themſelves to it.

The Reformation in Scotland.

Having giving this Account of the Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation here in *England* under Queen *Elizabeth*: I have, in ſome ſort, diſcharged my ſelf of the Deſign of my Engagement in this Work: but ſince the Settlement of Religion in *Scotland* was made the ſame Year, I ſhall next

1559. give ſome account of that; which I do with the more aſſurance, having met with ſeveral important things relating to it in *Melvill's Memoires*, that are in none of the printed Books. When the Treaty began for a Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the ſecret Reaſon of making it,was,to root out Hereſy,ſo much was expreſſed in the Preamble to it, that to extirpate Hereſy,to have a General Council called, and the Church fully Reformed, both from Errors and Abuſes, thoſe Princes had entred into a firm Peace.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* writ to his Siſter the Queen, Regent of *Scotland*; that now, ſince they were making Peace, they were reſolved to purge the World of Hereſy. He alſo writ to the Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews* to the ſame Effect. The Queen Regent was much confounded at this. She was now forced to break her Faith with thoſe who had ſerved her Intereſts hitherto; and to whom ſhe had often promiſed, that they ſhould not be troubled for their Conſciences. The danger was alſo very great from their Combination, ſince the Queen of *England* would certainly aſſiſt them; both becauſe the Religion was the ſame in both Countries; and becauſe, by dividing that Kingdom, ſhe would ſecure the North of *England* from the miſchief *Scotland* could do it, if moved and ſet on to it by *France*. But the Biſhops in *Scotland*, ſhutting their Eyes upon all Dangers, reſolved by ſome ſignal Inſtance, to ſtrike a Terror into the People.

The Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, having gathered a meeting of many Biſhops, Abbots, and Divines, brought before them one *Walter Mill*, an old decrepit Prieſt, who had long given over ſaying Maſs, and had preached in ſeveral places of the Country. They had *Mils* Martyrdom. in vain dealt with him to recant; ſo now he was brought to his Trial. They objected Articles to him, about his aſſerting the lawfulneſs of Prieſts Marriages; denying the Seven Sacraments; ſaying the Maſs was Idolatry; denying the Preſence of Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood in the Sacrament; and condemning the Office of Biſhops; ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimages; and teaching privately in Houſes.

To theſe he anſwered beyond all their Expectation; for he was ſo old and infirm, that they thought he could ſay nothing. He ſaid, 'He eſteemed Marriage a bleſſed Bond, and free for all Men to enter into it; and that it was much better for Prieſts to marry, than to vow Chaſtity and not keep it, as they generally did. He ſaid, He knew no Sacraments, but Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; the reſt he left to them. He ſaid, The Prieſts ſole communicating was, as if a Lord ſhould invite many to Dinner, and ring a Bell for them to come; but when they came, ſhould turn his back on them, and eat all himſelf. He ſaid, Tha[illegible]riſt was only ſpiritually in the Sacrament; and that there was no other Sacrifice, but that which he offered on the Croſs. He held, That they were Biſhops indeed, who did the Work of a Biſhop; and not they who ſought only their ſenſual Pleaſures, and neither regarded the Word of God, nor their Flocks. He knew Pilgrimages had been much abuſed, and great Uncleanneſs was committed, under the colour of going to them; but there was no ground for them in Scripture.

Upon theſe Anſwers he was required to Recant; but he ſaid, he knew he was to die once, and what they intended to do with him, he wiſhed they would do it ſoon. Upon this, he was declared an obſtinate Heretick. But the Country was ſo alienated from them, that they could not find a Man to burn him; and he that had the Juriſdiction in that Regality, refuſed to execute the Sentence. Yet at laſt, one of the Arch-Biſhops Servants was gotten to undertake it; but in the whole Town, they could find none that would ſell them a Cord to tie him to the Stake; ſo they were forced to put it off till the next day; and then, ſince none other could be had, the Arch-Biſhop ſent the Cords of his own Pavilion for that uſe. When *Mill* was brought to the Stake, he ſaid, he would not go up of his own accord, becauſe he would not be acceſſary to his own Death; but if they would put their hand to him, they ſhould ſee how chearfully he ſhould do it. That being done, he went up, and ſaid, *I will go in to the Altar of God.* He exhorted the People to be no more ſeduced by the Lyes of their Prieſts, but to depend upon Chriſt and his Mercy; for whoſe Doctrine, as many Martyrs had offered up their Lives, ſo he bleſſed God that had ſo honoured him to call him to give this Teſtimony, for whoſe Glory he moſt willingly offered up his Life. When the Fire was ſet to him, he called to the People to pray for him, and continued to cry, *Lord have mercy on me*, till he could ſpeak no more. 1559.

The Nation was much provoked by it.

His Suffering was much reſented by the Inhabitants of St. *Andrews*, who raiſed a great heap of Stones in the place where he was burnt, for a Memorial of it; and though the Prieſts ſcattered them often, they renewed them ſtill, till a Watch was ſet about it.

In all parts of *Scotland*, and eſpecially in the Towns, and in the Families of the Nobility and Gentry, the Reformation had been received, and ſecretly profeſſed. So they began now to conſult what to do. They had many meetings in ſeveral places; and finding their Intereſt was great over the Kingdom, they entred into Confederacies to maintain the true Religion.

Before the Parliament met laſt Year, they had ſent a Petition to the Queen Regent, 'That the Worſhip of God might be in the Vulgar 'Tongue, and the Communion might be given in both Kinds: That 'there ſhould be great care taken in the Election of Miniſters, that it 'might be according to the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church; and 'that ſcandalous Miniſters might be removed, and more worthy Men 'put in their Places.

But the Queen Regent, to keep them in hopes till the Dolphin ſhould be acknowledged *King of Scotland*, promiſed they ſhould not be hindred to have Prayers in their own Tongue, ſo they would keep no publick Aſſemblies in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*.

In the Parliament, they propoſed the abrogating of the Laws for Church-mens proceedings againſt Hereticks; and that none ſhould be condemned of Hereſy, but according to the Word of God; with ſome other Limitations of the Severities againſt them. But the Queen ſtill gave them good hopes; only ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not agree to thoſe things, by reaſon of the oppoſition that would be made by the Spiritual Eſtate: But ſhe ſuffered them to read a Proteſtation in Parliament, declaring their deſires of a Reformation; and that if, upon the denial of it, Abuſes were removed violently, they were not to be blamed, who had begun thus in a modeſt way to Petition for it.

1559. This Year it was become viſible that ſhe reſolved to proceed to extremities. She ordered all the reformed Preachers to appear at *Sterling* the 10*th* of *May*. When this was done, the Earl of *Glencarn* went to her in the Name of the reſt, and asked her the reaſon of that way of proceeding. She anſwered him in paſſion, 'That maugre them and all that would take part with them, the Miniſters ſhould be baniſhed *Scotland*, though they preached as ſoundly as St. *Paul* did. Upon this, he remembred her of the Promiſes ſhe had often made them: to which ſhe anſwered, 'That the Promiſes of Princes ſhould be no further ſtrained then ſeem'd convenient to them to perform. *Glencarn* replied, 'if ſhe would keep no Promiſes, they would acknowledge her no more, but renounce their Obedience to her.

A Revolt began at St. *Johnſtoun.*

That very night ſhe heard that in the Town of St. *Johnſtoun*, the People had Sermons openly in their Churches. Upon that ſhe ordered the Lord *Ruthven* to go and reduce that Town: He anſwered, he could not govern their Conſciences: Upon which, ſhe vowed ſhe would make him and them both repent it. The Miniſters were coming from all parts, accompanied with many Gentlemen, to appear on the Day to which they were cited. The Queen hearing that, ſent word to them to go home, for ſhe would not proceed in the Citation. Many of them upon that returned to their homes, but others went to St. *Johnſtoun*: Yet upon their not appearing, ſhe made them all be declared Rebells, contrary to her Promiſe: This made many leave her, and go over to them at St. *Johnſtoun*. The People began there firſt to break Images; and then they fell into the Houſes of the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans*, where they found much more Wealth than agreed with their pretended Poverty. They alſo pulled down a great Houſe of the *Carthuſians*, with ſo much Haſt, that within two days there was not one Stone left to ſhew where it had ſtood: but yet the Prior was ſuffered to carry away the Plate. All that was found in theſe Houſes, beſides what the Monks carried away, was given to the Poor. The Queen, hearing this, reſolved to make that Town an Example; and ſent over all the Kingdom to gather the French Souldiers together, with ſuch others as would joyn with her in this Quarrel. But the Earl of *Glencarn* with incredible haſt came to their aſſiſtance, with 2500 Men: And there were gathered in all, in and about the Town, 7000 Men. The Queen, ſeeing it now turned to an open Rebellion, employed the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of St. *Andrews* to treat with them. An Oblivion for what was paſt was agreed on: The Queen was to come to St. *Johnſtoun*, without her French-men: and the matters of Religion were to be referred to a Parliament. Upon this, ſhe went thither; but carried French-men with her, and put a Garriſon in the Town; and proceeded to the Fining of many, and the Baniſhing of others. Being preſſed with her Promiſe, ſhe ſaid, 'The Promiſes of Princes ought not to be ſtrictly urged, and thoſe were not to be kept that were made to Hereticks; ſhe declared that ſhe would take it on her Conſcience, to kill and undo all that Sect, and make the beſt excuſe ſhe could when it was done. Upon this, all the Nation forſook her: and in many other places they went on to cleanſe the Churches, and pull down Monaſteries.

When the News of this came to the Court of *France*, it was at firſt not

rightly

1559.

The French King intends to grant Liberty of Religion.

rightly underſtood. The Queen Regent repreſented it,as if it had been a Deſign to ſhake off the French Power; and deſired a great Force to reduce them. The King then ſaw too late, that the Conſtable had given him good Advice, in diſwading the Match with *Scotland*: and fearing to be intangled in a long chargeable War,he reſolved to ſend one thither to know the true occaſion of theſe Stirrs. So the Conſtable propoſed to him the ſending of *Melvil*, by whom he had underſtood, that the Reaſon of all their diſorders was the Queen's breaking her Word to them in the matters of Religion. He carried *Melvil* to the King, and in his preſence gave him Inſtructions, to go to *Scotland*, and ſee what was the true cauſe of all theſe diſorders; and particularly, how farre the Prior of St. *Andrews*, (afterwards the Earl of *Murray*,) was engaged in them; and if he, by ſecret Ways, could certainly find there was nothing in it but Religion, that then he ſhould give them Aſſurances of the free Exerciſe of it, and preſs them not to engage any further till he was returned to the French Court, where he was promiſed to find a great Reward for ſo important a Service: but he was not to let the Queen Regent underſtand his buſineſs. He found upon his going into *Scotland*, that it was even as he had formerly heard; that the Queen Regent was now much hated and diſtaſted by them: but that upon an Oblivion of what was paſſed, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion for the future, all might be brought to peace and quiet. But before he came back, the King of *France* was dead, the Conſtable in diſgrace, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* governed all: So he loſt his Labour, and Reward, which he valued much leſs, being a generous and vertuous Man, than the Ruine that he ſaw coming on his Country.

But is killed.

The Lords that were now united againſt the Queen Mother came and took St. *Johnſtoun*. From thence they went to *Stirling*, and *Edinburgh*: and every where they pulled down Monaſteries; all the Country declared on their ſide; ſo that the Queen Regent was forced to fly to *Dumbar*-Caſtle. The Lords ſent to *England* for Aſſiſtance, which the Queen readily granted them. They gave out, that they deſired nothing but to have the French driven out,and Religion ſettled by a Parliament. The Queen Regent,ſeeing all the Country againſt her, and apprehending that the Q. of *England* would take advantage from theſe Stirrs to drive her out of *Scotland*,was content to agree to a Truce; & to ſummon a Parliament to meet on the 10*th* of *January*. But the new King of *France* ſent over Mr. de *Croque*, with a high threatning Meſſage, that he would ſpend the whole Revenue of *France* rather then not be revenged on them that raiſed theſe Tumults in *Scotland*. The Lords anſwered, that they deſired nothing but the Liberty of their Religion: and that being obtained, they ſhould be in all other things his moſt obedient Subjects. The Queen Regent, having gotten about 2000 Men from *France*, fortified *Leith*; and in many other things broke the Truce. There came over alſo ſome Doctors of the *Sorbonne* to diſpute with the Miniſters,becauſe they heard the Scotiſh Clergy were ſcarce able to defend their own Cauſe. The Lords gathered again, and ſeeing the Queen Regent had ſo often broke her Word to them, they entred into Conſultation to deprive her of her Regency: Their Queen was not yet of Age; and in her Minority, they pretended that the Government of the Kingdom belonged to the States: and there-

A Truce agreed to in *Scotland*.

1559.

The Queen Regent is degraded.

fore they gathered together many of her Maleadminiſtrations, for which they might the more colorably put her out of the Government. The things they charged on her were chiefly theſe: ‘That ſhe had without Law begun a War in the Kingdom, and brought in Strangers to ſubdue it; had governed without the conſent of the Nobility, embaſed the Coin to maintain her Souldiers; had put Garriſons in five Towns; and had broke all Promiſes and Terms with them. Thereupon they declared her to have fallen from her Regency, and did ſuſpend her Power, till the next Parliament. So now it was an irreconciliable Breach. The Lords lay firſt at *Edinburgh*, and from thence retired afterwards to *Sterling*: Upon which, the French came and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town, and ſet up the Maſs again in the Churches. Greater Supplies came over from *France* under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Elbeuf*, one of the Queen Regent's Brothers; who, though moſt of his Fleet were diſperſed, yet brought to *Leith* 1000 Foot, ſo that there were now above 4000 French Souldiers in that Town. But what Acceſſion of ſtrength ſoever the Queen Regent received from theſe, ſhe loſt as much in *Scotland*; for now almoſt the whole Country was united againſt her; and the French were equally heavie to their Friends and Enemies. They marched about by *Sterling* to waſte *Fife*, where there were ſome ſmall Engagements between them and the Lords of the Congregation.

The Scots implore the Q. of *Englands* Aid.

But the *Scots*, ſeeing they could not ſtand before that force that was expected from *France* the next Spring, ſent to Queen *Elizabeth* to deſire her Aid openly; for the ſecret Supplies of Mony and Ammunition, with which ſhe hitherto furniſhed them, would not now ſerve the Turn. The Counſel of *England* apprehended that it would draw on a War with *France*: yet they did not fear that much; for that Kingdom was falling into ſuch Factions, that they did not apprehend any great Danger from thence till their King was of Age. So the Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent to *Berwick*, to treat with the Lords of the Congregation; who were now headed by the Duke of *Chattelherhault*. On the 27*th* of *February* they agreed on theſe Conditions: ‘They were to be ſure Allies to the Queen of *England*; and to aſſiſt her, both in *England* and *Ireland*, as ſhe ſhould need their help. She was now on the other hand, to aſſiſt them to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*: after which, they were ſtill to continue in their obedience to their Natural Queen. This League was to laſt, during their Queen's Marriage to the *French* King, and for a Year after: and they were to give the Queen of *England* Hoſtages, who were to be changed every ſix Months.

This being concluded, and the Hoſtages given, the Lord *Gray* marched into *Scotland* with 2000 Horſe, and 6000 Foot. Upon that, the Lords ſent and offered to the Queen Regent, that if ſhe would ſend away the *French* Forces, the *Engliſh* ſhould likewiſe be ſent back, and they would return to their Obedience.

Leith is beſieged by the Engliſh.

This not being accepted, they drew about *Leith* to beſiege it. In one Sally which the French made, they were beaten back with the loſs of [illegible] Men. This made the Engliſh more ſecure, thinking the French would no more come out: but they underſtanding the ill order that was kept, ſallied out again, and killed near 500 of the Engliſh. This made them more watchful for the future. So the Seige being formed, a Fire broke out in *Leith*, which burnt down the greateſt part of the Town: the Engliſh playing all the while on them, diſtracted them ſo, that the Souldiers being obliged to be on the Walls, the Fire was not eaſily quenched. Hereupon the Engliſh gave the Aſſault, and were beaten off with ſome loſs: but the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent a ſupply of 2000 Men more, with the aſſurance of a great Army, if it was neceſſary; and charged the Lord *Gray*, not to quit the Seige till the French were gone. Ships were alſo ſent to lye in the *Frith*, to block them up by Sea. The French apprehending the total loſs of *Scotland*, ſent over *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence* to *London*, to offer to reſtore *Calais* to the Queen of *England*, if ſhe would draw her Forces out of *Scotland*. She gave him a quick Anſwer on the ſudden her ſelf, that ſhe did not value that Fiſh-Town, ſo much as ſhe did the quiet of *Brittain*. But the French deſiring that ſhe could mediate a Peace between them and the Scots, ſhe undertook that, and ſent Secretary *Cecil* and D. *Wotton* into *Scotland* to conclude it.

The Queen Regent of *Scotland* dies.

As they were on the Way, the Queen Regent died in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, on the 10*th* of *June*. She ſent for ſome of the chief Lords before her Death, and deſired to be reconciled to them; and asked them pardon for the Injuries ſhe had done them. She adviſed them to ſend both the French and Engliſh Souldiers out of *Scotland*; and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen. She alſo ſent for one of their Preachers, *Willock*, and diſcourſed with him about her Soul, and many other things, and ſaid unto him, that ſhe truſted to be ſaved only by the Death and Merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*: and ſo ended her Days; which if ſhe had done a Year ſooner, before theſe laſt Paſſages of her Life, ſhe had been the moſt univerſally lamented Queen that had been in any time in *Scotland*. For ſhe had governed them with great Prudence, Juſtice, and Gentleneſs; and in her own Deportment, and in the order of her Court, ſhe was an Example to the whole Nation: but the Directions ſent to her from *France*, made her change her Meaſures, break her Word, and engage the Kingdom in War; which rendred her very hateful to the Nation. Yet ſhe was often heard to ſay, that if her Counſels might take place, ſhe doubted not to bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace.

A Peace is concluded.

The Treaty between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*, was ſoon after concluded. The French were to be ſent away within Twenty Days; an Act of Oblivion was to be conſirmed in Parliament; the Injuries done to the Biſhops and Abbots were referred to the Parliament; Strangers and Church-men were no more to be truſted with the chief Offices; & a Parliament was to meet in *Auguſt* for the confirming of this. During the Queen's abſence the Nation was to be governed by a Council of Twelve; of theſe the Queen was to name ſeven, and the States five: the Queen was neither to make Peace nor War, but by the Advice of the Eſtates, according to the Ancient Cuſtom of the Kingdom. The Engliſh were to return, as ſoon as the French were gone: and for the matter of Religion, that was referred to the Parliament: and ſome were to be ſent from thence to the King and Queen, to ſet forth thier deſires to them: and the Queen of *Scotland* was no more to uſe the Arms and Title of *England*. All theſe Conditions were agreed to on the 8*th* of *July*; and ſoon after, both the French and Engliſh left the Kingdom.

1559. Reformation is ſettled in *Scotland* by Parliament.

In *Auguſt* thereafter the Parliament met, where four Acts paſſed; one for the aboliſhing of the Pope's Power. A ſecond, For the repealing of all Laws made in favour of the former Superſtition. A third, For the puniſhing of thoſe that ſaid or heard Maſs. And the fourth was, A Confirmation of the Confeſſion of Faith; which was afterwards ratified, and inſerted in the Acts of Parliament, held *Anno* 1567. It was penned by *Knox*, and agrees, in almoſt all things, with the *Geneva* Confeſſion.

Of the whole Temporalty, none but the Earl of *Athol*, and the Lords, *Somervile* and *Borthick*, diſſented to it: They ſaid, they would believe as their Fathers had done before them. The Spiritual Eſtate ſaid nothing againſt it. The Abbots ſtruck in with the Tyde, upon aſſurance, that their Abbies ſhould be converted to Temporal Lordſhips, and be given to them. Moſt of the Biſhops, ſeeing the Stream ſo ſtrong againſt them, complied likewiſe; and to ſecure themſelves, and enrich their Friends or Baſtards, did dilapidate all the Revenues of the Church, in the ſtrangeſt manner that has ever been known; and yet, for moſt of all theſe Leaſes and Alienations, they procured from *Rome* Bulls to confirm them; pretending at that Court, that they were neceſſary for making Friends to their Intereſt in *Scotland*.

Great numbers of theſe Bulls I my ſelf have ſeen and read: So that after all the noiſe that the Church of *Rome* had made of the Sacriledge in *England*, they themſelves confirmed a more entire waſte of the Churches Patrimony in *Scotland*; of which there was ſcarce any thing reſerved for the Clergy. But our Kings have ſince that time, uſed ſuch effectual endeavours there, for the recovery of ſo much as might give a juſt encouragement to the Labours of the Clergy; that univerſally the inferior Clergy is better provided for in no Nation than in *Scotland*; for in Glebe and Tythes, every Incumbent is by the Law provided with at leaſt 50 *l. Sterling* a Year; which, in proportion to the cheapneſs of the Country, is equal to twice ſo much in moſt parts of *England*. But there are not among them ſuch Proviſions for encouraging the more Learned and deſerving Men, as were neceſſary. When theſe Acts of the Scotiſh Parliament were brought into *France* to be confirmed, they were rejected with much ſcorn; ſo that the Scots were in fear of a new War. But the King of *France* dying in the beginning of *December*, all that Cloud vaniſhed; their Queen being now only Dowager of *France*, and in very ill tearms with her Mother-in-Law Queen *Katherine de Medici*, who hated her, becauſe ſhe had endeavoured to take her Huſband out of her Hands, and to give him up wholly to the Counſels of her Uncles. So ſhe being ill uſed in *France*, was forced to return to *Scotland*, and govern there in ſuch manner, as the Nation was pleaſed to ſubmit to.

Francis the 2d died.

Thus had the Queen of *England* ſeparated *Scotland* entirely from the Intereſts of *France*, and united it to her own: And being engaged in the ſame Cauſe of Religion, ſhe ever after this, had that influence on all Affairs there, that ſhe never received any diſturbance from thence, during all the reſt of her glorious Reign. In which, other Accidents concurred to raiſe her to the greateſt Advantages in deciding Forreign Conteſts, that ever this Crown had.

1559.

The Civil Wars of *France.*

In *July* after ſhe came to the Crown, *Henry* the Second of *France*, was unfortunately wounded in his Eye at a Tilting, the Beaver of his Helmet not being let down; ſo that he died of it ſoon after. His Son *Francis* the Second ſucceeding, was then in the 16*th* Year of his Age, and aſſumed the Government in his own Name; but put it into the hands of his Mother, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*. The Conſtable was put from the Court, the Princes of the Blood were not regarded, but all things were carried by the Cardinal and his Brother; between whom, and the Queen-Mother, there aroſe great miſunderſtandings, which proved fatal to the Queen of *Scotland*; for ſhe, being much engaged with her Uncles, and having an Aſcendant over her Huſband, did ſo divide him from his Mother, that before he died, ſhe had only the ſhadow of the Government. This ſhe remembred ever after againſt her Daughter-in-Law, and took no care of her afterwards in all her Miſeries.

But the Prince of *Conde*, with the Admiral, and many others, reſolving to have the Government in their Hands, engaged ſome Lawyers to examine the point of the King's Majority: Theſe writ ſeveral Books on that Subject, to prove that two and twenty was the ſooneſt that any King had been ever held to be of Age to aſſume the Government: and that no Strangers, nor Women, might be admitted to it by the Law of *France*, but that it belonged to the Princes of the Blood, during the King's Minority; who were to manage it by the Advice of the Courts of Parliament, and the three Eſtates. So that the Deſign now concerted between theſe great Lords, to take the King out of their hands who diſpoſed of him, was grounded on their Laws: Yet as this Deſign was laying all over *France*, Papiſts and Proteſtants concurring in it, it was diſcovered by a Proteſtant, who thought himſelf bound in Conſcience to reveal it. Upon this, the Prince of *Conde* and many others were ſeized on; and had not the King's Death, in the beginning of *December* 1560, ſaved him, the Prince himſelf, and all the Heads of that Party, had ſuffered for it.

But upon his Death, *Charles* the Ninth that ſucceeded him, being but eleven Years Old, the King of *Navarre* was declared Regent; and the Queen Mother, who then hated the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, united her ſelf to him and the Conſtable, and drew the weak Regent into her Intereſts. Upon this, ſome Lawyers examining the Power of the Regents, found that the other Princes of the Blood were to have their ſhare of the Government with him; and that he might be checkt by the Courts of Parliament, and was ſubject to an Aſſembly of the three Eſtates.

In *July*, the next Year, there was a ſevere Edict paſſed againſt the Proteſtants, to put down all their Meetings, and baniſh all their Preachers. The Execution of it was put into the hands of the Biſhops; but the greater part of the Nation would not bear it.

So in *January* thereafter, another Edict paſſed, in a great Aſſembly of the Princes of the Blood, the Privy Counſellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, for the free exerciſe of that Religion; requiring the Magiſtrates to puniſh thoſe who ſhould hinder or diſturb their Meetings. Soon after this the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother, reconciled themſelves to the Queen Mother, and reſolved to break that Edict. This

was

1559. was begun by the Duke of *Vaſſy*, where a Meeting of the Proteſtants being gathered, his Servants diſturbed them; they began with reproachful Words, from theſe it went to Blows, and throwing of Stones; and by one of them the Duke was wounded: for which his Men took a ſevere Revenge, for they killed ſixty of them, and wounded two hundred, ſparing neither Age nor Sex. After this, the Edict was every-where broken. Many Lawyers were of Opinion, that the Regent could not do it, and that the People might lawfully follow the next Prince of the Blood in defence of the Edict.

Upon this, his Brother, the Prince of *Conde* gathered an Army. In the beginning of the War, the King of *Navarre* was killed at the Siege of *Roan*; ſo that, by the Law, the Prince of *Conde* ought to have ſucceeded him in the Regency; and thus the Wars that followed after this, could not be called Rebellion; ſince the Proteſtants had the Law and the firſt Prince of the Blood of their ſide, to whom the Government did of right belong.

Thus began the Civil Wars of *France*, which laſted above thirty Years; in all which time, the Queen of *England*, by the Aſſiſtance ſhe ſent them, ſometimes of Men, but for the moſt part, of Mony and Ammunition, did ſupport the Proteſtant Intereſt with no great Charge to her ſelf. And by that, ſhe was not only ſecured from all the Miſchief which ſo powerful a Neighbour could do her, but had almoſt the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

The Wars of the *Netherlands*.

The State of the *Netherlands* afforded the like Advantages in thoſe Provinces; where the King of *Spain*, finding the Proceedings of the Biſhops were not effectual for the Extirpation of Hereſy, their Sees being ſo large, intended to have founded more Biſhopricks, and to have ſet up the Courts of Inquiſition in thoſe Parts; and apprehending ſome oppoſition from the Natives, he kept Garriſons of *Spaniards* among them, with many other things, contrary to the *Lætus Introitus*, that had been agreed to, when he was received to be their Prince.

The People finding all Terms broken with them, and that by that Agreement they were diſengaged from their Obedience, if he broke thoſe Conditions, did ſhake off his Yoke. Upon which followed the Civil Wars of the *Netherlands*, that laſted likewiſe above thirty Years. To them the Queen gave aſſiſtance; at firſt more ſecretly, but afterwards more openly: and as both they and the French Proteſtants were aſſiſted with Men out of *Germany*, which were generally led by the brave, but ſeldom fortunate, *Caſimir*, Brother to the Elector Palatine, ſo the mony that payed them, was for moſt part furniſhed from *England*.

And thus was Queen *Elizabeth* the Arbiter of all the Neighbouring parts of Chriſtendom. She at Home brought the Coin to a true Standard: Navigation proſpered; Trade ſpread, both in the Northern Seas to *Arch-Angel*, and to the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*; and in her long Wars with *Spain*, ſhe was always Victorious. That great *Armada*, ſet out with ſuch aſſurance of Conqueſt, was, what by the Hand of Heaven in a Storm, what by the unweildineſs of their Ships, and the nimbleneſs of Ours, ſo ſhattered and ſunk, that the few remainders of it returned with irrecoverable ſhame and loſs to *Spain* again. She reigned in the Affections of her People, and was admired for her Knowledg, Vertues, and Wiſdom, by all the World. She always ordered her Councils ſo, that all her Parliaments, were ever ready to comply with them; for in every thing ſhe followed the true Intereſt of the Nation. She never asked Subſidies, but when the neceſſity was viſible; and when the Occaſions, that made her demand any, vaniſhed, ſhe diſcharged them. 1559.

She was admired even in *Rome* it ſelf, where *Sixtus* the Fifth uſed to ſpeak of her, and the King of *Navarre*, as the only Princeſs that underſtood what it was to Govern; and profanely wiſhed, he might enjoy her but one night, hoping they would beget a New *Alexander* the Great between them. But if that had been, and the Child had taken after the Father, it would have been more like *Alexander* the Sixth. *Vita di Siſto 5.*

Notwithſtanding all the Attempts of *Rome* againſt her Perſon and Government, ſhe ſtill lived and triumphed. In the firſt ten Years of her Reign, all things were carried with ſuch moderation, that there was no ſtir about Religion. Pope *Pius* the Fourth, reflecting on the capricious and high Anſwer his mad Predeceſſor had made to her Addreſs, ſent one *Parpalia* to her, in the ſecond Year of her Reign, to invite her to join her ſelf to that See, and he would diſanul the Sentence againſt her Mothers Marriage; confirm the Engliſh Service, and the uſe of the Sacrament in both Kinds. But ſhe ſent the Agent word to ſtay at *Bruſſels*, and not to come over. The ſame Treatment met Abbot *Martinengo*, who was ſent the Year after with the like Meſſage. From that Time, all Treaty with *Rome* was entirely broken off. *Pius* the Fourth proceeded no further; but his Succeſſor, *Pius* the Fifth, reſolved to contrive her Death, as he that writ his Life relates. *Catena.*

The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland*, upon the Wars in her Country, was driven to ſeek ſhelter in *England*, where it was at firſt reſolved to uſe her well, and to reſtore her to her Crown and Country; as will appear by two Papers, which for their Curioſity, being Originals, I have put into the *Collection*. The one is the Advice that Sir *Henry Mildmay* gave about it: the other is a long Letter written concerning it by the Earl of *Leiceſter* to the Earl of *Suſſex*. They were given me by that moſt ingenious and vertuous Gentleman, Mr. *Evelyn*, who is not ſatisfied to have advanced the knowledg of this Age, by his own moſt uſeful and ſucceſsful Labours, about Planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute every thing in his Power to perfect other Mens Endeavours. *Coll.* Numb. 11.

But while the Engliſh Council intended to have uſed the Queen of *Scotland* well, her own officious Friends, by the frequent Plots that were in a Succeſſion of many Years carried on, ſometimes by open Rebellion, as in the North of *England*, and in *Ireland*, but more frequently by ſecret Attempts, brought on her the Calamities of a long Impriſonment, and Death in the Concluſion.

Her Death was the greateſt blemiſh of this Reign, being generally cenſured by all the Age, except by Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, who was a Man that delighted in cruel Executions, and ſo concluded her to be a happy Woman that had the pleaſure to cut off a Crowned Head. But Queen *Elizabeth*'s own preſervation from the many Deſigns that were *Vita di Siſto 5.*

1559. againſt her Life, made it in ſome ſort, if not neceſſary, yet more excuſable in her: eſpecially that unfortunate Queen having her ſelf cheriſhed the Plot of *Babington* and *Ballard*, and having ſet her hand to the Letters that were written to them about it, though ſhe ſtill denied that, and caſt the blame of it on her Secretaries; who (as ſhe ſaid) had gotten her hand to them without her Knowledg. The Pope had depoſed the Queen (as will appear by his Sentence, which I have put in the Collection;) *Coll. Num.* 13. and the Queen of *Scotland* being the next Heir to the Crown, and a zealous Papiſt, thoſe of that Religion hoped, by deſtroying the Queen, to ſet her in her room; which put *England* in no ſmall diſorder, by Aſſociations, and other means that were uſed for preſerving the Queen, and deſtroying the Popiſh Intereſt. The Rebellions and Plots in *England* and *Ireland*, were not a little ſupported by the Aſſiſtance of King *Philip* of *Spain*, who did all he could to embroil the Queen's Affairs at home, though ſtill without Succeſs. But the ſteps of the Queen's Proceedings, both againſt Papiſts and Puritans, are ſo ſet out by her great and wiſe Secretary, Sir *Francis Walſingham* in ſo clear a manner, that I ſhall ſet it down here as a moſt important piece of Hiſtory; being written by one of the wiſeſt and moſt vertuous Miniſters that theſe latter Ages have produced. He wrote it in French to one Monſieur *Critoy* a French-man, of which I have ſeen an Engliſh Copy, taken (as is ſaid) from the Original.

SIR,

Walſingham's Letter concerning the Queen's proceedings againſt both Papiſts and Puritans.

‘WHereas you deſire to be advertized, touching the proceedings here in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, becauſe you ſeem to note in them ſome Inconſtancy and Variation, as if we inclined ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometimes to another; and as if that Clemency and Lenity were not uſed of late, that was uſed in the beginning: all which you imputed to your own ſuperficial underſtanding of the Affairs of this State, having, notwithſtanding her Majeſty's doings in ſingular Reverence, as the real Pledges which ſhe hath given unto the World of her Sincerity in Religion, and of her Wiſdom in Government well meriteth. I am glad of this Occaſion, to impart that little I know in that matter unto you, both for your own Satisfaction, and to the end you may make uſe thereof, towards any that ſhall not be ſo modeſtly and ſo reaſonably minded, as you are. I find therefore her Majeſty's Proceedings to have been grounded upon two Principles.

‘The one, that Conſciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by force of Truth, with the aid of Time, and uſe of all good means of Inſtruction and Perſwaſion.

‘The other, that Cauſes of Conſciences when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of Faction, looſe their Nature, and that Sovereign Princes ought diſtinctly to puniſh their Practices and Contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conſcience and Religion.

‘According to theſe Principles, her Majeſty at her coming to the Crown, utterly diſliking the Tyranny of *Rome*, which had uſed by Terror and Rigour to ſettle Commandments of Mens Faiths and

‘Conſciences. Though as a Princeſs of great Wiſdom and Magnanimity,
‘ſhe ſuffered but the exerciſe of one Religion; yet her proceedings to-
‘wards the Papiſts, was with great Lenity; expecting the good Effects
‘which time might work in them; and therefore her Majeſty revived
‘not the Laws made in the 28th and 35th of her Fathers Reign, where-
‘by the Oath of Supremacy might have been offered at the King's Plea-
‘ſure to any Subject, ſo he kept his Conſcience never ſo modeſtly to
‘himſelf, and the refuſal to take the ſame Oath, without further Cir-
‘cumſtances was made Treaſon. But contrariwiſe, her Majeſty not
‘liking to make Windows into Mens Hearts and ſecret Thoughts, ex-
‘cept the abundance of them did overflow into overt and expreſs Acts,
‘or Affirmations, tempered her Law ſo, as it reſtraineth every manifeſt
‘diſobedience, in impugning and impeaching, adviſedly and maliciouſly,
‘her Majeſties ſupreme Power, maintaining and extolling a Forreign
‘Juriſdiction: And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majeſty into
‘a more grateful Form; the hardneſs of the Name and Appellation of
‘*Supreme Head*, was removed; and the Penalty of the refuſal thereof,
‘turned only to diſablement to take any Promotion, or to exerciſe any
‘Charge, and yet of liberty to be reinveſted therein, if any Man ſhould
‘accept thereof, during his Life. But after, when *Pius Quintus* ex-
‘communicated her Majeſty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were
‘publiſhed in *London*, whereby her Majeſty was in a ſort proſcribed;
‘and that thereupon, as upon a principal Motive or Preparative, fol-
‘lowed the Rebellion in the North; yet becauſe the ill Humours of
‘the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged, and that ſhe feared
‘at that time no Foreign Invaſion, and much leſs the Attempt of any
‘within the Realm, not back'd by ſome potent Power and Succour from
‘without; ſhe contented her ſelf to make a Law againſt that ſpecial
‘caſe of bringing in and publiſhing of any Bulls, or the like Inſtruments;
‘Whereunto was added a Prohibition upon pain, not of Treaſon, but
‘of an inferior degree of Puniſhment, againſt the bringing of the
‘*Agnus Dei's*, and ſuch other Merchandice of *Rome*, as are well known
‘not to be any eſſential part of the Romaniſh Religion, but only to
‘be uſed in practice, as Love-Tokens, to inchant and bewitch the
‘peoples Affections, from their Allegiance to their Natural Soveraign.
‘In all other Points, her Majeſty continued her former Lenity: but
‘when about the 20*th* Year of her Reign, ſhe had diſcovered in the
‘King of *Spain*, an intention to Invade her Dominions; and that a
‘principal part of the Plot, was to prepare a Party within the Realm,
‘that might adhere to the Forreigner; and that the Seminaries began
‘to bloſſom, and to ſend forth daily, Prieſts, and profeſſed Men, who
‘ſhould by Vow taken at *Shrift*, reconcile her Subjects from their Obe-
‘dience; yea, and bind many of them to attempt againſt her Majeſty's
‘Sacred Perſon; and that, by the Poiſon which they ſpread, the Hu-
‘mours of moſt Papiſts were altered, and that they were no more Pa-
‘piſts in Conſcience, and of Softneſs, but Papiſts in Faction: Then
‘were there new Laws made, for the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould
‘ſubmit themſelves to ſuch Reconcilements, or Renunciation of Obe-
‘dience: And becauſe it was a Treaſon carried in the Clouds, and in
‘wonderful ſecrecy, and come ſeldom to light; and that there was no

1559.

'preſuſpicion thereof ſo great, as the Recuſancy to come to Divine Service, becauſe it was ſet down by their Decrees, that to come to Church before Reconciliation, was to live in Schiſm; but to come to Church after Reconcilement, was abſolutely heretical and damnable: Therefore there were added Laws containing Puniſhment pecuniary; *videlicet*, ſuch as might not enforce Conſciences, but to enfeeble and impoveriſh the means of thoſe about whom it reſteth indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled or not: and when, notwithſtanding all this Proviſion, the Poiſon was diſperſed ſo ſecretly, as that there was no means to ſtay it, but by reſtraining the Merchants that brought it in. Then laſtly, There was added a Law, whereby ſuch ſeditious Prieſts, of new Erection, were exiled; and thoſe that were at that time within the Land, ſhipped over, and ſo commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treaſon. This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled, not only with ſundry Examples of her Majeſty's Grace towards ſuch as in her Wiſdom ſhe knew to be Papiſts in Conſcience, and not Faction and Singularity, but alſo with extraordinary mitigation towards the Offenders in the higheſt Degree, committed by Law, if they would but proteſt, that if in caſe this Realm ſhould be invaded with a Forreign Army, by the Pope's Authority, for the Catholick Cauſe, as they tearm it, they would take part with her Majeſty, and not adhere to her Enemies.

'For the other Party, which have been offenſive to the State, though in another Degree, which named themſelves *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritans*, this hath been the proceeding towards them: A great while, when they enveighed againſt ſuch Abuſes in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-reſidence, and the like, their Zeal was not condemned, only their Violence was ſometime cenſured. When they refuſed the uſe of ſome Ceremonies and Rites, as Superſtitious, they were tolerated with much connivancy and gentleneſs; yea, when they called in queſtion the ſuperiority of Biſhops, and pretended to a Democracy into the Church; yet their Propoſitions were here conſidered, and by contrary Writings debated and diſcuſſed. Yet all this while, it was perceived that their Courſe was dangerous, and very popular: as becauſe Papiſtry was odious, theretofore it was ever in their Mouths, that they ſought to purge the Church from the Reliques of Papiſtry; a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extream to another.

'Becauſe multitude of Rogues, and Poverty was an Eye-ſore, and a diſlike to every Man; therefore they put into the peoples head, that if Diſcipline were planted, there ſhould be no Vagabonds nor Beggars, a thing very plauſible: and in like manner they promiſed the people many of the impoſſible Wonders of their Diſcipline; beſides, they opened to the people a way to Government, by their Conſiſtory and Preſbytery; a thing, though in conſequence no leſs prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Soveraignty of Princes; yet in firſt ſhew very popular. Nevertheleſs this, except it were in ſome few that entred into extream contempt, was born with, becauſe they pretended in dutiful manner to make Propoſitions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magiſtrate.

1559.

‘ But now of late Years, when there iſſued from them that affirmed, the conſent of the Magiſtrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a Confeſſion, to avoid Slander and Imputations, they combined themſelves by Claſſes and Subſcriptions, when they deſcended into that vile and baſe means of defacing the Government of the Church, by ridiculous Paſquills, when they begun to make many Subjects in doubt to take Oaths which is one of the Fundamental parts of Juſtice in this Land, and in all Places; when they began both to vaunt of their ſtrength, and number of their Partizans and Followers, and to uſe Cominations that their Cauſe would prevaile, though Uproar and Violence, then it appeared to be no more Zeal, no more Conſcience, but meer Faction and Diviſion: And therefore though the State were compelled to hold ſomewhat a harder hand to reſtrain them than before, yet was it with as great moderation, as the Peace of the State or Church could permit. And therefore, Sir, to conclude, conſider uprightly of theſe Matters, and you ſhall ſee, her Majeſty is no more a Temporizer in Religion: It is not the Succeſs Abroad, nor the Change of Servants here at Home, can alter her; only as the things themſelves alter, ſhe applyed her Religious Wiſdom to Methods correſpondent unto them; ſtill retaining the two Rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Conſciences, and yet in diſcovering Faction from Conſcience, and Softneſs from Singularity. Farewel.

Your loving Friend,

F. Walſingham.

THUS I have proſecuted what I at firſt undertook, the Progreſs of the *Reformation*, from its firſt and ſmall beginnings in *England*, till it came to a compleat ſettlement in the time of this Queen. Of whoſe Reign, if I have adventured to give any Account, it was not intended ſo much for a full Character of Her and her Councils, as to ſet out the great and viſſible Bleſſings of God that attended on her; the many Preſervations ſhe had, and that by ſuch ſignal Diſcoveries, as both ſav'd her Life, and ſecured her Government; and the unuſual happineſs of her whole Reign, which raiſed her to the Eſteem and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Poſterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule ſuch a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with ſuch conſtant ſucceſs, in ſo great tranquility at Home, with a vaſt encreaſe of Wealth, and with ſuch Glory abroad. All which may juſtly be eſteem-to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with ſo much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

The end of the third Book; and of the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of *England.*

The

THE
TABLE
OF THE
CONTENTS

Of the *Second Part* of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the* CHURCH *of* England.

BOOK I.

Of the Life and Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth.

1547.

K. Edward's *Birth and Baptiſm.* pag. 1
His Education and Temper, 2
Cardan's *Character of him,* ibid.
A deſign to create him Prince of Wales, 3
King Henry *dies, and he ſucceeds,* ibid.
King Henry's *Will,* ibid.
Debate about chooſing a Protector, 4
The Earl of Hartford *is choſen,* 5
It is declared in Council, ibid.
The Biſhops take out Commiſſions, 6
Reaſons for a Creation of Peers, ibid.
Affairs of Scotland, 8
Lay men in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, ibid.
Images taken away in a Church in London, 9
The progreſs of Image-Worſhip, ibid.
Many pull down Images, 11
Gardiner *is offended at it,* ibid.
The Protector writes about it, ibid.
Gardiner *writes to* Ridley *about them,* 12
Commiſſions to the Juſtices of Peace, 13
The form of Coronation changed, ibid.
King Henry's *Burial,* ibid.
Soul-Maſſes examined, 14
A Creation of Peers, 15
The King is crowned, ibid.
The Lord Chancellor is turned out, ibid.
The Protector made by Patent, 17
The Affairs of Germany, 19
Ferdinand *made K. of the* Romans, ibid.
The Diet at Spire, ibid,
Emperor makes Peace with France,
and with the Turk, 20
And ſets about the ruin of the Proteſt. ibid.
Proteſtant Princes meet at Frankfort, 21
D. of Sax, *and Land. of* Heſſe *Arm,* 22
Peace between England *and* France, 23
Francis *the firſt dies,* ibid.
A Reformation ſet about in England, 24
A Viſitation reſolved on, 26
Some Homilies compiled, 27
Injunctions for the Viſitation, 28
Injunctions for the Biſhops, 29
Cenſures paſſed upon them, ibid.
Protector goes into Scotland, 31
Scotland *ſaid to be Subject to* England, ib.
Protector enters Scotland, 33
Makes Offers to the Scots, ibid.
The Scots *Defeat at* Muſſelburgh, 34
Protector returns to England, 35
The Viſitors execute the Injunctions, 36
Bonner *Proteſts and Recants,* ibid.
Gardiner *would not obey,* ibid.
His Reaſons againſt them, ibid.
He complains to the Protector, 38
The Lady Mary *complains alſo,* 39
The Protector writes to her, ibid.
The Parliament meets, ibid.
An Act repealing ſevere Laws, 40
An Act about the Communion, 41
Communion in both kinds, ibid.
Private Maſſes put down, 42
An Act about the admiſſion of Biſhops, 43
Ancient ways of electing Biſhops, ibid.
An Act againſt Vagabonds, 45
Chauntries given to the King, ibid.

Acts

Acts propoſed, but not paſſed, 46
The Convocation meets, 47
And makes ſome Petitions, ibid.
The Clergie deſire to have Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons, ibid.
The Grounds of that, 48
The Affairs of Germany, 50
Duke of Saxe *taken,* ibid.
The Archbiſhop of Colen *reſigns,* 51
A Decree made in the Diet, 52
Proceedings at Trent, ibid.
The Council removed to Boloign, 53
The French quarrel about Buloign, ibid.
The Protector and the Admiral fall out, 54

1548.

Gardiner *is ſet at liberty,* 55
Marq. of Northampton *ſues a Divorce,* 56
The Arguments for it, 57
A Progreſs in the Reformation, 58
Proclamation againſt Innovation, 59
All Images taken away 60
Reſtraints put on Preachers, 61
Some Biſhops and Doctors examine the Publick Offices and Prayers, ibid.
Corruptions in the Office of the Commun. 62
A new Office for the Communion, 64
It is variouſly cenſured, 65
Auricular Confeſſion left indifferent, ibid.
Chauntry Lands ſold, 67
Gardiner *falls into new Troubles,* 68
He is ordered to preach, 69
But gives offence, and is impriſoned, 70
A Catechiſm ſet out by Cranmer, 71
A further reformation of public Offices, ibid.
A new Liturgie reſolved upon, 72
The Changes made in it, 73
Preface to it, 79
Reflections made on it, ibid.
All preaching forbid for a time, 81
Affairs of Scotland, ibid.
The Queen of Scots ſent to France, 82
The Siege of Hadingtoun, ibid.
A Fleet ſent againſt Scotland, 83
But without ſucceſs, ibid.
The Siege of Hadingtoun *raiſed,* 84
Diſcontents in Scotland, 85
The Affairs of Germany, ibid.
The Book of the Interim, 86
Both ſides offended at it, ibid.
Calvin *writes to the Protector,* 88
Bucer *writes againſt* Gardiner, ibid.
A Seſſion of Parliament, ibid.
Act for the Marriage of the Clergie, 89
Which was much debated, ibid.
Arguments for it from Scripture, ibid.
And from the Fathers, 90
The Reaſons againſt it examined, 91
An Act confirming the Liturgie, 93
Cenſures paſſed upon it, 94
The ſinging of Pſalms ſet up, ibid.

1549.

An Act about Faſts, 95
Some Bills that did not paſs, 96
A deſign of digeſting the Common Law into a Body, ibid.
The Admiral's Attainder, 97
He was ſent to the Tower, ibid.
The Matter referred to the Parliament, 99
The Bill againſt him paſſed, ibid.
The Warrant for his Execution, 100
It is ſigned by Cranmer, ibid.
Cenſures upon that, ibid.
Subſidies granted, 101
A New Viſitation, ibid.
All obey the Laws except Lady Mary, 103
A Treaty of Marriage for her, ibid.
The Council required her to obey, 104
Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament examined, ibid.
Publick Diſputations about it, 105
The manner of the Preſence explained, 107
Proceedings againſt Anabaptiſts, 110
Of theſe there were two ſorts, ibid.
Two of them burnt, 112
Which was much cenſured, ibid.
Diſputes concerning Infant Baptiſm, ibid.
Predeſtination much abuſed, 113
Tumults in England, ibid.
Some are ſoon quieted, 114
The Devonſhire *Rebellion,* 115
Their Demands, ibid.
An Anſwer ſent to them, 116
They make new Demands, 117
Which are rejected, ibid.
The Norfolk *Rebellion.* ibid.
The Yorkſhire *Rebellion,* 118
Exeter *beſieged,* ibid.
It is relieved, and the Rebels defeated, 119
The Norfolk *Rebels are diſperſed,* ibid.
A general Pardon, 120
A Viſitation of Cambridg, ibid.
Diſpute about the Greek pronunciation, ibid.
Bonner *in new Troubles,* ibid.
Injunctions are given him, 121
He did not obey them, 122
He is proceeded againſt, ibid.
He defends himſelf, 123
He Appeals, 125
But is deprived, 126
Cenſures paſt upon it, 127
The French fall into Bulloign, 128
Ill Succeſs in Scotland, 129
The Affairs of Germany, ibid.
A Faction againſt the Protector, 130

Advices about Forreign Affairs. 131.
Paget *ſent to the Emperor*. ibid.
But can obtain nothing. 133.
Debates in Council. ibid.
Complaints of the Protector. 134.
The Counſellors leave him. 135.
The City of London *joyns with them*. 136.
The Protector offers to ſubmit. ibid.
He is accuſed and ſent to the Tower. 138.
Cenſures paſſed upon him. ibid.
The Papiſts much lifted up. 139.
But their hopes vaniſh. ibid.
A Treaty with the Emperor. 140.
A Seſſion of Parliament. ibid.
An Act againſt Tumults. ibid.
And againſt Vagabonds. ibid.
Biſhops move for a Power of Cenſuring. 141.
An Act about Ordinations. ibid.
An Act about the Duke of Somerſet. ibid.
The Reformation carried on. 142.
A Book of Ordinations made. 143.
Heath *diſagrees to it, and put in Priſon*. ibid.
Interrogations added in the new Book. 144.
Bulloigne *was reſolved to be given to the* French. 146.
Pope Paul *the third dies*. ibid.
Cardinal Pool *was elected Pope*. ibid.
Julius *the third choſen*. 147.

1550.

A Treaty between the Engliſh *and* French. ibid.
Inſtructions given the Engliſh *Ambaſſador*. ibid.
Articles of the Treaty. 148.
The Earl of Warwick *governs all*. 149.
Ridley *made Biſhop of* London. ibid.
Proceedings againſt Gardiner. 150.
Articles ſent to him. ibid.
He ſigned them with Exceptions. 151.
New Articles ſent him. ibid.
He refuſes them, and is hardly uſed. ibid.
Latimer *adviſes the King about his Marriage*. 152.
Hooper *made Biſhop of* Glocester. ibid.
But refuſes the Epiſcopal Garments. ibid.
Upon that great Heats aroſe. ibid.
Bucers *Opinion about it*. 153.
And Peter Martyrs. 154.
A German *Congregation at* London. ibid.
Pulidore Virgil *leaves* England. ibid.
A Review made of the Common-Prayer-Book. 155.
Bucers *advice concerning it*. ibid.
He writ a Book for the King. 156.
The King ſtudies to reform abuſes. 157.
He keeps a Journal of his Reign. ibid.
Ridley *viſits his Dioceſs*. 158.
Altars turned to Communion-Tables. ibid.
The Reaſons given for it. 159.
Sermons on Working-days forbidden. ibid.
The Affairs of Scotland. 161.
And of Germany. ibid.

1551.

The Compliance of the Popiſh Clergy. 162.
Bucers *Death and Funeral*. 163.
His Character. 164.
Gardiner *is deprived*. 165.
Which is much cenſured. ibid.
Hooper *is Conſecrated*. 166.
Articles of Religion prepared. ibid.
An Abſtract of them. 167.
Corrections in the Common-Prayer-Book. 169.
Reaſons of kneeling at the Communion. 170.
Orders for the Kings Chaplains. 171.
The Lady Mary *has Maſs ſtill*. ibid.
The King is earneſt againſt it. 172.
The Council write to her about it. ibid.
But ſhe was intractable. 174.
And would not hear Ridley *preach*. 175.
The Deſigns of the Earl of Warwick. 176.
The Sweating Sickneſs. ibid.
A Treaty for a Marriage with the Daughter of France. 177.
Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of Somerſet. 178.
The King is alienated from him. 179.
He is brought to his Trial. ibid.
Acquitted of Treaſon; but not of Felony. 180.
Some others condemned with him. 181.
The Seal is taken from the Lord Rich. 182.
And given to the Biſhop of Ely. ibid.
Church-mens being in Secular Imployments much cenſured. 183.
Duke of Somerſets *Execution*. 184.
His Character. 185.
Affairs of Germany. 186.
Proceedings at Trent. 187.

1552.

A Seſſion of Parliament. 189.
The Common-Prayer-Book confirmed, ibid.
Cenſures paſt upon it. 190.
An Act concerning Treaſons. ibid.
An Act about Faſts and Holy-days. 191.
An Act for the married Clergy. 192.
An Act againſt Uſury. ibid.
A Bill againſt Simony not paſſed 193.
The Entail of the Duke of Somerſets *Eſtate cut off*. 194.
The Commons refuſe to attaint the Biſhop of Dureſme *by Bill*. ibid.
The Parliament is diſſolved. 195.
A Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts is conſidered. ibid.

The chief heads of it. 197.
Rules about Excommunication. 201.
Projects for relieving the poor Clergy. 202.
Heath *and* Day *deprived.* 203.
The Affairs of Ireland. ibid.
A change in the order of the Garter. 205.
Paget *degraded from the Order.* 200.
The encreaſe of Trade. 207.
Cardan *paſſes through* England. 208.
The Affairs of Scotland. ibid.
The Affairs of Germany. 210.
Proceedings at Trent. 211.
An Account of the Council there. 212.
A Judgment of the Hiſtories of it. ibid.
The freedom of Religion eſtabliſhed in Germany. 213.
The Emperor is much caſt down. 214.

1553.

A Regulation of the Privy Council. ibid.
A New Parliament. ibid.
The Biſhoprick of Dureſm *ſuppreſſed and two new ones were to be raiſed.* 215.
A Viſitation for the Plate in Churches. 216.
Inſtructions for the Preſident in the North. 217.
The form of the Biſhops Letters Patents. 218.
A Treaty with the Emperor. 219.
The Kings ſickneſs. 221.
His care of the poor. ibid.
Several Marriages. 222.
He intends to leave the Crown to Lady Jane Gray. ibid.
Which the Judges oppoſed at firſt. ibid.
Yet they conſented to it except Hales. 222.
Cranmer *is hardly prevailed with.* 224.
The Kings ſickneſs becomes deſperate. ibid.
His laſt Prayer. ibid.
His Death and Character. ibid.

BOOK II.

The Life and Reign of Queen Mary.

Q*Veen* Mary *ſucceeds but is in great danger.* 233.
And retires to Suffolk. ibid.
She writes to the Council. 234.
But they declare for the Lady Jane. ibid.
The Lady Janes *Character.* ibid.
She unwillingly accepts the Crown. 235.
The Council writes to Queen Mary. ibid.
They proclaim the Lady Jane *Queen.* ibid.
Cenſures paſſed upon it. 236.
The Duke of Northumberland *much hated.* 237.
The Council ſend an Army againſt Queen Mary. ibid.
Ridley *Preaches againſt her.* 238.
But her Party grows ſtrong. ibid.
The Council turn and proclaim her Queen. 239.
The Duke of Northumberland *is taken.* ibid.
Many Priſoners are ſent to the Tower. ibid.
The Queen comes to London. 240.
She was in danger in her Fathers time. ibid.
And was preſerved by Cranmer. 241.
She ſubmitted to her Father. ibid.
Deſigns for changing Religion. 242.
Gardiners *policy.* ibid.
He is made Chancellour. ibid.
Duke of Northumberland *and others Attainted.* ibid.
He at his Death profeſſes he had been always a Papiſt. 243.
His Character. 244.
King Edwards *Funeral.* ibid.
The Queen declares ſhe will force no Conſcience. 245.
A Tumult at Pauls. ibid.
A Proclamation againſt Preaching. ibid.
Cenſures paſſed upon it. 246.
She uſes thoſe of Suffolk *ill.* ibid.
Conſultations among the Reformed. 247.
Judge Hales *barbarouſly uſed.* ibid.
Cranmer *declares againſt the Maſs.* 248.
Bonners *inſolence.* ibid.
Cranmer *and* Latimer *ſent to the Tower.* 250.
Forreigners ſent out of England. ibid.
Many Engliſh fly beyond Sea. ibid.
The Queen rewards thoſe who had ſerved her. 251.
She is Crowned and diſcharges a Tax. ibid.
A Parliament ſummoned. 252.
The Reformed Biſhops thruſt out of the Houſe of Lords. ibid.
Grea tdiſorders in Elections. ibid.
An Act moderating ſevere Laws. 253.
The Marriage of the Queens Mother Confirmed. ibid.
Cenſures paſſed upon it. 254.
The Queen is ſevere to the Lady Elis. ibid.
King Edwards *Laws about Religion repealed.* 255.
An Act againſt injuries to Prieſts. ibid.
An Act againſt unlawful aſſemblies. ibid.
Marqueſs of Northamptons 2d *Marriage broken.* 256.

The

The Duke of Norfolks *Attaindor annulled.* ibid.
Cranmer *and others attainted.* 257.
But his See is not declared void. ibid.
The Queen reſolves to reconcile with Rome. ibid.
Cardinal Pool *ſent Legate.* 258.
But is ſtopt by the Emperor. 259.
The Queen ſends to him. ibid.
His advice to the Queen. 260.
Gardiners *methods are preferred.* 261.
The Houſe of Commons offended with the Queens Marriage then treated about. ibid.
The Parliament is diſſolved. ibid.
1200000 *Crowns ſent to corrupt the next Parliament.* 262.
Proceedings in the Convocation. ibid.
Diſputes concerning the Sacrament. ibid.
Cenſures paſſed upon them. 283.

1554.

Ambaſſadors treat with the Queen for her Marriage. ibid.
Articles agreed on. ibid.
The Match generally diſliked. p.284.
Plots to oppoſe it are diſcovered. ibid.
Wiat *breaks out in* Kent. ibid.
His Demands. p. 286.
He is defeated and taken. ibid.
The Lady Jane *and her Husband Executed.* p. 271.
Her preparations for Death. ibid.
The Duke of Suffolk *is Executed.* p. 272.
The Lady Elis *is unjuſtly ſuſpected.* p. 273.
Many ſevere proceedings. ibid.
The Impoſture in the Wall. ibid.
Inſtructions for the Biſhops. p. 274.
Biſhops that adhere to the Reform. *deprived.* ibid.
The Maſs every where ſet up. 276.
Books againſt the married Clergy. 277.
A New Parliament. ibid.
The Queens Regal Power aſſerted. ibid.
The ſecret Reaſons for that Act. ibid.
Great jealouſies of the Spaniards. 279.
The Biſhoprick of Dureſm *reſtored.* ibid.
Diſputes at Oxford. 280.
With Cranmer. 281.
And Ridley. 282.
And Latimer. 283.
Cenſures paſſed upon them. ibid.
They are all Condemned. ibid.
The Priſoners in London *give reaſons why they would not diſpute.* 284.
King Philip *Lands.* 286.
And is Married to the Queen. ibid.
He brings a great Treaſure with him. ibid.
Acts of favour done by him. 287.
He preſerves the Lady Elizabeth, ibid.
He was little beloved. 288.
But much Magnifyed by Gardiner. ibid.
Bonners *carriage in his Viſitation.* ibid.
No reordination of thoſe Ordained in King Edward's *time.* 289.
Bonners *rage.* 290.
The Sacrament ſtollen. 291.
A New Parliament. ibid.
Cardinal Pools *Attaindor repealed.* ibid.
He comes to London. 292.
And makes a ſpeech to the Parliament. ibid.
The Queen is believed with Child. ibid.
The Parliament petition to be reconciled. 293.
The Cardinal abſolves them. ibid.
Laws againſt the See of Rome *repealed.* 294.
A Proviſo for Church Lands. ibid.
A Petition from the Convocation. ibid.
An Addreſs from the inferior Clergy. 295.
Laws againſt Hereticks revived. 296.
An Act declaring Treaſons. ibid.
Another againſt ſeditious words. ibid.
Gardiner *in great eſteem.* 297.
The fear of loſing the Church Lands. ibid.
Conſultations how to deal with Hereticks. 298.
Cardinal Pool *for moderate courſes.* 299.
But Gardiner *is for violent ones.* ibid.
To which the Queen is inclined. 300.

1555.

They begin with Rogers *and others.* ibid.
Who refuſing to comply are judged. 301.
Rogers *and* Hooper *burnt.* 302.
Sanders *and* Taylor *burnt.* 303.
Theſe cruelties are much cenſured, 304.
Reflections made on Hoopers *Death.* ibid.
The Burnings much diſliked. 305.
The King Purges himſelf. ibid.
A Petition againſt perſecution. ibid.
Arguments to defend it. 306.
More are Burnt. 307.
Ferrar *and others Burnt.* 308.
The Queen gives up the Church Lands. ibid.
Pope Julius *dies, and* Marcellus *ſucceeds.* 309.
Paul *the 4th ſucceeds him.* 310.
Engliſh Ambaſſadors at Rome. ibid.
Inſtructions ſent for perſecution. 311.
Bonner *required to Burn more.* 312.
The Queens delivery in vain expected. ibid.
Bradford *and others Burnt.* 313.
Sir Thomas Mores *works Publiſhed.* 316.
His Letter of the Nun of Kent. ibid.
Ridley *and* Latimer *Burnt.* 318.

Gardiners Death and Character. 320.
The temper of the Parliament is much changed. 322.
The Queen diſcharges tenths and firſt fruits. ibid.
An Act againſt thoſe that fled beyond Sea rejected. 323.
An Act debarring a Murderer from the benefit of Clergy oppoſed. ibid.
Sir Anthony Kingſton put in the Tower. 324.
Pool holds a Convocation. ibid.
The heads of his Decrees. ibid.
Pools deſign for Reforming of abuſes. 326.
Pool will not admit the Jeſuits to England. 327.
Philpots Martyrdome. 328.
Forreign affairs. ibid.
Charles the 5ths Reſignation. 329.
Cranmers Tryal. 332.
He is degraded. 333.
He recants. ibid.
He repents of it. 334.
His Martyrdome. 335.
His Character. ibid.
Others ſuffer on the like account. 337.
A Child born in the Fire and burnt. ibid.
The Reformation grows. 338.
Troubles at Frankfort among the Engliſh there. 339.
Pool is made Arch-biſhop of Canterbury. 340.
Some Religious Houſes are endowed. ibid.
Records are razed. 341.
Endeavours for the Abbey of Glaſſenburg. ibid.
Forreign Affairs. 342.
The Pope is extravagantly proud. ibid.
He diſpenſes with the French Kings Oath. 343.
And makes War with Spain. 344.

1557.

A Viſitation of the Univerſities. 345.
The Perſecution ſet forward. 346.
A Deſign for ſetting up the Inquiſition. 347.
Burnings for Religion. 348.
Lord Stourton hanged for Murder. 350.
The Queen is jealous of the French. 351.
The Battel at St. Quintin. 352.
The Pope offended with Cardinal Pool. ibid.
He recalls him. 353.
The Queen refuſes to receive Cardinal Peito. ibid.
A Peace between the Pope and Spain. 354.
A War between England and Scotland. ibid.
The Affairs of Germany. 355.
A Perſecution in France. 356.

1558.

Calais is beſieged. ibid.
And it and Guiſnes are taken. 357.
Sark taken by the French. 358.
And retaken ſtrangely. 359.
Great diſcontents in England. ibid.
A Parliament is called. 360.
King of Sweden courts the Lady Elizabeth. 361.
But is rejected by her. ibid.
She was ill uſed in this Reign. 362.
The Progreſs of the Perſecution. 363.
The Methods of it. 364.
An Expedition againſt France. 365.
Many ſtrange Accidents. ibid.
A Treaty of Peace. 366.
The Battel of Graveling, ibid.
Many Proteſtants in France. ibid.
Dolphin marries the Queen of Scots. 367.
A Convention of Eſtates in Scotland. ibid.
A Parliament in England. 368.
The Queens Sickneſs and Death. 369.
Cardinal Pool dies. ibid.
His Character. ibid.
The Queens Character. 370.

BOOK III.

Of the Settlement of the Reformation of Religion in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign.

QUeen Elizabeth ſucceeds. 373.
And comes to London. 374.
She ſends a Diſpatch to Rome, ibid.
But to no effect. ibid.
King Philip Courts her. 375.
The Queens Council. ibid.
A Conſultation about the Change of Religion. 376.
A Method propoſed for it. 377.
Many forward to Reform. 378.
Parker named to be Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury. ibid.

1559.

Bacon made Lord Keeper. 380.
The Queens Coronation. ibid.
The Parliament meets. 381.
The Treaty at Cambray. 382.
A Peace agreed on with France. ibid.
The Proceedings of the Parliament. 383.
An Addreſs to the Queen to marry. 384.
Her Anſwer to it. ibid.

They Recogniſe her Title. 385.
Acts concerning Religion. ibid.
The Biſhops againſt the Supremacy. 386.
The beginning of the High Commiſſion. 387.
A Conference at Weſtminſter. 388.
Arguments for the Latin *Service.* 389.
Arguments againſt it. 390.
The Conference breaks up. 391.
The Liturgy corrected and explained. 392.
Debates about the Act of Uniformity. 393.
Arguments for the Changes then made. 394.
Bills propoſed, but rejected. 395.
The Biſhops refuſe the Oath of Supremacy. 396.
The Queens gentleneſs to them. ibid.
Injunctions for a Viſitation. 397.
The Queen deſires to have Images retained. ibid.
Reaſons brought againſt it. ibid.
The Heads of the Injunctions. 398.
Reflections made on them. 399.
The firſt High Commiſſion. 400.
Parkers *unwillingneſs to accept of the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury. 401.
His Conſecration. 402.
The Fable of the Nagſ-head confuted. 403.
The Articles of Religion prepared. 405.
An Explanation of the Preſence in the Sacrament. ibid.
The Tranſlation of the Bible. 406.
The beginnings of the Diviſions. 407.
The Reformation in Scotland. ibid.
Mills *Martyrdome.* 408.
It occaſions great diſcontents. 409.
A Revolt at St. Johnſtoun. 410.
The French *King intends to grant them liberty of Religion.* 411.
But is killed. ibid.
A Truce agreed to. ibid.
The Queen Regent is depoſed. 412.
The Scots *implore the Queen of* England's *Aid.* ibid.
Leith *beſieged by the* Engliſh. ibid.
The Queen Regent dies. 413.
A Peace is concluded. ibid.
The Reformation ſetled by Parliament. ibid.
Francis *the ſecond dies.* ibid.
The Civil Wars of France. 415.
The Wars of the Netherlands. 416.
The miſfortunes of the Queen of Scotland. 417.
Queen Elizabeth *depoſed by the Pope.* 418.
Sir Fr. Walſinghams *Letter concerning the Queens proceeding with Papiſts, and Puritans.* ibid.
The Concluſion. 421.

F I N I S.

A
COLLECTION
OF
RECORDS,
AND
Original Papers;

WITH OTHER
INSTRUMENTS
Referred to in the
SECOND PART
OF THE
Hiſtory of the Reformation
OF THE
Church of England.

LONDON, Printed by *J. D.* for *Richard Chiſwell.* 1680.

The Journal of King EDWARD's Reign, written with his own Hand.

The Original is in the Cotton *Library,* Nero *C.* 10.

THe Year of our Lord 1537, was a Prince born to King *Henry* the 8*th*, by *Jane Seimour* then Queen; who within few days after the Birth of her Son, died, and was buried at the Caſtle of *Windſor*. This Child was Chriſtned by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Afterwards was brought up till he came to ſix Years old among the Women. At the ſixth Year of his Age he was brought up in Learning by Maſter Doctor *Cox*, who was after his Almoner, and *John Cheeke* Maſter of Arts, two well-learned Men, who ſought to bring him up in learning of Tongues, of the Scripture, of Philoſophy, and all Liberal Sciences. Alſo *John Bellmaine* Frenchman, did teach him the *French* Language. The tenth Year not yet ended, it was appointed he ſhould be created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Count Palatine of *Cheſter*: At which time, being the Year of our Lord 1547, the ſaid King died of a Dropſie as it was thought. After whoſe Death incontinent came *Edward* Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, to convoy this Prince to *Enfield*, where the Earl of *Hartford* declared to him, and his younger Siſter *Elizabeth*, the Death of their Father.

Here he begins anew again.

AFter the Death of King *Henry* the 8*th*, his Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, was come to at *Hartford*, by the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe; for whom before was made great preparation that he might be created Prince of *Wales*, and afterward was brought to *Enfield*, where the Death of his Father was firſt ſhewed him; and the ſame day the Death of his Father was ſhewed in *London*, where was great lamentation and weeping: and ſuddenly he proclaimed King. The next day, being the of He was brought to the *Tower* of *London*, where he tarried the ſpace of three weeks; and in the mean ſeaſon the Council ſat every day for the performance of the Will, and at length thought beſt that the Earl of *Hartford* ſhould be made Duke of *Somerſet*, Sir *Thomas Seimour* Lord *Sudley*, the Earl of *Eſſex* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and divers Knights ſhould be made Barons, as the Lord *Sheffield*, with divers others. Alſo they thought beſt to chuſe the Duke of *Somerſet* to be Protector of the Realm, and Governour of the King's Perſon during his Minority; to which all the Gentlemen and Lords did agree, becauſe he was the King's Uncle on his Mothers ſide. Alſo in this time the late King was buried at *Windſor* with much ſolemnity, and the Officers broke their Staves, hurling them into the Grave; but they were reſtored to them again when they came to the *Tower*. The Lord *Liſle* was made Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord Great Chamberlainſhip was given to him; and the Lord *Sudley* made Admiral of *England*: all theſe things were done, the King being in the *Tower*. Afterwards all things being prepared for the Coronation, the King being then but nine Years old, paſſed through the City of *London*, as heretofore hath been uſed, and came to the Palace of *Weſtminſter*; and the next day came into *Weſtminſter-Hall*. And it was asked the People, Whether they would have him to be their King? Who anſwered; Yea, yea: Then he was crowned King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the reſt of the Clergy and Nobles; and Anointed, with all ſuch Ceremonies as were accuſtomed, and took his Oath, and gave a General Pardon, and ſo was brought to the Hall to Dinner on *Shrove-ſunday*, where he ſat with the Crown on his Head, with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Protector; and all the Lords ſat at Boards in the Hall beneath, and the Lord Marſhal's Deputy, (for my Lord of *Somerſet* was Lord Marſhal) rode about the Hall to make room; then came in Sir *John Dimock* Champion, and made his Challenge, and ſo the King drank to him, and he had the Cup. At night the King returned to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where there was Juſts and Barriers; and afterward Order was taken for all his Servants being with his Father, and being with the Prince, and the Ordinary and Unordinary were appointed. In the mean ſeaſon Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Brother to my Lord of *Warwick*, being in the *Paunſie*, met with the *Lion*, a principal Ship of *Scotland*, which thought to take the *Paunſie* without reſiſtance; but the *Paunſie* approached her, and ſhe ſhot, but at length they came very near, and then the *Paunſie* ſhooting off all one ſide, burſt all the overlop of the *Lion*, and all her Tackling, and at length boarded her and took her; but in the return, by negligence, ſhe was loſt at *Harwich-Haven*, with almoſt all her Men.

* Should be *March*.

In the month of * *May* died the French King called *Francis*, and his Son called *Henry*, was proclaimed King. There came alſo out of *Scotland* an Ambaſſador, but brought nothing to paſs, and an Army was prepared to go into *Scotland*. Certain Injunctions were ſet forth, which took away divers Ceremonies, and Commiſſions ſent to take down Images, and certain Homilies were ſet forth to be read in the Church. Dr. *Smith* of *Oxford* recanted at *Pauls* certain Opinions of the Meſs, and that Chriſt was not according to the Order of *Melchiſedeck*. The Lord *Seimour* of *Sudley* married the Queen, whoſe name was *Katherine*, with which Marriage the Lord Protector was much offended.

There was great preparation made to go into *Scotland*, and the Lord Protector, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Gray*, and Mr. *Brian*, went with a great number of Nobles and Gentlemen to *Barwick*; where the firſt day after his coming, he muſtered all his Company, which were to the number of 13000 Footmen, and 5000 Horſemen. The next day he marched on into *Scotland*, and ſo paſſed the *Peaſe*; then he burnt two Caſtles in *Scotland*, and ſo paſſed a ſtreight of a Bridg, where 300 Scots Light-Horſemen ſet upon him behind him, who were diſcomfited. So he paſſed to *Muſſelburgh*, where the firſt day after he came, he went up to the Hill, and ſaw the Scots, thinking them, as they were indeed at leaſt, 36000 Men; and my Lord of *Warwick* was almoſt taken, chaſing the Earl of *Huntley*, by an Ambuſh, but he was reſcued by one *Bertivell*, with twelve Hagbuttiers on Horſeback, and the Ambuſh ran away.

The 10*th* day of *September*, the Lord Protector thought to get the Hill, which the Scots ſeeing, paſſed the Bridg over the River of *Muſſelburgh*, and ſtrove for the higher Ground, and almoſt got it; but our Horſemen ſet upon them, who although they ſtayed them, yet were put to flight, and gathered together again by the Duke of *Somerſet*, Lord Protector, and the Earl of *Warwick*, and were ready to give a new Onſet. The Scots being amazed with this, fled theirwayes, ſome to *Edinburgh*, ſome to the Sea, and ſome to *Dalkeith*; and there were ſlain 10000 of them, but of Engliſhmen 51 Horſemen, which were almoſt all Gentlemen, and but one Footman. Priſoners were taken, the Lord *Huntley* Chancellor of *Scotland*, and divers other Gentlemen; and ſlain of Lairds 1000. And Mr. *Brian*, *Sadler*, and *Vane*, were made Bannerets.

After this Battel *Broughtie-craig* was given to the Engliſhmen, and *Hume*, and *Roxburgh*, and *Heymouth*, which were Fortified, and Captains were put in them, and the Lord of *Somerſet* rewarded with 500 *l.* Lands. In the mean ſeaſon, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was, for not receiving the Injunctions, committed to Ward. There was alſo a Parliament called, wherein all Chaunteries were granted to the King, and an extream Law made for Vagabonds, and divers other things. Alſo the Scots beſieged *Broughty-craig*, which was defended againſt them all by Sir *Andrew Dudley* Knight, and oftentimes their Ordnance was taken and marred.

YEAR II.

A Triumph was, where ſix Gentlemen did challenge all Comers, at Barriers, Juſts, and Tournay; and alſo that they would keep a Fortreſs with thirty, with them againſt an hundred, or under, which was done at *Greenwich*.

Sir *Edward Bellingam* being ſent into *Ireland* Deputy, and Sir *Anthony St. Leiger* revoked, he took *O-Canor*, and *O-Mor*, bringing the Lords that rebelled into ſubjection; and *O-Canor* and *O-Mor* leaving their Lordſhips, had apiece an 100 *l.* Penſion.

The Scots beſieged the Town of *Haddington*, where the Captain, Mr. *Willford*, every day made iſſues upon them, and ſlew divers of them. The thing was very weak, but for the Men, who did very manfully. Oftentimes Mr. *Holcroft* and Mr. *Palmer* did Victual it by force, paſſing through the Enemies; and at laſt the *Rhinegrave* unawares ſet upon Mr. *Palmer*, which was there with near a thouſand and five hundred Horſemen, and diſcomfited him, taking him, Mr. *Bowes* Warden of the Weſt-Marches, and divers other, to the number of 400, and ſlew a few. (Upon St. *Peter's* day the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was committed to the *Tower*.) Then they made divers brags, and they had the like made to them. Then went the Earl of *Shrewsbury* General of the Army, with 22000 Men, and burnt divers Towns and Fortreſſes, which the Frenchmen and Scots hearing, levied their Siege in the month of *September*; in the levying of which, there came one to *Tiberio*, who as then was in *Haddington*, and ſetting forth the weakneſs of the Town, told him, That all Honour was due to the Defenders, and none to the Aſſailers; ſo the Siege being levied, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entred it, and victualled, and reinforced it. After his departing by night, there came into the Outer Court, at *Haddington*, 2000 Men armed, taking the Townſmen in their Shirts; who yet defended them, with the help of the Watch, and at length, with Ordnance, iſſued out upon them, and ſlew a marvellous number, bearing divers Aſſaults, and at length drove them home, and kept the Town ſafe.

A Parliament was called, where an Uniform Order of Prayer was inſtitute, before made by a number of Biſhops and learned Men gathered together in *Windſor*. There was granted a Subſidy, and there was a notable Diſputation of the Sacrament in the Parliament-Houſe. Alſo the Lord *Sudley*, Admiral of *England*, was condemned to Death, and died in *March* enſuing. Sir *Thomas Sharington* was alſo condemned for making falſe Coin, which he himſelf confeſſed. Divers alſo were put in the *Tower*.

YEAR III.

Hume-Caſtle was taken by Night, and Treaſon, by the Scots. Mr. *Willford*, in a Skirmiſh, was left of his Men, ſore hurt, and taken. There was a Skirmiſh at *Broughty-craig*, wherein Mr. *Lutterell*, Captain after Mr. *Dudley*, did burn certain Villages, and took *Monſieur de Toge* Priſoner. The Frenchmen by night aſſaulted *Boulingberg*, and were manfully repulſed, after they had made Faggots with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Roſin, Powder, and Wildfire, to burn the Ships in the Haven of *Bollein*, but they were driven away by the *Bollonors*, and their Faggots taken.

In Mr. *Bowes* Place, who was Warden of the Weſt-Marches, was put the Lord *Dacres*; and in the Lord *Gray*'s Place, the Earl of *Rutland*; who after his coming entred *Scotland*, and burnt divers Villages, and took much Prey. The People began to riſe in *Wiltſhire*, where Sir *William Herbert* did put them down, over-run, and ſlew them. Then they roſe in *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Warwickſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Hartfordſhire*, a piece of *Leiceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Rutlandſhire*, where by fair Perſuaſions, partly of honeſt Men among themſelves, partly by Gentlemen, they were often appeaſed; and becauſe certain Commiſſions were ſent down to pluck down Incloſures, they did riſe again. The French King perceiving this, cauſed War to be proclaimed; and hearing that our Ships lay at *Jerſey*, ſent a great number of his Galleys, and certain Ships, to ſurpriſe our Ships; but they being at anchor, beat the French, that they were fain to retire with the loſs of 1000 of their Men.

At the ſame time the French King paſſed by *Bullein* to *New-Haven*, with his Army, and took *Blackneſs*, by Treaſon, and the *Almain* Camp; which done, *New-Haven* ſurrendered. There were alſo in a Skirmiſh, between 300 Engliſh Footmen, and 300 French Horſemen, ſix Noblemen ſlain. Then the French King came with his Army to

Bollein, which they ſeeing, razed *Boulingberg*; but becauſe of the Plague, he was compelled to retire, and *Chaſtilion* was left behind, as Governour of the Army. In the mean ſeaſon, becauſe there was a rumour that I was dead, I paſſed through *London*.

After that they roſe in *Oxfordſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkſhire*. To *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* was ſent with 1500 Horſemen and Footmen, whoſe coming, with the aſſembling of the Gentlemen of the Country, did ſo abaſh the Rebels, that more than half of them ran theirways, and other that tarried, were ſome ſlain, ſome taken, and ſome hanged. To *Devonſhire*, the Lord Privy-Seal was ſent, who with his Band, being but ſmall, lay at *Honington*, whiles the Rebels beſieged *Exeter*, who did uſe divers pretty Feats of War, for after divers Skirmiſhes, when the Gates were burnt, they in the City did continue the Fire till they had made a Rampier within; alſo after, when they were undermined, and Powder was laid in the Mine, they within drowned the Powder and the Mine, with Water they caſt in; which the Lord Privy-Seal having thought to have gone to inforce them a by-way, of which the Rebels having ſpial, cut all the Trees betwixt St. *Mary Outrie* and *Exeter*; for which cauſe the Lord Privy-Seal burnt that Town, and thought to return home: The Rebels kept a Bridg behind his Back, and ſo compelled him, with his ſmall Band, to ſet upon them, which he did, and overcame them, killing 600 of them, and returning home without any loſs of Men. Then the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola*, with their Bands, came to him, and afterward *Gray*, with 200 of *Redding*, with which Bands he being reinforced, came to raiſe the Siege at *Exeter*, for becauſe they had ſcarcity of Victual; and as he paſſed from *Honington*, he came to a little Town of his own, whither came but only two ways, which they had reinforced with two Bullwarks made of Earth, and had put to the defence of the ſame about 2000 Men; and the reſt they had laid, ſome at a Bridg called *Honington-Bridg*, partly at a certain Hedg in a High-Way, and the moſt part at the Siege of *Exeter*. The Rereward of the Horſemen, of which *Travers* was Captain, ſet upon the one Bullwark, the Waward and Battail on the other; *Spinola*'s Band kept them occupied at their Wall: At length *Travers* drove them into the Town, which the Lord Privy-Seal burnt. Then they ran to a Bridg thereby, from whence being driven, there were in a Plain about 900 of them ſlain.

The next day they were met about other 2000 of them, at the entry of a High-Way, who firſt deſired to talk, and in the mean ſeaſon fortified themſelves; which being perceived, they ran theirways, and that ſame Night the City of *Exeter* was delivered of the Siege. After that they gathered at *Launſton*, to whom the Lord Privy-Seal, and Sir *Will. Herbert* went, and overthrew them, taking their chief Heads and executing them. Nevertheleſs ſome ſailed to *Bridgwater*, and went about Sedition, but were quickly repreſſed. Hitherto of *Devonſhire*. At this time the Black Gally was taken. Now to *Norfolk*; The People ſuddenly gathered together in *Norfolk*, and increaſed to a great number, againſt whom the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* was ſent, with the number of 1060 Horſemen, who winning the Town of *Norwich*, kept it one day and one night; and the next day in the morning, with the loſs of 100 Men, departed out of the Town, among whom the Lord *Sheffield* was ſlain. There were taken divers Gentlemen, and Servingmen, to the number of thirty; with which Victory, the Rebels were very glad; but afterward hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* came againſt them, they began to ſtay upon a ſtrong plot of Ground upon a Hill near to the Town of *Norwich*, having the Town confederate with them. The Earl of *Warwick* came with the number of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horſemen, and entred into the Town of *Norwich*, which having won, it was ſo weak that he could ſcarcely defend it; and oftentimes the Rebels came into the Streets, killing divers of his Men, and were repulſed again; yea, and the Townſmen were given to Miſchief themſelves: So having endured their Aſſaults three days, and ſtopped their Victuals, the Rebels were conſtrained, for lack of Meat, to remove; whom the Earl of *Warwick* followed with 1000 Almains, and his Horſemen, leaving the Engliſh Footmen in the Town, and overcame them in plain Battel, killing 2000 of them, and taking *Ket* their Captain, who in *January* following was hang'd at *Norwich*, and his Head hanged out; *Ket*'s Brother was taken alſo, and puniſhed alike. In the mean ſeaſon *Chaſtilion* beſieged the Peer of *Bolloin* made in the Haven, and after long Battery, 20000 ſhot or more, gave aſſault to it, and were manfully repulſed; nevertheleſs they continued the Siege ſtill, and made often Skirmiſhes, and falſe Aſſaults, in which they won not much. Therefore ſeeing they profited little that way, they planted Ordnance againſt the Mouth of the Haven that no Victual might come to it; which our Men ſeeing, ſet upon them by night and ſlew divers Frenchmen, and diſmounted many of their Peeces; nevertheleſs the French came another time and planted their Ordnance toward the Sand-ſide of the Sand-Hills, and beat divers Ships of Victualers at the Entry of the Haven, but yet the Engliſhmen, at the King's Adventure, came into the Haven and refreſhed divers times the Town. The Frenchmen ſeeing they could not that way prevail, continued their Battery but ſmally, on which before they had ſpent 1500 Shot in a day, but loaded a Galley with Stones and Gravel, which they let go in the Stream to ſink it; but or ere it ſunk, it came near to one Bank, where the *Bulloners* took it out, and brought the Stones to reinforce the Peer. Alſo at *Guines* was a certain Skirmiſh, in which there was about an 100 Frenchmen ſlain, of which ſome were Gentlemen and Noblemen. In the mean ſeaſon in *England* roſe great Stirs, like to increaſe much if it had not been well foreſeen. The Council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in *London*, thinking to meet with the Lord Protector, and to make him amend ſome of his Diſorders. He fearing his ſtate, cauſed the Secretary, in My Name, to be ſent to the Lords, to know for what Cauſe they gathered their Powers together; and if they meant to talk with him, that they ſhould come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the *6th* of *October* and *Saturday*, he commanded the Armour to be brought down out of the Armoury of *Hampton-Court*, about 500 Harneſſes, to Arm both his and My Men, with all the Gates of the Houſe to be Rampeir'd, People to be raiſed: People came abundantly to the Houſe. That night, with all the People, at nine or ten of the Clock of the night, I went to *Windſor*, and there was Watch and Ward kept every night. The Lords ſat in open Places of *London*, calling for Gentlemen before them, and declaring the Cauſes of Accuſation of the Lord Protector, and cauſed the ſame to be proclaimed. After which time few came to *Windſor*, but only Mine own Men of the Guard, whom the Lords willed, fearing the Rage of the People ſo lately quieted. Then began the Protector to treat by Letters, ſending Sir *Philip Hobbey*, lately come from his Ambaſſage in *Flanders*, to ſee to his Family, who brought in his return a Letter to the Protector, very gentle, which he delivered to him, another to Me, another to my Houſe, to declare his Faults, Ambition, Vain-Glory, entring into raſh Wars in my Youth, negligent looking on *New-Haven*, enriching of himſelf of my Treaſure, following of his own Opinion, and doing all by his own Authority, *&c.* Which Letters were openly read, and immediately the Lords came to *Windſor*, took him, and brought him through *Holborn* to the *Tower*. Afterward I came to *Hampton-Court*; where they appointed, by My conſent, ſix Lords of the Council to be Attendant on Me, at leaſt two and four Knights; Lords, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, the Lords, *Ruſſel St. John*, and *Wentworth*; Knights, Sir *Andr.Dudley*, Sir *Edw.Rogers*, Sir *Tho.Darcy*, and Sir *Tho.Wroth*. After I came through *London* to *Weſtminſter*. The Lord of *Warwick* made Admiral of *England*. Sir *Thomas Cheiney* ſent to the Emperor for Relief, which he could not obtain. Maſter *Wotton* made Secretary. The Lord Protector, by his own Agreement and Submiſſion, loſt his Protectorſhip, Treaſureſhip, Marſhalſhip, all his Moveables, and more, 2000 *l.* Land, by Act of Parliament. The Earl of *Arundel* committed to his Houſe, for certain Crimes of ſuſpicion againſt him, as plucking down of Bolts and Locks at *Weſtminſter*, giving of My Stuff away, *&c.* and put to fine of 12000 *l.* to be paid 1000 *l.* Yearly; of which he was after relieved.

Alſo Mr. *Southwell* committed to the *Tower* for certain Bills of Sedition, written with his Hand, and put to fine of 500 *l.* Likewiſe Sir *Tho.Arundel*, and ſix, then committed to the *Tower* for Conſpiracies in the Weſt Places. A Parliament, where was made a manner to Conſecrate, Prieſts, Biſhops, and Deacons. Mr. *Paget* ſurrendring his Comptrolerſhip, was made Lord *Paget* of *Beaudeſert*, and cited into the Higher Houſe by a Writ of Parliament. Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, before Vicechamberlain, made Comptroller. Sir *Thomas Darcy* made Vicechamberlaine. *Guidotty* made divers Errands from the Conſtable of *France* to make Peace with us; upon which were appointed four Commiſſioners to Treat, and they after long Debatement made a Treaty as followeth.

Anno 1549. *Mart.* 24.

Peace concluded between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*; By our Engliſh ſide, *John* Earl of *Bedford*, Lord Privy Seal, Lord *Paget de Beaudeſert*, Sir *William Petre* Secretary, and Sir *John Maſon*. On the French ſide, *Monſieur de Rochepot*, *Monſieur Chaſtilion*, *Guillaart de Mortier*, and *Boucherel de Sany*, upon theſe Conditions, That all Titles, Tribute, and Defences, ſhould remain; That the Faults of one Man, except he be puniſhed, ſhould not break the League. That the Ships of Merchandize ſhall paſs to and fro: That Pirats ſhall be called back, and Ships of War. That Priſoners ſhall be delivered of both ſides. That we ſhall not War with *Scotland.* That '*Bollein*, with the pieces of New Conqueſt, and two Baſilisks, two Demy-Cannons, three Culverines, two Demy-Culverins, three Sacres, ſix Faulcons, 94 Hagbutts, a Crook, with Wooden Tailes, and 21 Iron Pieces; and *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſs*, with all the Ordnance ſave that that came from *Haddington*, ſhall, within ſix months after this Peace proclaimed, be delivered; and for that the French to pay 200000 Scutes within three days after the delivery of *Bollein*, and 200000 Scutes on our *Lady Day* in Harveſt next enſuing; and that if the Scots raizd *Lauder*, and we ſhould raze *Roxburg* and *Heymouth.* For the performance of which, on the *7th* of *April*, ſhould be delivered at *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*, theſe Hoſtages.

Marqueſs *de Means.*
Monſieur *Trimoville.*
Monſieur *D'anguien.*
Monſieur *Montmorency.*
Monſieur *Henandiere.*
Vicedam de Chartres.

My Lord of *Suffolk.*
My Lord of *Hartford.*
My Lord *Talbot.*
My Lord *Fitzwarren.*
My Lord *Martavers.*
My Lord *Strange.*

Alſo that at the delivery of the Town, Ours ſhould come home, and at the firſt Payment three of theirs; and that if the Scots raze *Lauder* and *Dunglaſs*, We muſt raze *Roxburgh* and *Heymouth*, and none after fortify them, with comprehenſion of the Emperor.

25. This Peace, *Anno* 1550, proclaimed at *Calais* and *Bollein.*

29. In *London*, Bonefires.

30. A Sermon in Thankſgiving for Peace, and *Te Deum* ſung.

31. My Lord *Somerſet* was delivered of his Bonds, and came to Court.

April.

2. The Parliament prorogued to the ſecond day of the Term in *October* enſuing.

3. *Nicholas Ridley*, before of *Rocheſter*, made Biſhop of *London*, and received his Oath.

Thomas Thirlby, before of *Weſtminſter*, made Biſhop of *Norwich*, and received his Oath.

4. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, before a vehement affirmer of Tranſubſtantiation, did preach againſt it at *Weſtminſter* in the preaching place.

Removing to *Greenwich* from *Weſtminſter.*

6. Our Hoſtages paſſed the Narrow Seas between *Dover* and *Calais.*

7. Monſieur *de Fermin*, Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, paſſed from the French King by *England* to the Scotch Queen, to tell her of the Peace.

An Ambaſſador came from *Guſtave* the Swediſh King, called *Andrew*, for a ſurer Amity touching Merchandize.

9. The Hoſtages delivered on both the ſides, for the Ratification of the League with *France* and *Scotland*; for becauſe ſome ſaid to Monſieur *Rochfort* Lieutenant, that Monſieur *de Guiſe*, Father to the Marqueſs of *Means*, was dead, and therefore the delivery was put over a day.

8. My Lord *Warwick* made General Warden of the North, and Mr. *Herbert* Preſident of *Wales*; and the one had granted to him 1000 Marks Land, the other 500; and Lord *Warwick* 100 Horſemen at the King's Charge.

9. Licences ſigned for the whole Council, and certain of the Privy Chamber to keep among them 2340 Retainers.

10. My Lord *Somerſet* taken into the Council. *Guidotti* the beginner of the talk for Peace, recompenſed with Knightdom, 1000 Crowns Reward, 1000 Crowns Penſion, and his Son with 250 Crowns Penſion.

Certain Priſoners for light Matters diſmiſſed; agreed for delivery of French Priſoners taken in the Wars. *Peter Vane* ſent Ambaſſador to *Venice*. Letters directed to certain Iriſh Nobles, to take a blind Legat coming from the Pope, calling himſelf Biſhop of *Armagh*. Commiſſions for the delivery of *Bulloin*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſs*.

6. The *Flemings* Men of War would have paſſed our Ships without vailing Bonet; which they ſeeing, ſhot at them, and drove them at length to vail Bonet, and ſo depart.

11. Monſieur *Trimaul*, Monſieur *Vicedam de Char*, and Monſieur *Henaudie*, came to *Dover*, the reſt tarried at *Calais* till they had leave.

13. Order taken, that whoſoever had Benefices given them, ſhould preach before the King in or out of Lent, and every *Sunday* there ſhould be a Sermon.

16. The three Hoſtages aforeſaid came to *London*, being met at *Debtford* by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Bray*, with divers other Gentlemen, to the number of 20, and Servingmen an 100, and ſo brought into the City, and lodged there, and kept Houſes every Man by himſelf.

18. Mr. *Sidney* and Mr. *Nevel* made Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Commiſſion given to the Lord *Cobham* Deputy of *Calais*, *William Petre* chief Secretary, and Sir *John Maſon* French Secretary, to ſee the French King take his Oath, with certain Inſtruction; and that Sir *John Maſon* ſhould be Ambaſſador Leigier.

Commiſſion to Sir *John Davies*, and Sir *William Sharington*, to receive the firſt Paiment, and deliver the Quittance.

19. Sir *John Maſon* taken into the Privy Council, and *William Thomas* made Clerk of the ſame.

Whereas the Emperors Ambaſſador deſired leave, by Letters Patents, that my Lady *Mary* might have Maſs; it was denied him. And where he ſaid we broke the League with him, by making Peace with *Scotland*, it was anſwered, That the French King, and not I, did comprehend them, ſaving that I might not invade them without occaſion.

10. *Lauther* being beſieged of the Scots, the Captain hearing that the Peace was Proclaimed in *England*, delivered it, as the Peace did will him, taking Sureties, that all the Bargains of the Peace ſhould be kept.

18. Monſieur *de Guiſe* died.

20. Order taken for the Chamber, that three of the Outer Privy-Chamber Gentlemen ſhould always be here, and two lie in the Palace, and fill the Room of one of the four Knights; that the Squires ſhould be diligent in their Office; and five Grooms ſhould be always pre-

ſent, of which one to watch in the Bed-Chamber.

21. The Marqueſs *de Means*, the Duke *de Anguien*, and the Conſtable's Son, arrived at *Dover*.

23. Monſieur *Trimoville*, and the *Vicedam* of *Chartres*, and Monſieur *Henaudy*, came to the Court, and ſaw the Order of the Garter, and the Knights, with their Sovereign, receive the Communion.

24. Certain Articles touching a ſtreighter Amity in Merchandize ſent to the King of *Sweeden*, being theſe.

Firſt; *If the King of* Sweden *ſent Bullion, he ſhould have our Commodities and pay no Toll.*

Secondly; *He ſhould bring* Bullion *to none other Prince.*

Thirdly; *If he brought Ozymus, and Steel, and Copper,* &c. *he ſhould have our Commodities, and pay Cuſtom as an Engliſhman.*

Fourthly; *If he brought any other, he ſhould have free entercourſe, paying Cuſtom as a Stranger,* &c.

It was anſwered, to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, that whereas he offered Service with 10000 Men of his Land, that the War was ended; and for the Marriage of my Lady *Mary* to him, there was talk for her Marriage with the Infant of *Portugal*, which being determined, he ſhould have anſwer.

25. Lord *Clinton* Captain of *Bulloin*, having ſent away before all his Men ſaving 1800, and all his Ordnance, ſaving that the Treaty did reſerve, iſſued out of the Town with theſe 1800, delivering it to Monſieur *Chaſtilion*, receiving of him the ſix Hoſtages Engliſh, an Acquittance for delivery of the Town, and ſafe Conduct to come to *Calais*; whither when he came, he placed 1800 in the Emperors Frontiers.

27. The Marqueſs *du Means Count d' Anguien*, and the Conſtable's Son, were received at *Black-Heath* by my Lord of *Rutland*, my Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, my Lord *Bray*, my Lord *Liſle*, and divers Gentlemen, with all the Penſionaries, to the number of an hundred, beſide a great number of Servingmen.

It was granted, that my Lord of *Somerſet* ſhould have all his moveable Goods and Leaſes, except thoſe that be already given.

The King of *Sweden*'s Ambaſſador departed home to his Maſter.

29. The Count *d' Anguien*, Brother to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and next Heir to the Crown after the King's Children; the Marqueſs *de Means*, Brother to the Scotch Queen; and Monſieur *Montmorency*, the Conſtable's Son came to the Court, where they were received with much Muſick at Dinner.

26. Certain were taken that went about to have an Inſurrection in *Kent*, upon *May* day following; and the Prieſt, who was the chief Worker, ran away into *Eſſex*, where he was laid for.

30. *Dunglaſs* was delivered as the Treaty did require.

May.

2. *Joan Bocher*, otherways called *Joan of Kent*, was burnt for holding, *That Chriſt was not Incarnate of the Virgin* Mary; being condemned the Year before, but kept in hope of Converſion; and the 30th of *April*, the Biſhop of *London*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, were to perſwade her, but ſhe withſtood them, and reviled the Preacher that preached at her Death.

The firſt payment was payed at *Calais*, and received by Sir *Thomas Dennis*, and Mr. *Sharington.*

4. The Lord *Clinton*, before Captain of *Bollein*, came to Court, where after Thanks, he was made Admiral of *England*, upon the Surrender of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Patent; He was alſo taken into the Privy-Council, and promiſed further Reward. The Captain alſo, and Officers of the Town, were promiſed Rewards. Monſieur *de Briſay* paſſed alſo by the Court to *Scotland*, where at *Greenwich* he came to the King, telling him, That the French King would ſee that if he lacked any Commodity that he had, he would give it him; and likewiſe would the Conſtable of *France*, who then bore all the Swing.

5. The Marqueſs *de Means* departed to *Scotland* with Monſieur *de Briſay*, to acquaint the Queen of the death of the Duke of *Guiſe.*

6. The Maſter of *Ayrſkin*, and Monſieur *Morret*'s Brother came out of *Scotland* for the Acceptation of the Peace, who after had Paſſport to go into *France.*

7. The Council drew a Book for ever Shire, who ſhould be Lieutenants in them; and who ſhould tarry with Me; but the Lieutenants were appointed to tarry till *Chaſtilions*, *Sarcy*, and *Boncherels* coming, and then to depart.

9. Proclamation was made, That the Souldiers ſhould return to their Manſions; and the Mayor of *London* had charge to look through all the Wards, to take them and ſend them to their Countries.

The Debt of 30000 *l.* and odd Money, was put over an Year, and there was bought 2500 Cinquetales of Powder.

11. Proclamation was made, That all Wooll-winders ſhould take an Oath that they would make good Cloth there, as the Lord Chancellor would appoint them, according to an Act of Parliament made by *Edward* the Third.

7. The Lord *Cobham*, the Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John Maſon* came to the French King to *Amiens*, going on his Journey, where they were received of all the Nobles, and ſo brought to their Lodgings, which were well dreſſed.

10. The French King took the Oath for the Acceptation of the Treaty.

12. Our Ambaſſadors departed from the French Court, leaving Sir *John Maſon* as Legier.

14. The Duke of *Somerſet* was taken into the Privy-Chamber, and likewiſe was the Lord Admiral.

15. It was appointed that all the Light-Horſemen of *Bollein*, and the Men of Arms, ſhould be payed their Wages, and be led by the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, Captain of the Penſioners; and all the Guard of *Bollein* under the Lord Admiral. Alſo that the chiefeſt Captains ſhould be ſent, with 600 with them, to the ſtrengthning of the Frontiers of *Scotland.*

The comprehenſion of Peace with *Scotland* was accepted ſo far as the League went, and Sealed.

16. The Maſter of *Ayrſkin* departed into *France.*

17. Removing from *Weſtminſter* to *Greenwich.*

18. The French King came to *Bollein* to viſit the Pieces lately delivered to him, and to appoint an Order, and ſtaying things there; which done he departed.

19. *Peter Vane* went as Ambaſſador to *Venice*, and departed from the Court with his Inſtructions.

20. The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *William Petre*, came home from their Journey, delivering both the Oath, and the Teſtimonial of the Oath, witneſſed by divers Noblemen of *France*; and alſo the Treaty ſealed with the Great Seal of *France*: and in the Oath was confeſſed, That I was Supream Head of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, and alſo King of *Ireland*.

23. Monſieur *Chaſtilion*, and *Mortier*, and *Boucherel*, accompanied with the Rhinegrave, *Dandelot* the Conſtable's ſecond Son, and *Chenault* the Legier, came to *Dureſm* Place, where in their Journey they were met by Mr. Treaſurer, and ſixty Gentlemen, at *Woollwich*, and alſo ſaluted with great Peals, at *Woollwich*, *Debtford*, and the *Tower*.

24. The Ambaſſador came to me preſenting the Legier; and alſo delivering Letters of Credence from the French King.

25. The Ambaſſadour came to the Court, where they ſaw Me take the Oath for the Acceptation of the Treaty; and afterwards dined with Me: and after Dinner ſaw a Paſtime of ten againſt ten at the Ring; whereof on the one ſide were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Vicedam, the Lord *Liſle*, and ſeven other Gentlemen apparallel'd in Yellow. On the other, the Lord *Strange*, Monſieur *Hennadoy*, and the eight other in blew.

26. The Ambaſſador ſaw the baiting of the Bears and Bulls.

27. The Ambaſſadors, after they had hunted, ſat with me at Supper.

28. The ſame went to ſee *Hampton-Court*, where they did Hunt, and the ſame night return'd to *Dureſm-place*.

25. One that by way of Marriage had thought to aſſemble the People, and ſo to make an Inſurrection in *Kent*, was taken by the Gentlemen of the Shire, and afterward puniſhed.

29. The Ambaſſadors had a fair Supper made them by the Duke of *Somerſet*; and afterward went into the *Thames*, and ſaw both the Bear hunted in the River, and alſo Wild-fire caſt out of Boats, and many pretty Conceits.

30. The Ambaſſadors took their leave, and the next day departed.

June.

3. The King came to *Shein*, where was a Marriage made between the Lord *Liſle* the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, and the Lady *Ann* Daughter to the Duke of *Somerſet*; which done, and a fair Dinner made, and Dancing finiſhed, the King and the Ladies went into two Anti-Chambers made of Boughs, where firſt he ſaw ſix Gentlemen of one ſide, and ſix of another, run the courſe of the Field twice over. Their names here do follow.

The Lord *Edward*. Sir *John Apleby*, &c.

And afterwards came three Maſters of one ſide, and two of another, which ran four Courſes apiece. Their Names be;

Laſt of all came the Count of *Regunete*, with three *Italians*, who ran with all the Gentlemen four Courſes, and afterwards fought at Tournay; and ſo after Supper he returned to *Weſtminſter*.

4. Sir *Robert Dudley* third Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, married Sir *John Robſarts* Daughter; after which Marriage, there were certain Gentlemen that did ſtrive who ſhould firſt take away a Gooſes Head which was hanged alive on two croſs Poſts.

5. There was Tilt and Tournay on foot, with as great Staves as they run withal on Horſeback.

6. Removing to *Greenwich*.

8. The Geſts of My Progreſs were ſet forth, which were theſe; From *Greenwich* to *Weſtminſter*, from *Weſtminſter* to *Hampton-Court*, from *Hampton-Court* to *Windſor*, from *Windſor* to *Guilford*, from *Guilford* to *Oatland*, from *Oatland* to *Richmond*, &c.

Alſo the Viccdam made a great Supper for the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, with divers Maſques and other Conceits.

9. The Duke of *Somerſet*, Marqueſs of *Northampton*, Lord Treaſurer, *Bedford*, and the Secretary *Petre*, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to know to what he would ſtick. He made anſwer, That he would obey and ſet forth all things ſet forth by Me and my Parliament; and if he were troubled in Conſcience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reaſon openly againſt it.

The firſt Payment of the Frenchmen, was laid up in the *Tower* for all Chances.

10. The Books of my Proceedings were ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to ſee whether he would ſet his Hand to it, or promiſe to ſet it forth to the People.

11. Order was given for Fortifying and Victualling *Cales* for four months; and alſo Sir *Henry Palmer* and Sir—*Alce*, were ſent to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, to take a view of all the Forts there, and to report to the Council where they thought beſt to fortify.

12. The Marqueſs *de Means* came from *Scotland* in Poſt, and went his way into *France*.

13. Commiſſions were ſigned to Sir *William Herbert*, and thirty other, to Intreat of certain Matters in *Wales*, and alſo Inſtructions to the ſame, how to behave himſelf in the Preſidentſhip.

14. The Surveyor of *Calais* was ſent to *Calais*, firſt to raze the Walls of *Risbank* toward the Sand-hills, and after to make the Wall maſſy again, and the round Bullwark to change to a pointed one, which ſhould run twenty foot into the Sea, to beat the Sand-hills, and to raze the Mount. Secondly, To view *Maubeug*, to make an high Bullwark in the midſt, with Flankers, to beat through all the ſtreight; and alſo four Sluces to make *Calais* Haven better. Afterwards he was bid to go to *Guiſnes*, where firſt he ſhould take away the three-corn'd Bullwark to make the outward Wall of the Keep, and to fill the ſpace between the Keep and the ſaid outward Wall with the foreſaid Bullwark, and to raiſe the Old Keep that it might defend the Town. Alſo he was bid to make *Parſon's* Bullwark, where it is now, round, without Flankers, both pointed, and alſo with ſix Flankers to bear hard to the Keep.

Atwood and *Lambert* were ſent to take view of *Allderny*, *Sily*, *Jernſey*, *Gernſey*, and the Iſle of *Gitto*.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, with five others of the Council, went to the Biſhop of *Winchester*; to whom he made this Anſwer; *I having deliberately ſeen the Book of* Common-Prayer, *although I would not have made it ſo my ſelf, yet I find ſuch things in it as ſatisfieth my Conſcience, and therefore I will both execute it my ſelf, and alſo ſee other my Pariſhioners to do it.*

This was ſubſcribed by the foreſaid Counſellors, that they heard him ſay theſe words.

16. The Lord Marqueſs, Mr. *Herbert*, the Vicedam *Henandie*, and divers other Gentlemen, went to the Earl of *Warwick's*, where they were honourably received; and the next day they ran at the Ring a great number of Gentlemen.

19. I went to *Debtford*, being bidden to Supper by the Lord *Clinton*; where before Supper I ſaw certain Men ſtand upon the end of a Boat, without holding of any thing, and ran one at another, till one was caſt into the Water. At Supper Monſieur *Vicedam* and *Henandie* ſupped with me. After Supper was there a Fort made upon a great Lighter on the *Thames* which had three Walls, and a Watch-Tower; in the midſt of which Mr. *Winter* was Captain, with forty or fifty other Souldiers in Yellow and Black. To the Fort alſo appertained a Gallery of Yellow Collour, with Men and Ammunition in it for defence of the Caſtle: Wherefore there came four Pinaces with their Men in White, handſomely dreſſed; which intending to give aſſault to the Caſtle, firſt drove away the Pinace, and after with Clods, Squibs, Canes of Fire-Darts made for the nonce, and Bombards, aſſaulted the Caſtle; and at length came with their Pieces, and burſt the outer Walls of the Caſtle, beating them off the Caſtle into the ſecond Ward, who after iſſued out and drove away the Pinaces, ſinking one of them, out of which, all the Men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out and ſwam in the *Thames*; Then came the Admiral of the Navy, with three other Pinaces, and won the Caſtle by Aſſault, and burſt the top of it down, and took the Captain and under Captain. Then the Admiral went forth to take the Yellow Ship, and at length claſped with her, took her, and aſſaulted alſo her top, and won it alſo by compulſion, and ſo returned home.

20. The Mayor of *London* cauſed the Watches to be encreaſed every night, becauſe of the great Frays, and alſo one Alderman to ſee good Rule kept every night.

22. There was a privy ſearch made through all *Suſſex* for all Vagabonds, Gipſies, Conſpirators, Propheſiers, all Players, and ſuch like.

24. There were certain in *Eſſex* about *Rumford*, went about a Conſpiracy, which were taken, and the Matter ſtayed.

25. Removing to *Greenwich*.

23. Sir *John Yates*, Sheriff of *Eſſex*, went down with Letters to ſee the Biſhop of *London*'s Injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of Superaltaries, Altars, and ſuch like Ceremonies and Abuſes.

29. It was appointed that the *Germans* ſhould have the *Auſtin-Friars* for their Church to have their Service in, for avoiding of all Sects of *Anabaptiſts*, and ſuch-like.

17. The French Queen was delivered of a third Son, called *Monſieur d' Angouleſme*.

13. The Emperor departed from *Argentin* to *Auguſta*.

30. *John Poynet* made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and received his Oath.

July.

5. There was Mony provided to be ſent into *Ireland*, for payment of the Souldiers there; and alſo Orders taken for the diſpatch of the Strangers in *London*.

7. The Maſter of *Arskin* paſſed into *Scotland* coming from *France*. Alſo the *French* Ambaſſador did come before Me, firſt after ſhewing the Birth of *Monſieur d' Angouleſme*; afterward declaring, That whereas the French King had for my ſake let go the Priſoners at St. *Andrews*, who before they were taken, had ſhamefully murdered the Cardinal, he deſidered that all Scots that were Priſoners might be delivered. It was anſwered, That all were delivered. Then he moved for one called the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*; who ſince the Peace, came diſguiſed without Paſport, and ſo was taken. It was anſwered, That we had no Peace with *Scotland*, ſuch, that they might paſs our Countrey, and the Maſter of *Erskin* affirmed the ſame.

8. It was agreed that the 200 that were with Me, and 200 that were with Mr. *Herbert*, ſhould be ſent into *Ireland*; Alſo that the Mint ſhould be ſet a ſet a work that it might coin 24000 *l.* a Year, and ſo bear all my Charges in *Ireland* for this Year, and 10000 *l.* for my Coffers.

9. The Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord Treaſurer, Sir *William Herbert*, and the Secretary *Petre*, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* with certain Articles ſigned by Me and the Council, containing the confeſſing of his Fault, the Supremacy, the eſtabliſhing of Holy Days, the aboliſhing of ſix Articles, and divers other, whereof the Copy is in the Council-Cheſt; whereunto he put his Hand, ſaving to the Confeſſion.

10. Sir *William Herbert* and Secretary *Petre* were ſent unto him, to tell him, I marvelled that he would not put his Hand to the Confeſſion. To which he made anſwer, That he would not put his Hand to the Confeſſion, for becauſe he was Innocent, and alſo the Confeſſion was but the Preface of Articles.

11. The Biſhop of *London*, the Secretary *Petre*, Mr. *Cecil*, and *Goderick*, were commanded to make certain Articles according to the Laws, and to put in the Submiſſion.

12. It was appointed, That under the Shadow of preparing for the Sea-Matters, there ſhould be ſent 5000 *l.* to the Proteſtants, to get their good Will.

14. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* did deny the Articles that the Biſhop of *London* and the other had made.

13. Sir *John Yates* was ſent into *Eſſex* to ſtop the going away of the Lady *Mary*, becauſe it was credibly informed that *Scipperus* ſhould ſteal her away to *Antwerp*; divers of her Gentlemen were there, and *Scipperus* a little before came to ſee the Landing-places.

16. It was appointed that the two hundred with the Duke of *Somerſet*, and two hundred with the Lord Privy-Seal, and four hun-

dred with Maſter *St. Legier*, ſhould be ſent to the Sea-Coaſt.

17. It was agreed, that on *Wedneſday* next, We ſhould go in one day to *Windſor* and dine at *Sion*.

18. It was thought beſt that the Lord *Bowes* ſhould tarry in his Wardenſhip ſtill, and the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould tarry here and be recompenſed.

19. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was ſequeſtred from his Fruits for three months.

20. *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*. The Merchants were commanded to ſtay as much as they could their Vent into *Flanders*, becauſe the Emperour had made many ſtreight Laws againſt them that profeſſed the Goſpel.

21. A Muſter was made of the *Boullonois*, who were fully payed for all paſt, and a month to come. Sir *John Wallop*, *Francis Hall*, and Doctor *Coke*, were appointed Commiſſioners to appoint the Limits between Me and the French King.

23. Removing to *Windſor*.

22. The Secretary *Petre*, and the Lord Chancellour, were appointed to go to the Lady *Mary*, to cauſe her to come to *Oking*, or to the Court.

25. It was appointed, that half the French King's Paiment ſhould be beſtowed on paying 10000 *l.* at *Calais*, 9000 *l.* in *Ireland*, 10000 *l.* in the North, 2000 *l.* in the Admiralty, ſo that every Crown might go for one of our Nobles.

27. Becauſe the Rumour came ſo much of *Scipperus* coming, it was appointed that they of the Admiralty ſhould ſet my Ships in readineſs.

26. The Duke of *Somerſet* went to ſet Order in *Oxfordſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Wiltſhire*, and *Hampſhire*.

28. The Lady *Mary*, after long communication, was content to come to *Leez* to my Lord Chancellour, and then to *Hunſden*; but ſhe utterly denied to come to the Court or *Oking* at that time.

31. The Earl of *Southampton* died.

14. *Andrew Dory* took the City of——in *Africa*, from the Pirat *Dragutte*, who in the mean ſeaſon burnt the Country of *Genoa*.

8. The Emperour came to *Ausburg*.

Auguſt.

4. Mr. *St. Legier* was appointed, by Letters Patents, to be Deputy there; and had his Commiſſion, Inſtructions, and Letters to the Nobles of *Ireland* for the ſame purpoſe.

5. The ſame Deputy departed from the Caſtle of *Windſor*.

6. The Duke of *Somerſet* departed to *Redding* to take an Order there.

7. It was appointed, that of the Mony delivered to Me by the French King, there ſhould be taken 100000 Crowns to pay 10000 *l.* at *Calais*, 10000 in the North, and 2000 in the Admiralty, and 8000 in *Ireland*.

8. *Monſieur Henaudy* took his leave to depart to *Calais*, and ſo upon the Paiment, to be delivered Home; and *Tremoville* being ſick, went in a Horſe-Litter to *Dover*.

9. The French Ambaſſador came to *Windſor*, to ſue for a Paſſport for the Dowager of *Scotland*; which being granted, ſo ſhe came like

a

a Friend; he required 300 Horſe to paſs, with 200 Keepers, which was not wholly granted, but only that 200 Horſe, with an 100 Keepers in one Company, coming into this Realm, as ſhould be appointed, ſhould, without let, paſs into *France*, and not return this way.

11. The *Vicedam* of *Chartres* ſhewed his Licence to tarry here, with a Letter written to the ſame purpoſe.

10. The Ambaſſadour of *France* departed not a little contented with his gentle Anſwers.

12. Removing to *Guilford*.

13. The Parliament was Prorogued to the 20*th* of *February* next following.

Mr. *Cook* Maſter of Requeſts, and certain other Lawyers, were appointed to make a ſhort Table of the Laws and Acts that we[illegible] not wholly unprofitable, and preſent it to the Board.

The Lord Chancellor fell ſore ſick, with forty more of his Houſe, ſo that the Lady *Mary* came not thither at that time.

14. There came divers Advertiſements from *Chamberlain*, Ambaſſadour with the Queen of *Hungary*, that their very Intent was to take away the Lady *Mary*, and ſo to begin an Outward War, and an Inward Conſpiracy; inſomuch that the Queen ſaid *Scipperus* was but a Coward, and for fear of one Gentleman that came down, durſt not go forth with his Enterpriſe to my Lady *Mary*.

16. The Earl of *Maxwell* came down to the North-Border with a good Power to overthrow the *Gremes*, who were a certain Family that were yielded to Me; but the Lord *Dacre* ſtood before his Face with a good Band of Men, and ſo put him from his Purpoſe, and the Gentlemen, called *Gremes*, skirmiſhed with the ſaid Earl, ſlaying certain of his Men.

17. The Council appointed, among themſelves, That none of them ſhould ſpeak in any Man's behalf for Land to be given, Reverſion of Offices, Leaſes of Manours, or extraordinary Annuities, except for certain Captains who ſerved at *Bollein*, their Anſwer being deferred till *Michaelmaſs* next.

18. A Proclamation that till *Michaelmaſs* all Strangers that ſued for Penſions ſhould go their way.

20. Removing to *Oking*.

15. The ſecond Paiment of the French was paied, and *Henaudie* and *Tremoville* delivered.

21. 8000 *l.* of the laſt Payment was appointed to be payed to the Diſpatch of *Calais*, and 5000 at the North.

24. 10000 *l.* was appointed to be occupied to win Mony to pay the next Year, pay the outward Pays; and it was promiſed that the Mony ſhould double every month.

26. Removing to *Oatlands*.

27. *Andrea Doria* gave a hot Aſſault to the Town of ——— in *Africa* kept by the Pirat called *Drogute*, but was repulſed by the Townſmen.

29. The Pirat gave a hot Aſſault to *Andrea Dorea* by Night, and ſlew the Captain of *Thames*, with divers other notable Men.

31. The Duke *Maurice* made anſwer to the Emperour, That if the Council were not free, he would not come at it.

September.

2. *Malamore* in *Ireland* before a Rebel, by the means of Mr. *Baberſon*, ſurrendred himſelf and gave Pledges.

6. Mr. *Wotton* gave up his Secretaryſhip, and Mr. *Cecil* got it of him.

8. Removing from *Nonſuch.*

13. Removing to *Oatlands.*

22. A Proclamation was ſet forth, by the which it was commanded; 1. That no kind of Victual, no Wax, Tallow, Candles, nor no ſuch thing ſhould be carried over, except to *Calais*, putting in Sureties to go thither. 2. That no Man ſhould buy or ſell the ſelf-ſame things again except Broakers, who ſhould not have more than ten quarters of Grain at once. 3. That all Juſtices ſhould divide themſelves into Hundre[illegible] Rapes, and Wapentakes, to look in their Quarters what ſuperfluous Corn were in every Barn, and appoint it to be ſold at a reaſonable price. Alſo that one of them muſt be in every Market to ſee the Corn brought. Furthermore, whoever ſhipped over any Thing aforeſaid to the Parts beyond Sea, or *Scotland*, after eight days following the publication of the Proclamation, ſhould forfeit his Ship, and the Ware therein, half to the Lord of the Franchize, and half to the finder thereof; whoſo bought to ſell again after the day aforeſaid, ſhould forfeit all his Goods, Farms, and Leaſes, to the uſe, one half of the Finder, the other of the King; whoſo brought not in Corn to Market as he was appointed, ſhould forfeit 10 *l.* except the Purveyours took it up, or it were ſold to his Neighbours.

25. Letters ſent out to the Juſtices of the Peace for the due execution thereof.

* *Afrodiſium* 18. *Andrea Doria* had a repulſe from the Town of * in *Africa*, and loſt many of his Men, and the Captain of *Thames*, and nevertheleſs left not yet the Siege.

24. Order was given for the Victualing of *Calais.*

26. The Lord *Willoughby*, Deputy of *Calais*, departed and took his journey thitherward.

28. The Lord Treaſurer ſent to *London* to give Order for the preſervation of the City, with help of the Mayor.

Whereas the Emperor required a Council, they were content to receive it, ſo it were free and ordinary, requiring alſo that every Man might be reſtored to his Right, and a general Peace proclaimed. They deſired alſo, that in the mean ſeaſon no Man might be reſtrained to uſe his faſhion of Religion.

18. The Emperor made Anſwer, That the Council ſhould be to the Glory of God, and Maintenance of the Empire at *Trent*; He knew no Title to any of his Territories, Peace he deſired, and in the mean ſeaſon would have them obſerve the Interim and laſt Council of *Trent*; he would alſo that they of *Breme* and *Hamburgh*, with their Aſſociates, ſhould leave their Seditions, and obey his Decrees.

21. *George* Duke of *Mecklenburgh* came with 8000 Men of War to the City of *Magdeburgh*, being Proteſtant; againſt whom went forth the Count of *Mansfield*, and his Brother, with 6000 Men, and eight Guns, to drive him from Pillage; but the other abiding the Battel, put the Count to flight, took his Brother Priſoner, and ſlew 3000 Men, as it is reported.

October.

4. Removing to *Richmond*.

5. The Parliament Prorogued to the *20th* of *January*.

6. The French King made his entry into *Roan*.

10. It was agreed that *York*, Maſter of one of the *Mints* at the *Tower*, ſhould make his Bargain with Me; *viz.* To take the Profit of Silver riſing of Bullion that he himſelf brought, ſhould pay all my Debts, to the Sum of 1200000 *l.* or above, and remain accountable for the Overplus, paying no more but 6 *s.* and 6 *d.* the ounce, till the Exchange were equal in *Flanders*, and after 6 *s.* and 2 *d.* Alſo that he ſhould declare all his Bargains to any ſhould be appointed to overſee him, and leave off when I would: For which I ſhould give him 15000 *l.* in Preſt, and leave to carry 8000 *l.* over-Sea to abaſe the Exchange.

16. Removing to *Weſtminſter*.

19. Prices were ſet of all kind of Grains, Butter, Cheeſe, and Poultry-Ware, by a Proclamation.

20. The Frenchmen came to *Sandefield* and *Fins-wood*, to the number of 800, and there on my Ground did ſpoil my Subjects that were relieved by the Wood.

26. The French Ambaſſadour came to excuſe the foreſaid Men, ſaying, They thought it not meet that that Wood ſhould be ſpoiled of us, being thought and claimed as theirs, and therefore they lay there.

24. There were 1000 Men embarqued to go to *Calais*, and ſo to *Guiſnes*, and *Hammes*, *Riſhumbee*, *Newmanbridge*, the Cauſie and the Bullwarks, with Victual for the ſame.

November.

19. There were Letters ſent to every Biſhop to pluck down the Altars.

20. There were Letters ſent down to the Gentlemen of every Shire, for the obſervation of the laſt Proclamation touching Corn, becauſe there came none to the Markets, commanding them to puniſh the Offenders.

29. Upon the Letters written back by the ſame, the ſecond Proclamation was aboliſhed.

December.

15. There was Letters ſent for the taking of certain Chaplains of the Lady *Mary* for ſaying Maſs, which ſhe denied.

19. *Borthwick* was ſent to the King of *Denmark*, with privy Inſtructions for the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son.

20. There was appointed a Band of Horſemen divided amongſt the Nobles.

An 100 to the Duke of *Somerſet*.
50 to my Lord Marq. *Northampton*.
Lord Marqueſs of *Dorſet*.
Earl of *Wiltſhire*.
Lord *Wentworth*.
Lord Admiral.
Lord *Paget*.
Mr. *Sadler*.
Mr. *Darcy*.
To the Earl of *Warwick*.
Lord Privy-Seal.
Mr. *Herbert*.
Mr. Treaſurer.

24. Removing to *Greenwich:*

26. Peace concluded between the Emperor and the Scots.

January.

6. The Earl of *Arundel* remitted of 8000 *l.* which he ought to have payed for certain Faults he had committed within 12 Years.

7. There was appointed, for becauſe the Frenchmen did go about practice in *Ireland*, that there ſhould be prepared four Ships, four Barques, four Pinaces, and twelve Victualers, to take three Havens; of which two were on the South-ſide toward *France*, and one in *James Cannes* the Scottiſh Country, and alſo ſend and break the foreſaid Conſpiracies.

10. Three Ships being ſent forth into the Narrow Seas, took certain Pirats, and brought them into *England*, where the moſt part was hanged.

27. *Monſieur de Lanſac* came from the French King by way of requeſt, to ask that *Coumilis*, the fiſhing of the *Tweed*, *Edrington*, the Ground debatable, and the Scotch Hoſtages that were put here in the King my Father's days, ſhould be delivered to the Scots, that they might be ſuffered to Traffique, as though they were in Peace, and that all Intereſt of the foreſaid Houſes ſhould be delivered to the Scots. Alſo that thoſe Priſoners which were bound to pay their Ranſoms before the Peace laſt concluded, ſhould not enjoy the benefit of the Peace.

18. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed to be General Lieutenant in *Ireland.*

30. Letters written to Mr. *St. Lieger* to repair to the South parts of *Ireland* with his Force.

February.

3. Mr. *Croſtis* appointed to go into *Ireland*, and there with *Rogers* and certain Artificers, to take the Havens aforeſaid, and begin ſome Fortification.

5. Divers Merchants of *London* were ſpoken withal for proviſion of Corn out of *Danſick*, about 40000 Quarters.

10. *Mountfard* was commanded to go to provide for certain proportions of Victual for the Ships that ſhould go into *Ireland.*

11. Alſo for Proviſion to be ſent to *Barwick* and the North parts.

16. *Whaley* was examined, for perſwading divers Nobles of the Realm to make the Duke of *Somerſet* Protector at the next Parliament, and ſtood to the denial, the Earl of *Rutland* affirming it manifeſtly.

13. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, after a long Trial, was depoſed of his Biſhoprick.

20. Sir *William Pickering* Kt. was diſpatched to the French King for Anſwer to *Monſieur de Lanſac*, to declare, That although I had right in the foreſaid Places, yet I was content to ſurrender them, under Conditions to be agreed on by Commiſſioners on both ſides; and for the laſt Articles I agreed without condition.

25. The Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet* appointed to be Warden of the North-Borders, having three Sub-Wardens, the Lord *Ogle*, &c. in the Eaſt, and the Lord *Comers* in the Weſt. Alſo Mr. *Anger* had the charge for victualling *Calais.*

28. The Learned Man *Buccrus* died at *Cambridg*; who was two days

after buried in St. *Mary's* Church at *Cambridg*; all the whole Univerſity, with the whole Town, bringing him to the Grave, to the number of 3000 Perſons. Alſo there was an Oration of Mr. *Haddon* made very eloquently at his Death, and a Sermon of * after that Maſter *Redman* made a third Sermon; which three Sermons made the People wonderfully to lament his Death. Laſt of all, all the Learned Men of the Univerſity made their Epitaphs in his praiſe, laying them on his Grave.

* Dr. *Parker*.

March.

3. The Lord *Wentworth* Lord Chamberlain, died about ten of the Clock at Night, leaving behind him ſixteen Children.

1. Sir *John York* made great loſs about 2000 *l.* weight of Silver, by Treaſon of Engliſh Men which he brought for Proviſion of the Mints. Alſo *Judd* 1500, and alſo *Treſham* 500; ſo the whole came to 4000 *l.*

February.

20. The Frenchmen came with a Navy of 160 Sail into *Scotland*, loaden with proviſion of Grain, Powder, and Ordnance; of which ſixteen great Ships periſhed on *Ireland* Coaſt, two loaden with Artillery, and fourteen with Corn.

Alſo in this month the Deputy there ſet at one, certain of the Weſt Lords that were at variance.

March.

10. Certain new Fortifications were deviſed to be made at *Calais*; That at *Graveling* the Water ſhould be let in in my Ground, and ſo ſhould fetch a compaſs by the ſix Bulwarks to *Guiſnes*, *Hammes*, and *Newnambridg*; and that there ſhould be a Wall of eight foot high, and ſix broad of Earth, to keep out the Water, and to make a great Marſh about the Territories of *Calais* 37 miles long. Alſo for Flankers at the Keep of *Guiſnes*, willed to be made a three-cornered Bullwark at the Keep to keep it. Furthermore, at *Newnambridg*, a maſſy Wall to the French-ſide there, as was a Green. Beſides, at the Weſt Gittie there ſhould be another Gittie, which ſhould defend the Victuallers of the Town always from Shot from the Sand-hills.

5. Mr. *Archer* had 2000 *l.* in Mony, wherewith he provided out of *Flanders* for *Calais* 2000 Quarters of Barley, 500 of Wheat.

18. The Lady *Mary*, my Siſter, came to me to *Weſtminſter*, where after Salutations, ſhe was called, with my Council, into a Chamber; where was declared how long I had ſuffered her Maſs, in hope of her reconciliation, and how now being no hope, which I perceived by her Letters, except I ſaw ſome ſhort amendment I could not bear it. She anſwered, That her Soul was God's, and her Faith ſhe would not change, nor diſſemble her Opinion with contrary doings. It was ſaid, I conſtrained not her Faith, but willed her not as a King to Rule, but as a Subject to obey; and that her Example might breed too much inconvenience.

19. The Emperor's Ambaſſador came with a ſhort Meſſage from his Maſter of War, if I would not ſuffer his Couſin, the Princeſs, to uſe her Maſs. To this was no anſwer given at this time.

20. The Biſhops of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Rocheſter*, did conſider to give licence to ſin, was ſin; to ſuffer and wink at it for a time might be born, ſo all haſte poſſible might be uſed.

23. The Council having the Biſhops Anſwers, ſeeing my Subjects taking their vent in *Flanders*, might put the whole Realm in danger. The *Flemings* had Cloth enough for a Year in their hand, and were kept far under the danger of the Papiſts; the 1500 Cinquetales of Powder I had in *Flanders*, the Harneſs they had for preparation of the Gendarmory, the Goods my Merchants had there at the *Woolfleet*, decreed to ſend an Ambaſſadour to the Emperor, Mr. *Wotton*, to deny the matter wholly, and perſwade the Emperor in it, thinking, by his going, to win ſome time for a preparation of a Mart, convenience of Powder, Harneſs, *&c.* and for the Surety of the Realm. In the mean ſeaſon to puniſh the Offenders, firſt of my Servants that heard Maſs, next of hers.

24. Sir *Anthony Brown* ſent to the *Fleet* for hearing Maſs, with Serjeant *Morgan*, Sir *Clement Smith*, which a Year before heard Maſs, chidden.

25. The Ambaſſadour of the Emperor came to have his Anſwer, but had none, ſaving that one ſhould go to the Emperor within a month or two to declare the Matter.

22. Sir *William Pickering* came with great thanks from the French King.

27. Removing to *Greenwich*.

31. A Challenge made by Me, that I, with ſixteen of my Chamber, ſhould run at Baſe, Shoot, and run at the Ring with any ſeventeen of my Servants Gentlemen in the Court.

Mr. *Crofted* arrived in *Ireland*, and came to *Waterford* to the Deputy, conſulting for Fortification of the Town.

April.

1. The firſt day of the Challenge at Baſe, or Running, the King won.

3. *Monſieur de Lanſac* came again from the French King to go to *Scotland*, for appointing his Commiſſioners on the Scotch ſide, who were the French Ambaſſador in *Scotland*, the Biſhop of —— the Maſter of *Erskin*, &c.

Thomas Darcy made Lord *Darcy* of *Chich.* and Lord Chamberlain; for maintenance whereof he had given 100 Merks to his Heirs generally, and 300 to his Heirs Males.

6. I loſt the Challenge of Shooting at Rounds, and won at Rovers.

7. There were appointed Commiſſioners on my ſide, either the Biſhop of *Litchfield* if he had no Impediment, or *Norwich*, Mr. *Bowes*, Mr. *Bekwith*, and Sir *Thomas Chaloner*.

8. Sir *John Yates* made Vicechamberlain, and Captain of the Guard, and 120 *l.* Land.

5. *Poinet* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* received his Oath for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, having 2000 Merk Land appointed to him for his Maintenance.

7. A certain *Arrian* of the Strangers, a Dutch Man, being excommunicated by the Congregation of his Countrymen, was after long diſputation condemned to the Fire.

9. The Earl of *Wiltſhire* had 50 more in my Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet's* Place, Warden in the North, and my Lord of *Rutland* in my Lord *Wentworth's* Place other fifty.

10. Mr. *Wotton* had his Inſtructions made to go withal to the Emperor, to be as Ambaſſador Legier in Mr. *Moriſon's* place, and to declare this Reſolution, That if the Emperor would ſuffer my Ambaſſadour with him, to uſe his Service, then I would his; if he would not ſuffer Mine, I would not ſuffer his. Likewiſe, that my Siſter was my Subject, and ſhould uſe my Service appointed by Act of Parliament.

Alſo it was appointed to make 20000 pound weight for neceſſity ſomewhat baſer, to get gains 16000 *l.* clear, by which the Debt of the Realm might be payed, the Country defended from any ſudden Attempt, and the Coin amended.

11. Mr. *Pickering* had his Inſtructions and Diſpatch to go into *France* as Ambaſſadour Legier there, in Mr. *Maſon's* Place, who deſired very much to come home; and Mr. *Pickering* had Inſtructions to tell the French King of the appointing of my Commiſſioners in *Scotland* aforeſaid.

2. They of *Magdeburg* having in *January* laſt paſt taken in a conflict the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, and three other Earls, did give an Onſet on Duke *Maurice* by Boats on the River, when it overflowed the Country, and ſlew divers of his Men, and came home ſafe, receiving a great portion of Victual into the Town.

15. A Conſpiracy opened of the *Eſſex*-men, who within three days after minded to declare the coming of Strangers, and ſo to bring People together to *Chelmsford*, and then to ſpoil the Rich Men's Houſes if they could.

16. Alſo of *Londoners*, who thought * *Woodcock* to riſe on *May*-day againſt the Strangers of the City, and both the Parties committed to Ward.

* Here the ſenſe is not perfect.

23. The French King, and the Lord *Clinton*, choſen into the Order of the Garter; and appointed that the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould peruſe and amend the Order.

24. The Lords ſat at *London*, and banqueted one another this day, and three days after, for to ſhew agreement amongſt them, whereas Diſcord was bruited, and ſomewhat to look to the puniſhment of Tale-bearers, and apprehending of evil Perſons.

25. A Bargain made with the Foulcare for about 60000 *l.* that in *May* and *Auguſt* ſhould be payed for the defraying of it. 1. That the Foulcare ſhould put it off for 10 in the 100. 2. That I ſhould buy 12000 Marks weight, at 6 *s.* the ounce, to be delivered at *Antwerp*, and ſo conveyed over. 3. I ſhould pay 100000 Crowns for a very fair Jewel of his, four Rubies marvelous big, one Orient and great Diamond, and one great Pearl.

27. *Mallet*, the Lady *Mary's* Chaplain, apprehended and ſent to the *Tower* of *London*.

30. The Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* appointed to go with the Order, and further Commiſſion of Treaty, and that in Poſt; having joined with him in Commiſſion, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobbey*, Sir *William Pickering*, and Sir *John Maſon* Knights, and two other Lawyers, *Smith* that was Secretary, *&c.*

May.

2. There was appointed to go with my Lord Marqueſs, the Earls of *Rutland*, *Worceſter*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Liſle*, *Fitzwater*, and *Bray*, *Barguenny*, and divers other Gentlemen, to the number of thirty in all.

3. The Challenge at running at the Ring performed; at the which firſt came the King, ſixteen Footmen, and ten Horſemen, in black Silk Coats, pulled out with white Taffety; then all the Lords, having three Men likewiſe apparelled; and all Gentlemen their Footmen in white Fuſtian, pulled out with black Taffety. The other ſide came all in yellow Taffety; at length the yellow Band took it thrice in 120 courſes, and my Band touched often, which was counted as nothing, and took never, which ſeemed very ſtrange, and ſo the Prize was of my Side loſt. After that Tournay followed, between ſix of my Band, and ſix of theirs.

4. It was appointed that there ſhould be but four Men to wait on every Earl that went with my Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, three on every Lord, two on every Knight or Gentleman: Alſo that my Lord Marqueſs ſhould in his Diet be allowed for the loſs in his Exchange.

5. The Muſter of the Gendarmoury appointed to be the firſt of *June* if it were poſſible, if not the 8*th*.

6. The Teſtourn cried down from 12 *d.* to 9 *d.* and the Groat from 4 *d.* to 3 *d.*

9. One *Stewart* a Scotchman meaning to poiſon the young Queen of *Scotland*, thinking thereby to get Favour here, was, after he had been a while in the *Tower* and *Newgate*, delivered on my Frontiers at *Calais* to the French, for to have him puniſhed there according to his deſerts.

10. Divers Lords and Knights ſent for to furniſh the Court at the coming of the French Ambaſſadour, that brought hither the Order of St. *Michael.*

12. A Proclamation proclaimed, to give warning to all thoſe that keep any Farms, multitudes of Sheep, above the number limited in the Law, *viz.* 2000; decayed Tenements and Towns, Regratters, Foreſtalling Men that ſell dear, having plenty enough, and put Plough Ground to Paſture, and Carriers over-Sea of Victual, That if they leave not theſe Enormities, they ſhall be ſtreightly puniſhed very ſhortly, ſo that they ſhould feel the ſmart of it; and to command execution of Laws made for this purpoſe before.

14. There muſtered before Me an hundred Archers, two Arrows apiece, all of the Guard; afterward ſhot together, and they ſhot at an inch Board, which ſome pierced quite, and ſtuck in the other Board; divers pierced it quite thorow with the Heads of their Arrows, the Boards being very well-ſeaſoned Timber. So it was appointed there ſhould be ordinarily 100 Archers, and 100 Halbertiers, either good Wreſtlers, or caſters of the Bar, or Leapers, or Runners, or tall Men of Perſonage.

15. Sir *Philip Hobbey* departed toward *France*, with ten Gentlemen of his own, in Velvet Coats and Chains of Gold.

16. Likewiſe did the Biſhop of *Ely* depart with a Band of Men well furniſhed.

20. A Proclamation made, That whoſoever found a Seditious Bill, and did not tear and deface it, ſhould be a partaker of the Bill, and puniſhed as the Maker.

21. My Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* had Commiſſion to deliver the Order, and to treat of all things, and chiefly of Marriage for Me to the Lady *Elizabeth* his Daughter. Firſt, To have the Dote 12000 Marks a Year, and the Dowry at leaſt 800000 Crowns. The Forfeiture 100000 Crowns at the moſt if I performed not, and paying that to be delivered; and that this ſhould not impeach the former Covenants with *Scotland*, with many other Branches.

22. He departed himſelf in Poſt.

24. An Earthquake was at *Croidon* and *Bleckinglee*, and in the moſt part of *Surrey*, but no harm was done.

30. Whereas before Commandment was given that 160000 *l.* ſhould be Coined of three ounces in the Pound fine, for diſcharge of Debts, and to get ſome Treaſure, to be able to alter all, now was it ſtopped, ſaving only 80000 *l.* to diſcharge my Debts, and 10000 Mark weight that the *Foulcare* delivered in the laſt Exchange, at four ounces in the pound.

31. The Muſters defered till after *Midſummer*.

June.

2. It was appointed that I ſhould receive the Frenchmen that came hither at *Weſtminſter*, where was made preparation for the purpoſe, and four garniſh of new Veſſels taken out of Church Stuff, as Miters, and Golden Miſſals, and Primers, and Croſſes, and Reliques of *Pleſſay*.

4. Proviſion made in *Flanders* for Silver and Gold Plate, and Chains to be given to theſe Strangers.

7. A Proclamation ſet forth, that Exchange, or Re-exchange, ſhould be made under the Puniſhment ſet forth in King *Henry* the Seventh's Time, duly to be executed.

10. *Monſieur Mareſchal* departed from the Court to *Bulloigne* in Poſt, and ſo hither by Water in his Galleys and Foiſts.

In this Month, and the Month before, was great Buſineſs for the City of *Parma*, which Duke * *Horatio* had delivered to the French King, for the Pope aſcited him, as holding it *in capite* of him, whereby he could not alienate it without the Pope's Will; but he came not at his Day, for which cauſe the Pope and Imperialiſts raiſed 8000 Men, and took a Caſtle on the ſame River ſide. Alſo the French King ſent *Monſieur de Thermes*, who had been his General in *Scotland*, with a great piece of his Gendarmory into *Italy*, to help Duke *Horatio*. Furthermore the Turks made great preparation for War, which ſome feared would at length burſt out.

* It ſhould be *Octavio.*

21. I was elected of the Company of St. *Michael* in *France* by the French King and his Order.

13. Agreement made with the Scots for the Borders, between the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, for both the Parties.

In this month *Dragute*, a Pirat, eſcaped (*Andrea Doria*, who had cloſed him in a Creek) by force of his Galley-Slaves, that digged another way into the Sea, and took two of *Andrea's* Galleys that lay far into the Sea.

14. Pardon given to thoſe Iriſh Lords that would come in before a

certain day limited by the Deputy; with Advertiſement to the Deputy to make ſharp War with thoſe that would reſiſt; and alſo ſhould adminiſter my Laws every-where.

18. Becauſe of my Charges in Fortifications at *Calais* and *Barwick* ſhould be payed, it was agreed, that beſide the Debt of the Realm 80000 *l.* there ſhould be 40000 *l.* coined, three ounces Fine, nine of Allay; and 5000 pound weight ſhould be coined in a Standard of ſeven ounces Fine at the leaſt.

17. *Soperantio* came as Ambaſſadour from *Venice*, in *Daniel Barbaro's* Place.

16. I accepted the Order of *Monſegnieur Michael* by promiſe to the French Ambaſſador.

17. My Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* came to *Nants* with the Commiſſioners, and all thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen that came over-Sea with him.

20. Upon Advertiſement of *Scipperus* coming, and rigging of certain Ships in *Holland*; alſo for to ſhew the Frenchmen pleaſure at their coming, all the Navy that lay in *Gillingham-water* was appointed to be rigged, and furniſhed with Ordnance, and lay in the River of *Thames*, to the intent, that if *Scipperus* came afterward, he might be met with, and at leaſt the Frenchmen ſhould ſee the force of my Navy.

22. The Lady *Mary* ſent Letters to the Council, marvelling at the Impriſonment of Dr. *Mallet*, her Chaplain, for ſaying of Maſs before her Houſhold, ſeeing it was promiſed the Emperor's Ambaſſadour ſhe ſhould not be moleſted in Religion, but that ſhe and her Houſhold ſhould have the Maſs ſaid before them continually.

24. They anſwered, That becauſe of their Duties to King, Countrey, and Friends, they were compelled to give her anſwer, That they would ſee, not only him, but alſo all other Maſs-Sayers, and breakers of Order, ſtraitly puniſhed. And that as for promiſe they had, nor would give none to make her free from the puniſhment of the Law in that behalf.

18. *Chaſtilion* came to my Lord Marqueſs, and there banqueted him by the way at two times between *Nantes* and *Chaſteau Brian*, where the King lay.

15. *Mendoza*, a Gentleman of the King's Chamber, was ſent to him to conduct him to the Court.

19. My Lord Marqueſs came to *Chaſteau-Brian*, where half a mile from the Caſtle there met him——with an hundred Gentlemen, and brought him to the Court booted and ſpur'd to the French King.

20. The French King was inveſted with the Order of the Garter in his Bed-Chamber, where he gave a Chain to the Garter worth 200 *l.* and his Gown dreſſed with Auglets worth 25 *l.* The Biſhop of *Ely* making an Oration, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* making him Anſwer. At Afternoon the Lord Marqueſs moved the French King to the Marriage of the Scots Queen to be conſummate, for whoſe hearing he appointed two Commiſſioners.

21. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and of *Chaſtilion*, the Conſtable, the Duke of *Guiſe*, *&c.* were appointed Commiſſioners on the part of *France*, who abſolutely denied the firſt Motion for the Scotch Queen, ſaying, Both they had taken too much Pains, and ſpent too many Lives

for her. Alſo a concluſion was made for her Marriage to the Dolphin. Then was proponed the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, the French King's eldeſt Daughter; to which they did moſt chearfully aſſent. So after they agreed neither Party to be bound in Conſcience nor Honour, till ſhe were twelve Years of Age and upwards. Then they came to the Dote, which was firſt asked 1500000 Scutes of *France*, at which they made a mock; after for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it ſhould be as great as hath been given by the King my Father to any Wife he had.

22. Our Commiſſioners came to 1400000 of Crowns, which they refuſed, then to a Million, which they denied; then to 800000 Crowns, which they ſaid they would not agree to.

23. Then our Commiſſioners asked what they would offer? Firſt they offered 100000 Crowns, then 200000, which they ſaid was the moſt, and more than ever was given. Then followed great Reaſonings, and ſhowing of Preſidents, but no nearer they would come.

24. They went forward unto the Penalties if the Parties miſliked, after that the King's Daughter were twelve and upwards, which the French offered 100000, 50000 Crowns, or promiſe, that ſhe ſhould be brought, at her Father's Charge, three months before ſhe were twelve, ſufficiently Jewelled and ſtuffed. Then Bonds to be delivered alternatively at *London*, and at *Paris*, and ſo forth.

26. The Frenchmen delivered the foreſaid Anſwers written to my Commiſſioners.

July.

1. Whereas certain Flemiſh Ships, twelve Sail in all, ſix tall Men of War, looking for eighteen more Men of War, went to *Diep*, as it was thought, to take *Monſieur le Mareſchal* by the way; order was given, that ſix Ships being before prepared, with four Pinnaces and a Brigantine, ſhould go both to conduct him, and alſo to defend, if any thing ſhould be attempted againſt *England*, by carrying over the Lady *Mary*.

2. A Brigandine ſent to *Diep*, to give knowledg to *Monſieur le Mareſchal* of the *Flemings* coming; to whom all the *Flemings* vailed their Bonnet. Alſo the French Ambaſſador was advertiſed; who anſwered, That he thought him ſure enough when he came into our Streams, terming it ſo.

2. There was a Proclamation ſigned for ſhortning of the fall of the Mony to that day; in which it ſhould be proclaimed, and deviſed, that it ſhould be in all places of the Realm within one day proclaimed.

3. The Lord *Clinton* and *Cobham* was appointed to meet the French at *Graveſend*, and ſo to convoy him to *Dureſme-place*, where he ſhould lie.

4. I was banqueted by the Lord *Clinton* at *Debtford*, where I ſaw the *Primroſe* and the *Mary Willoughby* launched.

The Frenchmen landed at *Rie*, as ſome thought, for fear of the *Flemings* lying at the *Lands-end*, chiefly becauſe they ſaw our Ships were let by the Wind that they could not come out.

6. Sir *Peter Meutas*, at *Dover*, was commanded to come to *Rie* to meet *Monſieur le Mareſchal*, who ſo did; and after he had delivered his Letters, written with Mine own Hand, and made my Recommendations,

he took order for Horſes and Carts for *Monſieur le Mareſchal*, in which he made ſuch Proviſion as was poſſible to be for the ſaid Train.

7. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* ſet forth from *Rie*, and in his Journey Mr. *Culpepper*, and divers other Gentlemen, and their Men, to the number of 1000 Horſe, well furniſhed, met him, and ſo brought him to *Maidſton* that Night.

Removing to *Weſtminſter*.

8. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* came to Mr. *Bakers*, where he was very well feaſted and banqueted.

9. The ſame came to my Lord *Cobhams* to Dinner, and at night to *Graveſend*.

Proclamation made that a Teſtourn ſhould go at 9 *d.* and a Groat at 3 *d.* in all Places of the Realm at once.

At this time came the Sweat into *London*, which was more vehement than the Old Sweat; for if one took cold, he died within three hours; and if he eſcaped, it held him but nine hours or ten at the moſt: alſo if he ſlept the firſt ſix hours, as he ſhould be very deſirous to do, then he roved, and ſhould die roving.

11. It grew ſo much, for in *London* the 10*th* day there died 100 in the Liberties, and this day 120; and alſo one of my Gentlemen, another of my Grooms fell ſick and died, that I removed to *Hampton-Court* with very few with Me.

The ſame night came the Mareſchal, who was ſaluted with all my Ships being in the *Thames*, fifty and odd, all with ſhot well furniſhed, and ſo with the Ordnance of the *Tower*. He was met by the Lord *Clinton* Lord Admiral, with forty Gentlemen, at *Graveſend*, and ſo brought to *Dureſme-place*.

13. Becauſe of the Infection at *London*, he came this day to *Richmond*, where he lay with a great Band of Gentlemen, at leaſt 400, as it was by divers eſteemed, where that night he hunted.

14. He came to Me at *Hampton-Court* at nine of the Clock, being met by the Duke of *Somerſet* at the Wall-end, and ſo conveied firſt to Me; where after his Maſters Recommendations and Letters, he went to his Chamber on the Queens-ſide, all hanged with Cloth of Arras, and ſo was the Hall, and all my Lodging. He dined with Me alſo. After Dinner, being brought into an Inner-Chamber, he told Me, he was come, not only for delivery of the Order, but alſo for to declare the great Friendſhip the King his Maſter bore Me; which he deſired I would think to be ſuch to Me as a Father beareth to his Son, or Brother to Brother. And although there were divers Perſuaſions, as he thought, to diſſuade Me from the King his Maſter's Friendſhip, and Witleſs Men made divers Rumours, yet he truſted I would not believe them. Furthermore, that as good Miniſters on the Frontiers do great good, ſo ill much harm. For which cauſe he deſired no Innovation ſhould be made on things had been ſo long in controverſy by Hand-ſtrokes, but rather by Commiſſioners talk. I anſwered him, That I thanked him for his Order, and alſo his Love, *&c.* and I would ſhew like Love in all Points. For Rumours, they were not always to be believed, and that I did ſometime provide for the worſt, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For Miniſters, I ſaid, I would rather appeaſe theſe Controverſies with words, than do any thing by force. So after, he was conveyed to *Richmond* again.

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17. He came to preſent the Order of *Monſiegneur Michael*; where-after with Ceremonies accuſtomed, he had put on the Garments, he, and *Monſieur Gye* likewiſe of the Order, came one at my right Hand, the other at my left to the Chappel, where-after the Communion celebrated, each of them kiſſed my Cheek. After that they dined with Me, and talked after Dinner, and ſaw ſome Paſtime, and ſo went home again.

18. A Proclamation made againſt Regratters, and Foreſtallers, and the words of the Statute recited, with the Puniſhment of the Offenders. Alſo Letters were ſent to all Officers and Sheriffs for the executing thereof.

19. Another Proclamation made for puniſhment of them that would blow Rumours of abaſing and enhaunſing of the Coin to make things dear withal.

The ſame night *Monſieur le Mareſchal St. Andre* ſupped with Me; after Supper ſaw a dozen Courſes, and after I came and made Me ready.

20. The next Morning he came to Me to mine Arraying, and ſaw my Bed-Chamber,and went a hunting with Hounds; and ſaw Me ſhoot, and ſaw all my Guards ſhoot together. He dined with Me, heard Me play on the Lute, Ride; came to Me to my Study, ſupped with Me, and ſo departed to *Richmond*.

19. The Scots ſent an Ambaſſador hither for receiving the Treaty, ſealed with the Great Seal of *England*, which was delivered him. Alſo I ſent Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, Clerk of my Council, to have the Seal of them, for Confirmation of the laſt Treaty at *Northampton*.

17. This day my Lord Marqueſs and the Commiſſioners coming to treat of the Marriage, offered by later Inſtructions 600000 Crowns, after 400000 *l.* and ſo departed for an hour. Then ſeeing they could get no better, came to the French Offer of 200000 Crowns, half to be paid at the Marriage, half ſix months after that.

Then the French agreed that her Dote ſhould be but 10000 Marks of Lawful Money of *England*.

Thirdly, It was agreed, that if I died, ſhe ſhould not have the Dote, ſaying, They did that for Friendſhips-ſake without preſident.

19. The Lord Marqueſs having received and delivered again the Treaty ſealed, took his leave, and ſo did all the reſt.

At this time was there a bickering at *Parma* between the French and the Papiſts, for *Monſieur de Thermes*, *Petro Strozi*, and *Fontivello*, with divers other Gentlemen to the number of thirty, with 1500 Souldiers, entred *Parma*, *Gonzaga* with the Emperors and Popes Band lay near the Town. The French made Sallies, and overcame, ſlaying the Prince of *Macedonia*, and the *Seigniour Baptiſta* the Pope's Nephew.

22. Mr. *Sidney* made one of the four chief Gentlemen.

23. *Monſieur de Mareſchal* came to Me, declaring the King his Maſters well-taking my readineſs to this Treaty; and alſo how much his Maſter was bent that way. He preſented *Monſieur Bois Dolphine* to be Ambaſſador here, as my Lord Marqueſs the *19th* day did preſent Mr. *Pickering*.

26. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* dined with Me. After Dinner ſaw the ſtrength of the Engliſh Archers. After he had ſo done, at his departure

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I gave him a Diamond from my finger, worth, by eſtimation, 150 *l.* both for Pains, and alſo for my Memory. Then he took his leave.

27. He came to a hunting to tell me the News, and ſhew the Letter his Maſter had ſent him, and doubtleſs of *Monſieur Termes* and *Marignans* Letters, being Ambaſſador with the Emperor.

28. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* came to Dinner to *Hide-Park*, where there was a fair Houſe made for him, and he ſaw the Courſing there.

30. He came to the Earl of *Warwick*'s, lay there one night, and was well received.

29. He had his Reward, being worth 3000 *l.* in Gold, of currant Money. *Monſieur de Gye* 1000 *l.* *Monſieur Chenault* 1000 *l.* *Monſieur Movillier* 500 *l.* the Secretary 500 *l.* and the Biſhop *Peregrueux* 500 *l.*

Auguſt.

3. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* departed to *Bolleign*, and had certain of my Ships to conduct him thither.

9. Four and twenty Lords of the Council met at *Richmond*, to commune of my Siſter *Mary*'s matter; who at length agreed, That it was not meet to be ſuffered any longer, making thereof an Inſtrument ſigned with their Hands, and ſealed, to be on Record.

11. The Lord Marqueſs, with the moſt part of his Band, came home, and delivered the Treaty Sealed.

12. Letters ſent for *Rocheſter*, *Ingleſield*, and *Walgrave* to come the 13*th* day, but they came not till another Letter was ſent to them the 13*th* day.

14. My Lord Marqueſs's Reward was delivered at *Paris*, worth 500 *l.* my Lord of *Ely*'s 200. Mr. *Hobbey*'s 150; the reſt all about one ſcantling.

14. *Rocheſter*, &c. had commandment neither to hear nor to ſuffer any kind of Service, but the Common and Orders ſet forth at large by Parliament, and had a Letter to my Lady's Houſe from my Council for their Credit; another to her ſelf from me. Alſo appointed that I ſhould come and ſit at Council when great Matters were debating, or when I would.

This laſt month *Monſieur de Termes*, with 500 Frenchmen, came to *Parma*, and entred ſafely; afterward certain iſſued out of the Town, and were overthrown, as *Scipiaro*, *Dandelot*, *Petro*, and others, were taken, and ſome ſlain; after they gave a Skirmiſh, entred the Camp of *Gonzaga*, and ſpoiled a few Tents, and returned.

15. Sir *Robert Dudley* and *Barnabe* ſworn two of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen. The laſt month the Turks Navy won a little Caſtle in *Sicily*.

17. Inſtructions ſent to Sir *James Croftes* for divers purpoſes, whoſe Copy is in the Secretary's hands. The Teſtourn cried down from 9 *d.* to 6 *d.* the Groat from 3 *d.* to 2 *d.* the 2 *d.* to 1 *d.* the Penny to an Half-penny, the Half-penny to a Farthing, *&c.*

1. *Monſieur Termes* and *Scipiero* overthrew three Enſigns of Horſemen at three times; took one diſpatch ſent from *Don Fernando* to the Pope concerning this War, and another from the Pope to *Don Fernando*; Diſcomfited four Enſigns of Footmen; took the

Count *Camillo* of *Caſtilion*, and ſlew a Captain of the Spaniards.

22. Removing to *Windſor*.

23. *Rocheſter*, &c. returned, denying to do openly the charge of the Lady *Mary*'s Houſe for diſpleaſing her.

26. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the Secretary *Petre*, ſent to do the ſame Commiſſion.

27. Mr. *Coverdale* made Biſhop of *Exeter*.

28. *Rocheſter*, &c. ſent to the *Fleet*.

The Lord Chancellor, *&c.* did that they were commanded to do to my Siſter and her Houſe.

31. *Rocheſter*, &c. committed to the *Tower*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* taking certain that began a new Conſpiracy for the deſtruction of the Gentlemen at *Okingam* two days paſt,executed them with Death for their Offence.

29. Certain Pinaces were prepared to ſee that there ſhould be no conveyance over-Sea of the Lady *Mary* ſecretly done. Alſo appointed that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-chamberlain, and the Secretary *Petre* ſhould ſee by all means they could, whether ſhe uſed the Maſs; and if ſhe did that, the Laws ſhould be executed on her Chaplains. Alſo that when I came from this Progreſs to *Hampton-Court*, or *Weſtminſter*, both my Siſters ſhould be with Me, till further Order were taken for this purpoſe.

September.

3. The French Ambaſſador came to declare, firſt how the Emperor wronged divers of his Maſters Subjects and Vaſſals; arreſted alſo his Merchants, and did cloakedly begin War, for he beſieged *Mirandula* round about with Forces he had made in the French King's Country. Alſo he ſtayed certain French Ships going a fiſhing to the *New-found-land*. Furthermore he ſet out a dozen of Ships,which bragged they would take the Dowager of *Scotland*, which thing ſtaied her ſo long at *Diep*. Whereupon his Maſter had taken the whole Fleet of *Antwerp*, conveying it to his Countrey into his Ports, by 20 Ships he had ſet forth under Baron *de la Garde*. Alſo minded to ſend more help to *Piedmont* and *Mirandula*. For this cauſe he deſired that on my Coaſts the Dowager might have ſafe paſſage, and might be ſecured by my Servants at the Sea-Coaſt if any chance ſhould happen.

He was willed to put it in writing; he ſhewed how the Turks Navy, having ſpoiled a piece of *Sicily*, went to *Malta*, and there took an Iſle adjacent called *Gozo*; from thence they went to *Tripoly*. In *Tranſilvania Roſto-Baſſa* was leader of the Army, and had ſpoiled it wholly.

In *Hungary* the Turks had made a Fort by the Mines to get them. *Magdeburg* was freſhly victualled, and Duke *Maurice* came his way, being ſuſpected that he had conſpired with them there.

4. It was anſwered, to the French Ambaſſador, That the Dowager ſhould in all my Ports be defended from Enemies, Tempeſt, and likewiſe alſo Thanks were given for the News.

5. The Emperor's Ambaſſador came to require, That my Siſter *Mary*'s Officers ſhould be reſtored to their Liberty, and ſhe ſhould have her Maſs till the Emperor was certified thereof.

It was anſwered, That I need not to anſwer except I liſt, becauſe he ſpake without Commiſſion, which was ſeen by the ſhortneſs of the time ſince the committing of her Officers, of which the Emperor could not be advertiſed. He was willed no more to move theſe Piques, in which he had been often anſwered, without Commiſſion. He was anſwered, That the Emperor was by this time advertiſed, although the Matter pertained not to him. Alſo that I had done nothing but according to a King's Office herein, in obſerving the Laws that were ſo Godly, and in puniſhing the Offenders. The Promiſe to the Emperor was not ſo made as he pretended, affirmed by Sir *Philip Hobbey* being at that time their Ambaſſador.

6. Deliberation touching the Coin. *Memorandum*, That there were divers Standards nine ounces fine, a few eight ounces fine, as ill as four, becauſe although that was fine, yet a Shilling was reckoned for two Shillings, ſix ounces, very many four ounces, many alſo three ounces, 130000 *l.* now of late. Whereupon agreed that the Teſtourn being called to ſix Pence, four with help of ſix ſhould make ten fine, eight fine with help of nine, being fewer than thoſe of eight, ſhould make ten ounces fine, the two ounces of Allay ſhould quit the charges of Minting; and thoſe of three-pence, being but few, ſhould be turned to a Standard of four of Farthings, and Half-pence, and Pence, for to ſerve for the poor People, becauſe the Merchants made no Exchange of it, and the Sum was not great. Alſo to bear the Charges, for becauſe it was thought that few or none were left of nine ounces fine, eight ounces were naught, and ſix ounces were two ways deviſed, one without any craft, the other was not fully ſix, of which kind was not a few.

9. A Proclamation ſet forth touching the Prices of Cattel, of Hogs, Pigs, Beeves, Oxen, Muttons, Butter, and Cheeſe, after a reaſonable price, not fully ſo good cheap as it was when the Coin was at the perfecteſt, but within a fifth part of it, or thereabouts.

10. I removed to *Farnham*.

12. A Proclamation ſet forth touching the Coin, That whereas it was ſo that Men for Gain melted down the Nine-pence Teſtourn continually, and the Six-pence; alſo there ſhould no Perſon in any wiſe melt it down, upon pain to incur the Penalty of the Laws.

13. A Letter directed to the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Great Maſter, and the Maſter of the Horſe, to meet at *London*, for the ordering of my Coin, and the paiment of my Debts; which done, to return, and make report of their Proceedings.

11. War proclaimed in *Britain* between the Emperor and the French, by theſe Terms, **Charles Roy d'Eſpaigne, et Duc de Milan,** leaving out Emperor.

10. Four Towns taken by the French Souldiers that were the Emperor's in *Piedmont Guerra:* from *Amiens* alſo the Emperor's Country there was ſpoiled, and 120 Caſtles or Fortreſſes taken.

Proclamation made in *Paris* touching the Bulls, that no Man ſhould go for them to *Rome*.

Other Ships alſo taken by *Prior de Capua* Merchants, to the number of a dozen; *Prior de Capua* had 32 Gallies.

19. The French Ambaſſador ſent this News alſo, That the Turks had taken *Tripoly*.

20. The Secretary *Cecil*, and Sir *Philip Hobbey*, ſent to *London* to help the Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* in the Matters of the Biſhops of *Chickeſter*, *Worceſter*, aud *Dureſme*, and examination of my Siſters Men.

18. Removing to *Windſor*.

20. The Lords at *London* having tryed all kinds of Stamping, both of the Fineneſs of 9, 8, 6, 4, and 3, proved that without any loſs, but ſufferable, the Coin might be brought to eleven ounces fine: For whereas it was thought before, that the Teſtourn was, through ill Officers and Miniſters corrupted, it was tried, that it had the valuation juſt by eight ſundry kinds of melting, and 400 *l.* of *Sterling* Mony, a Teſtourn being but Six-pence, made 400 *l.* 11 ounces fine of Mony *Sterling*.

22. Whereupon they reported the ſame, and then it was concluded that the Teſtourn ſhould be eleven ounces fine, the proportion of the Pences according to the Gold; ſo that five Shillings of Silver ſhould be worth five of Gold.

23. Removing to *Oatlands*.

24. Agreed that the Stamp of the Shilling and Six-pence ſhould be on one ſide, a King painted to the Shoulders in Parliament-Robes, with a Chain of the Order. Five Shillings of Silver, and half five Shillings, ſhould be a King on Horſe-back, armed with a naked Sword hard to his Breaſt. Alſo that *York*'s Mint, and *Throgmorton*'s in the *Tower*, ſhould go and work the fine Standard. In the City of *York* and *Canterbury* ſhould the ſmall Mony be wrought of a baſer State. Officers for the ſame were appointed.

A piece of *Barwick* Wall fell, becauſe the Foundation was ſhaken by working of a Bullwark.

28. The Lord Marqueſs of *Dorſet* grieved much with the diſorder of the Marches toward *Scotland*, ſurrendered the Wardenſhip thereof to beſtow where I would.

27. The Wardenſhip of the North given to the Earl of *Warwick*.

Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

28. Commiſſioners appointed for ſitting on the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* and *Worceſter*; three Lawyers, and three Civilians.

10. The Imperialiſts took the Suburbs of *Heading*, and burnt them.

26. The Paſſport of the Dowager of *Scotland* was made for a longer time, till *Chriſtmaſs*; and alſo if ſhe were driven, to paſs quietly by Land into *Scotland*.

20. *Monſieur d' Angouleſme* was born; and the Duke of *Vendoſme* had a Son by the Princes of *Navarr* his Wife.

30. The Feaſt of *Michaelmaſs* was kept by Me in the Robes of the Order.

October.

1. The Commiſſion for the making of five Shillings, half five Shillings, Groats, and Six-pences, eleven ounces fine, and Pence, with Half-pence, and Farthings, four ounces fine, was followed and ſigned.

5. *Jarnac* came in Poſt for declaration of two things; the one, that the Queen had a third Son of which ſhe was delivered, called *Le Duc d' Angouleſme*, of which the King prayed Me to be God-father. I anſwered, I was glad of the News, and that I thanked him for that I

ſhould be God-father, which was a token of good Will he bare me. Alſo that I would diſpatch for the accompliſhment thereof, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord Admiral of *England*. He ſaid, he came alſo to tell a ſecond Point of the good ſucceſs of his Maſters Wars; He told how the laſt month in *Shampaign*, beſide *Sedan*, 1000 Horſe Imperialiſts, with divers Hungarians, *Martin Vanroſſy* being their Captain and Leader, entred the Country; and the Alarm came, the Skirmiſh began ſo hot, that the French Horſe, about two or three hundred Men of Arms, came out and took *Vanroſſy's* Brother, and ſlew divers. Alſo how in *Piedmont*, ſince the taking of the laſt four Towns, three other were taken, *Monrechia*, *Saluges*, and the Town of *Burges*. The Turks had come to *Naples*, and ſpoiled the Country, and taken *Oſtium* in the Mouth of *Tyberis*. Alſo in *Sicily* he had taken a good Haven and a Town.

6. *Jarnac* departed, having lying in the Court under my Lodging. The Night before the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter* were depoſed for Contempts.

7. There were appointed to go with the Lord Admiral, Mr. *Nevil*, Mr. *Barnabie*, Gentlemen of the Chamber; Sir *William Stafford*, Sir *Adrian Poinings*, Sir *John Norton*, Sir *John Teri*, Knights; and Mr. *Brook*.

8. Letters directed to the Captains of Gandarms, that they ſhould muſter the *8th* of *November*, being the *Sunday* after *Hallow-Eve* day.

11. *Henry* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, created Duke of *Suffolk*; *John* Earl of *Warwick*, created Duke of *Northumberland*; *William* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, created Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; Sir *William Herbert*, created Earl of *Pembrook*, and Lord of *Cardiff*; Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Nevil*, Mr. *Cheek*, all three of the Privy-Chamber, made Knights; alſo Mr. *Cecil* one of the two Secretaries.

13. Proclamation ſigned touching the calling in of Teſtourns and Groats, that they that liſt might come to the Mint and have fine Silver of Twelve-pence for two Teſtourns.

3. *Prior de Capna* departed the French King's Service, and went to his Order of Knights in *Malta*, partly for diſpleaſure to the Count *Villars* the Conſtable's Brother-in-Law, partly for that *Malta* was aſſailed often by the Turks.

7. Sir *Thomas Palmer* came to the Earl of *Warwick*, ſince that time Duke of *Northumberland*, to deliver him his Chain, being a very fair one (for every Link weighed an ounce) to be delivered to *Jarnac*, and ſo to receive as much; whereupon in my Lords Garden he declared a Conſpiracy, How at St. *George's* day laſt, my Lord of *Somerſet*, who then was going to the North, if the Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Herbert*, had not aſſured him on his Honour that he ſhould have no hurt, went to raiſe the People, and the Lord *Gray* went before to know who were his Friends. Afterward a Device was made to call the Earl of *Warwick* to a Banquet, with the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and divers others, and to cut off their Heads. Alſo he found a bare Company about them by the way to ſet upon them.

11. He declared alſo, that Mr. *Vane* had 2000 Men in readineſs; Sir *Thomas Arundel* had aſſured my Lord, that the *Tower* was ſafe; Mr. *Partridge* ſhould raiſe *London*, and take the Great Seal with the Apprentices of *London*; *Seymour* and *Hammond* ſhould wait

upon him, and all the Horſe of the Gandarms ſhould be ſlain.

13. Removing to *Weſtminſter*, becauſe it was thought this Matter might eaſilier and ſurelier be diſpatched there, and likewiſe all other.

14. The Duke ſent for the Secretary *Cecil* to tell him he ſuſpected ſome ill. Mr. *Cecil* anſwered, That if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage ; if he were, he had nothing to ſay, but to lament him. Whereupon the Duke ſent him a Letter of Defiance, and called *Palmer*, who after denial made of his Declaration, was let go.

16. This morning none was at *Weſtminſter* of the Conſpirators. The firſt was the Duke, who came later than he was wont of himſelf. After Dinner he was apprehended. Sir *Thomas Palmer* on the Tarras walking there, *Hammond* paſſing by Mr. Vice-chamberlain's Door, was called in by *John Piers* to make a match at Shooting, and ſo taken. *Nudegates* was called for as from my Lord his Maſter, and taken ; likewiſe were *John Seimour* and *David Seimour*. *Arundel* alſo was taken, and the Lord *Gray* coming out of the Country. *Vane* upon two ſendings of my Lord in the morning, fled at the firſt ſending ; he ſaid, My Lord was not ſtout, and if he could get home, he cared for none of them all he was ſo ſtrong. But after he was found by *John Piers* in a Stable of his Mans at *Lambeth* under the Straw. Theſe went with the Duke to the *Tower* this Night, ſaving *Palmer*, *Arundel*, and *Vane*, who were kept in Chambers here apart.

17. The Dutches, *Crane* and his Wife, with the Chamber-keeper, were ſent to the *Tower* for deviſing theſe Treaſons. *James Wingfield* alſo for caſting of Bills ſeditiouſly ; alſo Mr. *Partridge* was attaqued, and Sir *James Holcroft*.

18. Mr. *Baniſter* and Mr. *Vaughan* were attaqued and ſent to the *Tower*, and ſo was Mr. *Stanhope*.

19. Sir *Thomas Palmer* confeſſed that the Gandarms, on the Muſter-day, ſhould be aſſaulted by 2000 Footmen of Mr. *Vane*'s, and my Lord's hundred Horſe ; beſides his Friends which ſtood by, and the idle People which took his part. If he were overthrown, he would run through *London*, and cry, Liberty, Liberty, to raiſe the Apprentices, and R ; if he could, he would go to the *Iſle of Wight*, or to *Pool*.

22. The Dowager of *Scotland* was by Tempeſt driven to Land at *Portſmouth*, and ſo ſhe ſent word ſhe would take the benefit of the ſafe Conduct to go by Land and to ſee Me.

23. She came from *Portſmouth* to Mr. *Whites* Houſe.

24. The Lords ſat in the *Star-Chamber*, and there declared the Matters and Accuſations laid againſt the Duke, meaning to ſtay the minds of the People.

25. Certain German Princes, in the beginning of this month, deſired Aid in Cauſe of Religion 400000 Dollars, if they ſhould be driven to make ſhift by neceſſity, and offered the like alſo, if I entred into any War for them ; whereupon I called the Lords, and conſidered, as appeareth by a Scroll in the Board at *Weſtminſter*, and thereupon appointed that the Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *William Cecil* another Secretary, ſhould talk with the Meſſenger to know the matter preciſely, and

the Names of thoſe would enter the Confederacy.

28, The *Dowager* came to Sir *Richard Cotton*'s Houſe.

29. She came from Sir *Richard Cotton*'s to the Earl of *Arundel* to Dinner, and brought to Mr. *Brown*'s Houſe, where met her the Gentlemen of *Suſſex*.

30. She came and was conveied by the ſame Gentlemen to *Guilford*, where the Lord *William Howard*, and the Gentlemen of *Surrey* met her.

All this month the Frenchmen continued ſpoiling of the Emperor's Frontiers, and in a Skirmiſh at *Aſt* they ſlew 100 *Spaniards*.

31. A Letter directed to Sir *Arthur Darcy* to take the charge of the *Tower*, and to diſcharge Sir *John Markham* upon this,that without making any of the Council privy, he ſuffered the Duke to walk abroad, and certain Letters to be ſent and anſwered between *David Seimour* and Mrs. *Poinings*, with other divers Suſpicions.

17. There were Letters ſent to all Emperors, Kings, Ambaſſadors, Noblemen, Men, and Chief Men, into Countries, of the late Conſpiracy.

31. She came to *Hampton-Court*, conveied by the ſame Lords and Gentlemen aforeſaid; and two miles and an half from thence, in a Valley, there met her the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, accompanied with the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Son and Heir to the Lord High Treaſurer; Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; the Lord *Fitzwater*, Son to the Earl of *Suſſex*; The Lord *Evers*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, the Lord *Garet*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, and divers other Gentlemen, beſides all the Gentlemen Penſioners, Men of Arms and Uſhers, Sewers and Carvers, to the number of 120 Gentlemen, and ſo ſhe was brought to *Hampton-Court*. At the Gate thereof met her the Lady Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Counteſs of *Pembrook*, and divers other Ladies and Gentlewomen, to the number of ſixty; and ſo ſhe was brought to her Lodging on the Queen-ſide, which was all hanged with Arras, and ſo was the Hall, and all the other Lodgings of Mine in the Houſe very finely dreſſed; and for this night, and the next day, all was ſpent in Dancing and Paſtime, as though it were a Court, and great preſence of Gentlemen reſorted thither.

26. Letters were written, for becauſe of this Buſineſs, to defer the Muſters of Gendarmory till the——day of *December*.

November.

1. The Dowager peruſed the Houſe of *Hampton-Court*, and ſaw ſome courſing of Deer.

2. She came to the Biſhop's Palace at *London*, and there ſhe lay, and all her Train lodged about her.

3. The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Warwick*, *Wiltſhire*, and many other Lords and Gentlemen were ſent to her to welcome her, and to ſay, on My behalf, That if ſhe lacked any thing ſhe ſhould have it for her better Furniture; and alſo I would willingly ſee her the day following.

The 26*th* of *October.*

Crane confeſſed the moſt part, even as *Palmer* did before, and more alſo, how that the place where the Nobles ſhould have been banqueted, and their Heads ſtriken off, was the Lord *Paget*'s Houſe, and how the Earl of *Arundel* knew of the Matter as well as he, by *Stanhop* who was a Meſſenger between them; alſo ſome part, how he went to *London* to get Friends once in *Auguſt* laſt, feigning himſelf ſick. *Hammond* alſo confeſſed the Watch he kept in his Chamber at Night. *Bren* alſo confeſſed much of this matter. The Lord *Strange* confeſſed how the Duke willed him to ſtir me to marry his third Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, and willed him to be his Spie in all Matters of my Doings and Sayings, and to know when ſome of my Council ſpoke ſecretly with Me; this he confeſſed of himſelf.

November.

4. The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Bray*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, accompanied with his Wife the Lady *Francis*, the Lady *Margaret*, the Dutcheſſes of *Richmond* and of *Northumberland*, the Lady *Jane* Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*; the Marqueſs of *Northampton* and *Wincheſter*; the Counteſſes of *Arundel*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, and *Rutland*; with 100 other Ladies and Gentlewomen went to her, and brought her through *London* to *Weſtminſter*. At the Gate there received her the Duke of *Northumberland*, Great Maſter, and the Treaſurer, and Comptroller, and the Earl of *Pembrook*, with all the Sewers, and Carvers, and Cup-bearers, to the number of thirty. In the Hall I met her, with all the reſt of the Lords of my Council, as the Lord Treaſurer, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, &c. and from the outer-Gate up to the Preſence-Chamber, on both ſides, ſtood the Guard. The Court, the Hall, and the Stairs, were full of Servingmen; the Preſence-Chamber, Great-Chamber, and her Preſence-Chamber, of Gentlemen. And ſo having brought her to her Chamber, I retired to Mine. I went to her to Dinner; ſhe dined under the ſame Cloth of State, at my left Hand; at her rereward dined my Couſin *Francis*, and my Couſin *Margaret*; at Mine ſat the French Ambaſſadour. We were ſerved by two Services, two Sewers, Cupbearers, Carvers, and Gentlemen. Her Maſter *Hoſtell* came before her Service, and my Officers before Mine. There were two Cupboards, one of Gold four Stages high, another of maſſy Silver ſix Stages: In her great Chamber dined at three Boards the Ladies only. After Dinner, when ſhe had heard ſome Muſick, I brought her to the Hall, and ſo ſhe went away.

5. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord Privy-Seal, and divers others, went to ſee her, and to deliver a Ring with a Diamond, and two Nags, as a Token from Me.

6. The Duke of *Northumberland*, with his Band of a hundred, of which forty were in Black-Velvet, white and black Sleeves, ſixty in Cloth, The Earl of *Pembrook* with his Band, and fifty more, The Earl of *Wiltſhire*, with 58 of his Father's Band, all the Penſioners, Men of Arms, and the Country, with divers Ladies, as my Couſin *Margaret*, the Dutcheſſes of *Richmond* and *Northumberland*, brought the Queen to *Shoreditch*, through *Cheap-ſide* and *Cornhill*; and there met

her Gentlemen of *Middleſex* an 100 Horſe, and ſo ſhe was conveied out of the Realm, met in every Shire with Gentlemen.

8. The Earl of *Arundel* committed to the *Tower*, with Maſter *Stroadly*, and St. *Alban* his Men, becauſe *Crane* did more and more confeſs of him.

7. A Frenchman was ſent again into *France*, to be delivered again to the eight Frenchmen at the Borders, becauſe of a Murder he did at *Diep*, and thereupon he fled hither.

14. Anſwer was given to the *Germans*, which did require 400000 Dollars, if need ſo required, for maintenance of Religion.

Firſt, That I was very well inclined to make Peace, Amity, or Bargain with them I knew to be of mine Religion; for becauſe this Meſſenger was ſent only to know my Inclination and Will to enter, and not with full Reſolution of any Matters.

Secondly, I would know whether they could get unto them any ſuch ſtrength of other Princes as were able to maintain the War, and to do the Reciprogue to Me if need ſhould require; and therefore willed thoſe three Princes, Duke *Maurice* of *Saxon*, the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and the Marqueſs *John* of *Brandenburgh*, from which he was ſent, to open the Matter to the Duke of *Pruſſia*, and to all Princes about them, and ſomewhat to get the good Will of *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, &c. ſhewing them an inkling of the matter.

Thirdly, I would have the matter of Religion made more plain, leſt when War ſhould be made for other Quarrels, they ſhould ſay it were Religion.

Fourthly, He ſhould come with more ample Commiſſion from the ſame States to talk of the ſum of Mony, and other Appurtenances. This Anſwer was given, leſt if I aſſented wholly at the firſt, they would declare mine Intent to the Stadts and whole Senates, and ſo to come abroad, whereby I ſhould run into danger of breaking the League with the Emperor.

16. The Lord Admiral took his leave to go into *France* for chriſtening of the French King's Son.

18. *Foſſey*, Secretary to the Duke *Maurice*, who was here for matter above-ſpecified.

20. A Proclamation appointed to go forth, for that there went one before this time, that ſet prices of Beef, Oxen, and Muttons, which was meant to continue but to *November*; when-as the Parliament ſhould have been to abrogate that, and to appoint certain Commiſſioners to cauſe the Graſiers to bring to the Market, and to ſell at prices reaſonable. And that certain Overſeers ſhould be beſides to certify of the Juſtices doings.

23. The Lord Treaſurer appointed High-Steward for the Arraignment of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

At this time Duke *Maurice* began to ſhow himſelf a Friend to the Proteſtants, who before that time had appeared their Enemy.

21. The foreſaid Proclamation proclaimed.

17. The Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, and Sir *Henry Yates*, did challenge all Commers at Tilt the third of *January*, and at Tornay the ſixth of *January*; and this Challenge was proclaimed.

28. News came that *Maximilian* was coming out of *Spain*, nine of his Galleys with his Stuff, and 120 Gennets, and his Treaſure, was taken by the French.

24. The Lord Admiral entred *France*, and came to *Bulloign.*

26. The Captain of *Portſmouth* had word and commandment to bring the Model of the Caſtle and Place, to the intent it might be fortified, becauſe *Baron de la Gard* had ſeen it, having an Engineer with him, and as it was thought had the Plott of it.

30. 22 Peers and Nobles, beſides the Council, heard Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Crane*, and *Nudigate*, ſwear that their Confeſſions were true; and they did ſay, that that was ſaid without any kind of Compulſion, Force, Envy, or Diſpleaſure, but as favourably to the Duke as they could ſwear to with ſafe Conſciences.

24. The Lord Admiral came to *Paris.*

December.

1. The Duke of *Somerſet* came to his Trial at *Weſtminſter-Hall*; The Lord-Treaſurer ſat as High-Steward of *England*, under the Cloth of State, on a Bench between two Poſts, three degrees high. All the Lords to the number of 26, *viz.*

Dukes.

Suffolk.
Northumberland.

Marqueſs.

Northampton.

Earls.

Derby.
Bedford.
Huntingdon.
Rutland.
Bath.
Suſſex.
Worceſter.
Pembrook.
Viſc. *Hereford.*

Barons.

Burgaveny.
Audley.
Wharton.
Evers.
Latimer.
Bourough.
Souch.
Stafford.
Wentworth.
Darcy.
Sturton.
Windſor.
Cromwell.
Cobham.
Bray.

Theſe ſat a degree under, and heard the Matter debated.

Firſt, After the Indictments were read, five in number, the Learned Counſel laid to my Lord of *Somerſet*, *Palmer*'s Confeſſion. To which he anſwered, That he never minded to raiſe the North, and declared all the ill he could deviſe of *Palmer*, but he was afraid for Bruites, and that moved him to ſend to Sir *William Herbert*. Replied it was again, that the worſe *Palmer* was, the more he ſerved his purpoſe. For the Banquet;he ſwore it was untrue,and required more Witneſſes. Whence *Crane*'s Confeſſion was read, He would have had him come Face to Face. For *London*, he meant nothing for hurt of any Lord but for his own Defence. For the Gendarmoury, it were but a mad matter for him to enterpriſe with his 100 againſt 900. For having Men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, confeſſed by *Partridg*, it ſeemed he meant no harm, becauſe when he could have done harm he did it not. My Lord *Strange*'s Confeſſion, he ſwore it was untrue, and the Lord *Strange* took his Oath it was true. *Nudigate's*, *Hammond's*, and *Alexander*

Seimour's Confeſſions he denied, becauſe they were his Men.

The Lawyers rehearſed, how to raiſe Men at his Houſe for an ill Intent, as to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, was Treaſon, by an Act, *Anno tertio* of my Reign, againſt Unlawful Aſſemblies, for to deviſe the Death of the Lords was Felony. To mind reſiſting his Attachment was Felony; To Raiſe *London* was Treaſon, and to Aſſault the Lords was Felony. He anſwered, He did not intend to raiſe *London*, and ſwore, that the Witneſſes were not there. His aſſembling of Men was but for his own defence. He did not determine to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs, *&c.* but ſpoke of it, and determined after the contrary, and yet ſeemed to confeſs he went about their Death.

The Lords went together. The Duke of *Northumberland* would not agree that any ſearching of his Death ſhould be Treaſon. So the Lords acquitted him of High-Treaſon, and condemned him of Treaſon Fellonious, and ſo he was adjudged to be hang'd.

He gave thanks to the Lords for their open Trial, and cried Mercy of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembrook*, for his ill-meaning againſt them, and made ſuit for his Life, Wife, Children, Servants, and Debts, and ſo departed without the Ax of the *Tower*. The People knowing not the Matter, ſhouted half a dozen of times ſo loud, that from the Hall-Door it was heard at *Charing-Croſs* plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all.

2. The Peace concluded by the Lord Marqueſs, was ratified by Me before the Ambaſſadour, and delivered to him Signed and Sealed.

3. The Duke told certain Lords that were in the *Tower*, that he had hired *Bertivill* to kill them; which thing *Bertivill* examined on, confeſſed, and ſo did *Hammond* that he knew of it.

4. I ſaw the Muſters of the new Band-men of Arms; 100 of my Lord Treaſurers; 100 of *Northumberland*, 100 *Northampton*, 50 *Huntingtoun*, 50 *Rutland*, 120 of *Pembrook*, 50 *Darcy*, 50 *Cobham*, 100 Sir *Thomas Cheyney*; and 180 of the Penſioners and their Bands, with the old Men of Arms, all well-armed Men; ſome with Feathers, Staves, and Penſils of their Colours; ſome with Sleeves and half-Coats; ſome with Bards and Staves, *&c.* The Horſes all fair and great, the worſt would not have been given for leſs than 20 *l.* there was none under fourteen handfull and an half the moſt part, and almoſt all Horſes with their Guider going before them. They paſſed twice about St. *James*'s Field, and compaſſed it round, and ſo departed.

15. Then were certain Devices for Laws delivered to my Learned Council to Pen, as by a Schedule appeareth.

18. It was appointed I ſhould have ſix Chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be preſent, and four always abſent in preaching: one Year two in *Wales*, two in *Lancaſhire* and *Darby*; next Year two in the Marches of *Scotland*, two in *Yorkſhire*; the third Year, two in *Devonſhire*, two in *Hampſhire*; fourth Year, two in *Norfolk* and *Eſſex*, and two in *Kent* and *Suſſex*, &c. Theſe ſix to be *Bill*, *Harle*, *Perne*, *Grindall*, *Bradford**.

* The other name daſht.

20. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* was for concealment of Treaſon written to him, and not diſcloſed at all till the Party did open him, committed to the *Tower*.

21. *Richard* Lord *Rich* Chancellor of *England*, conſidering his ſickneſs, did deliver his Seal to the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord great Maſter, and the Lord Chamberlain,ſent to him for that purpoſe during the time of his ſickneſs, and chiefly of the Parliament.

5. The Lord Admiral came to the French King, and after was ſent to the Queen, and ſo conveied to his Chamber.

6. The Lord Admiral chriſtned the French King's Child, and called him, by the King's commandment, *Edward Alexander*. All that day there was Muſick, Dancing, and Playing with Triumph in the Court; but the Lord Admiral was ſick of a double *Quartane*, yet he preſented *Barnabe* to the French King, who took him to his Chamber.

7. The Treaty was delivered to the Lord Admiral, and the French King read it in open Audience at Maſs, with Ratification of it. The Lord Admiral took his leave of the French King, and returned to *Paris* very ſick.

The ſame day the French King ſhewed the Lord Admiral Letters that came from *Parma*, how the French Men had gotten two Caſtles of the Imperialiſts; and in the defence of the one, the Prince of *Macedonia* was ſlain on the Walls, and was buried with triumph at *Parma*.

22. The Great Seal of *England* delivered to the Biſhop of *Ely*, to be Keeper thereof during the Lord *Rich*'s ſickneſs.

The Band of 100 Men of Arms, which my Lord of *Somerſet* of late had, appointed to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

23. Removing to *Greenwich*.

24. I began to keep Holy this *Chriſtmaſs*, and continued till *Twelve-tide*.

26. Sir *Anthony St. Legier*, for Matters laid againſt him by the Biſhop of *Dublin*, was baniſhed my Chamber till he had made anſwer, and had the Articles delivered him.

28. The Lord Admiral came to *Greenwich*.

30. Commiſſion was made out to the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, for calling in my Debts.

January.

1. Orders were taken with the Chandlers of *London*, for ſelling their Tallow-Candles, which before ſome denied to do; and ſome were puniſhed with Impriſonment.

3. The Challenge that was made in the laſt M[illegible] filled.

The Challengers were.

Sir *Henry Sidney*.

Sir *Henry Nevel*.

Sir *Henry Gates*.

Defendants.

The Lord *Williams.*
The Lord *Fitzwater.*
The Lord *Ambroſe.*
The Lord *Roberts.*
The Lord *Fitzwarren.*
Sir *George Howard.*
Sir *William Stafford.*
Sir *John Parrat.*
Mr. *Norice.*
Mr. *Digby.*
Mr. *Warcop.*
Mr. *Courtney.*
Mr. *Knolls.*
The Lord *Bray.*
Mr. *Paſton.*
Mr. *Cary.*
Sir. *Anthony Brown.*
Mr. *Drury.*

Theſe in all ran ſix Courſes a-piece at Tilt againſt the Challengers, and accompliſhed their Courſes right-well, and ſo departed again.

5. There were ſent to *Guiſnes* Sir *Richard Cotton*, and Mr. *Bray*, to take view of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, and the Marches; and with the advice of the Captain and Engineers, to deviſe ſome amendment, and thereupon to make me Certificate, and upon mine Anſwer to go further to the Matter.

4. It was appointed, that if Mr. *Stanhop* left *Hull*, then that I ſhould no more be charged therewith, but that the Town ſhould take it, and ſhould have 40 *l.* a Year for the repairing of the Caſtle.

2. I received Letters out of *Ireland*, which appear in the Secretary's Hand, and thereupon the Earldom of *Thowmount* was by Me given from *O-Brians* Heirs, whoſe Father was dead, and had it for term of Life, to *Donnas* Baron of *Ebrecan*, and his Heirs Males.

3. Alſo Letters were written of Thanks to the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Clanrikard*, and to the Baron of *Dunganan*.

3. The Emperor's Ambaſſador moved me ſeveral times that my Siſter *Mary* might have Maſs, which with no little reaſoning with him was denied him.

6. The foreſaid Challengers came into the Tournay, and the foreſaid Defendants entred in after, with two more with them, Mr. *Terill*, and Mr. *Robert Hopton*, and fought right-well, and ſo the Challenge was accompliſhed.

The ſame Night was firſt of a Play, after a Talk between one that was called *Riches*, and the other *Youth*, whether of them was better. After ſome pretty Reaſoning, there came in ſix Champions of either ſide.

On *Youth's* ſide came.	On *Riches* ſide.
My Lord *Fitzwater.*	My Lord *Fitzwarren.*
My Lord *Ambroſe.*	Sir *Robert Stafford.*
Sir *Anthony Brown.*	Mr. *Courtney.*
Sir *William Cobham.*	*Digby.*
Mr. *Cary.*	*Hopton.*
Mr. *Warcop.*	*Hungerford.*

All theſe fought two to two at Barriers in the Hall. Then came in two apparalled like *Almains*, the Earl of *Ormond* and *Jaques Granado*, and two came in like Friars, but the *Almains* would not ſuffer them to paſs till they had fought; the Friars were Mr. *Drury* and *Thomas Cobham.* After this followed two Maſques, one of Men, another of Women. Then a Banquet of 120 Diſhes. This day was the end of *Chriſtmaſs.*

7. I went to *Debtford* to dine there, and broke up the Hall.

8. Upon a certain Contention between the Lord *Willowby*, and Sir *Andrew Dudley* Captain of *Guiſnes*, for their Juriſdiction, the Lord *Willowby* was ſent for to come over, to the intent the Controverſy might ceaſe, and Order might be taken.

12. There was a Commiſſion granted to the Earl of *Bedford*, to Mr. Vicechamberlain, and certain others, to call in my Debts that were owing Me, and the days paſt; and alſo to call in theſe that be paſt when the days be come.

17. There was a Match run between ſix Gentlemen of a ſide at Tilt.

Of one Side.	Of the other Side.
The Earl of *Warwick.*	The Lord *Ambroſe.*
The Lord *Roberts.*	The Lord *Fitzwater.*
Mr. *Sidney.*	Sir *Francis Knollis.*
Mr. *Novel.*	Sir *Anthony Brown.*
Henry Gates.	Sir *John Parrat.*
Anthony Digby.	Mr. *Courtney.*

Theſe wan by four Taintes.

18. The French Ambaſſador moved, That We ſhould deſtroy the Scotch part of the Debatable Ground as they had done Ours. It was anſwered: 1. The Lord *Coniers* that made the Agreement, made it none otherwiſe but as it ſhould ſtand with his Superiour's Pleaſure: whereupon the ſame Agreement being miſliked, becauſe the Scotch part was much harder to overcome, word was ſent to ſtay the Matter. Nevertheleſs the Lord *Maxwell* did, upon malice to the Engliſh Debatablers, over-run them; whereupon was concluded, That if the Scots will agree it, the Ground ſhould be divided; if not, then ſhall the Scots waſte their Debatablers, and we Ours, commanding them by Proclamation to depart.

This day the Stiliard put in their Anſwer to a certain Complaint that the Merchant-Adventurers laid againſt them.

19. The Biſhop of *Ely*, *Cuſtos Sigilli*, was made Chancellor, becauſe as *Cuſtos Sigilli*, he could execute nothing in the Parliament that ſhould be done, but only to Seal ordinary things.

21. Removing to *Weſtminſter*.

22. The Duke of *Somerſet* had his Head cut off upon *Tower-hill*, between eight and nine a Clock in the morning.

16. Sir *William Pickering* delivered a Token to the Lady *Elizabeth*, a fair Diamond.

18. The Duke of *Northumberland* having under him 100 Men of Arms, and 100 Light-Horſe, gave up the keeping of 50 Men at Arms to his Son the Earl of *Warwick*.

23. The Seſſions of Parliament began.

24. *John Greſham* was ſent over into *Flanders*, to ſhew to the *Foulcare*, to whom I owed Mony, that I would defer it; or if I paied it, pay it in Engliſh, to make them keep up their French Crowns, with which I minded to pay them.

25. The Anſwer of the Stiliard was delivered to certain of my Learned Council to look on and overſee.

27. Sir *Ralph Vane* was condemned of Felony in Treaſon, anſwering like a Ruffian.

Paris arrived with Horſes, and ſhewed how the French King had ſent Me ſix Cortalls, two Turks, a Barbary, two Gennets, a ſtirring Horſe, and two littles Mules, and ſhewed them to Me.

29. Sir *Thomas Arundel* was likewiſe caſt of Felony in Treaſon, after long controverſie, for the Matter was brought in Trial by ſeven of the Clock in the morning.

28. At noon the Inqueſt went together; they ſat ſhut up in a Houſe together, without Meat or Drink, becauſe they could not agree all that Day, and all that Night.

29. This day in the morning they did caſt him.

February.

2. There was a King of Arms made for *Ireland*, whoſe Name was *Ulſter*, and his Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the fourth King of Arms, and the firſt Herauld of *Ireland*.

The Emperor took, the laſt month and this, a Million of pounds in *Flanders*.

6. It was appointed that Sir *Philip Hobbey* ſhould go to the Regent, upon pretence of ordering of Quarrels of Merchants, bringing with him 63000 *l.* in French Crowns to be paid in *Flanders* at *Antwerp*, to the *Schortz* and their Family, of Debts I owed them, to the intent he might diſpatch them both under one.

5. Sir *Miles Partridge* was condemned of Felony for the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Matter, for he was one of the Conſpirators.

8. Fifty Men at Arms appointed to Mr. *Sadler*.

9. *John Beaumont*, Maſter of the *Rolls*, was put in Priſon for forging a falſe Deed from *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, to the Lady *Ann Powis*, of certain Lands and Leaſes.

10. Commiſſion was granted out to 32 Perſons, to examine, correct, and ſet forth the Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

The Perſons Names were theſe.

The Biſhops.	The Divines.	Civilians.
Canterbury.	*Taylor* of *Lincoln.*	Mr. Secretary *Petre.*
Ely.	*Tylor* of *Hadlee.*	Mr. Secretary *Cicil.*
London.	Mr. *Cox*, Almoner.	Mr. *Traherne.*
Wincheſter.	Sir *John Cheek.*	Mr. *Red.*
Exeter.	Sir *Anthony Cook.*	Mr. *Coke.*
Bath.	*Petrus Martyr.*	*May*, Dean of *Pauls.*
Gloceſter.	*Joannes Alaſco.*	*Skinner.*
Rocheſter.	*Parker* of *Cambridge.*	

Lawyers.

Juſtice *Broomley.*
Juſtice *Hales.*
Goſnald.
Goodrick.
Stamford.
Carel.
Lucas.
Gawdy.

10. Sir *Philip Hobbey* departed with ſomewhat more Crowns than came to 53500 and odd Livers, and had authority to borrow, in my Name, of *Lazarus Tuker* 10000 *l.* Flemiſh, at 7 *per Cent.* for ſix months, to make up the Pay, and to employ that that was in Bullion, to bring over with him; alſo to carry 3000 Merks weight upon a Licence the Emperor granted the *Scheitz* which they did give me. After that to depart to *Bruges*, where the Regent lay, and there to declare to her the Griefs of my Subjects.

11. There was delivered of Armour, by *John Greſham* Merchant, 1100 pair of Corſlets and Horſemen-harneſſes, very fair.

14. It was appointed that the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, a Ship of 800 Tun, and the *Mary Gouſton* of 600 Tun, ſhould be let out for a Voyage to Merchantmen for a 1000 *l.* they at the Voyage to *Levants-end* to anſwer the Tackling, the Ship, the Ordnance, Munition, and to leave it in that caſe they took it. Certain others of the worſt of my Ships were appointed to be ſold.

9. Proclamation was made at *Paris*, that the Bands of the *Dolphine*, the Duke of *Vendoſme*, the Count *d' Anguien*, the Conſtable of *France*, the Duke *de Guiſe*, and *d' Aumale*, the Count *de Sancerres*, the Mareſchal S. *Andrew*, *Monſieur de Jarnac* and *Tavennes*, ſhould, the 15*th* day of *March*, aſſemble at *Troyes* in *Champaign* to reſiſt the Emperor. Alſo that the French King would go thither in Perſon, with 200 Gentlemen of his Houſhold, and 400 Archers of his Guard.

16. The French King ſent his Secretary *de Lausbeſpine* to declare this Voyage to him, * and to deſire him to take pains to have Mr. *Pickering* with him, and to be a Witneſs of his Doings.

* This is imperfect.

19. Whereupon it was appointed, that he ſhould have 2000 Crowns for his Furniſhment, beſides his Diet, and *Barnabe* 800.

20. The Counteſs of *Pembrook* died.

18. The Merchant-Adventurers put in their Replication to the Stiliards Anſwer.

23. A Decree was made by the Board, that upon knowledg and information of their Charters, they had found: Firſt, That they were no ſufficient Corporation. 2. That their Number, Names, and Nation, was unknown. 3. That when they had forfeited their Liberties, King *Edward* the 4*th* did reſtore them on this condition, That they ſhould colour no Strangers Goods, which they had done. Alſo that whereas in the beginning they ſhipped not paſt 8 Clothes, after 100, after 1000, after that 6000; now in their Name was ſhipped 44000 Clothes in one Year, and but 1100 of all other Strangers. For theſe Conſiderations ſentence was given, That they had forfeited their Liberties, and were in like caſe with other Strangers.

28. There came Ambaſſadors from *Hamburgh*, and *Lubeck*, to ſpeak on the behalf of the Stiliard Merchants.

29. A Flemming would have ſearched the *Falcon* for Frenchmen, the *Falcon* turned, ſhot off, boarded the Fleming, and took him.

Paiment was made of 63500 *l.* Flemiſh to the *Foulcare*, all ſaving 6000 *l.* which he borrowed in French Crowns by Sir *Philip Hobbey*.

March.

2. The Lord of *Burgaveny* was committed to Ward for ſtriking the Earl of *Oxford* in the Chamber of preſence.

The Anſwer for the Ambaſſadours of the Stiliard was committed to the Lord Chancellor, the two Secretaries, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir *John Baker*, Judge *Montague*, *Griffith* Sollicitor, *Goſnald*, *Goodrick*, and *Brooks*.

3. It was agreed, for better diſpatch of things, certain of the Council, with others joined with them, ſhould over-look the Penal Laws, and put certain of them in execution. Others ſhould anſwer Suitors; Others ſhould overſee my Revenues, and the Order of them; alſo the ſuperfluous Paiments heretofore made. Others ſhould have Commiſſion for taking away ſuperfluous Bullwarks.

Firſt, Order was given for defence of the Merchants, to ſend four Barques and two Pinaces to the Sea.

4. The Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Coniers*, Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and Sir *Tho. Chaloner*, were appointed; in Commiſſion to meet with the Scotch Ambaſſadors, for equal diviſion of the Ground that was called the *Debatable*.

6. The French Ambaſſador declared to the Duke of *Northumberland*, how the French King had ſent him a Letter of Credit for his Ambaſſadry. After delivery made of the Letter, he declared how Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, the Count of *Mansfield*, and divers other Princes of *Germany*, made a League with his Maſter Offenſive and Defenſive; the French to go to *Strasburg*, with 30000 Footmen, and 8000 Horſemen; the *Almains* to meet with them there the 25*th* of this month, with 15000 Footmen, and 5000 Horſemen. Alſo the City of *Straſburg* had promiſed them Victual, and declared how the French would ſend me Ambaſſadors to have Me into the ſame League. Alſo that the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and Count of *Mansfield*, had been privately conveied to the French King's Preſence, and were again departed to leavy Men; and he thought by this time they were in the Field.

10. He declared the ſame thing to Me in the ſame manner.

9. It was conſulted touching the Marts, and it was agreed that it was moſt neceſſary to have a Mart in *England* for the enriching of the ſame to make it the more famous, and to be leſs in other Mens danger, and to make all things better cheap, and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, becauſe of the Wars between the French King and the Emperor. The Places were the meeteſt, *Hull* for the Eaſt parts. *Southampton* for the South Parts of *England*, as appeareth by two Bills in my Study. *London* alſo was thought no ill place, but it was appointed to begin with the other two.

11. The Bills put up to the Parliament were over-ſeen, and certain of them were for this time thought meet to paſs and to be read, other of them for avoiding tediouſneſs to be omitted, and no more Bills to be taken.

15. Thoſe that were appointed Commiſſioners for the Requeſts, or for the execution of Penal Laws, or for overſeeing of the Courts, received their Commiſſions at my Hand.

18. It was appointed, that for the paiment of 14000 *l.* in the end of *April*, there ſhould be made an Anticipation of the Subſidy of *London*, and of the Lords of my Council, which ſhould go near to pay the ſame with good Proviſion.

20. The French Ambaſſador brought me a Letter of Credit from his Maſter, and thereupon delivered me the Articles of the League betwixt the Germans and him, deſiring Me to take part of the ſame League; which Articles I have alſo in my Study.

23. The Merchants of *England* having been long ſtaied, departed, in all about 60 Sail, the Woolfleet, and all to *Antwerp*. They were countermanded becauſe of the Mart, but it was too late.

24. Forſomuch as the Exchange was ſtayed by the Emperor to *Lions*, the Merchants of *Antwerp* were ſore afraid; and that the Mart could not be without Exchange, liberty was given to the Merchants to exchange and rechange Mony for Mony.

26. *Henry Dudley* was ſent to the Sea with four Ships, and two Barks, for defence of the Merchants, which were daily before robbed; who, as ſoon as he came to the Sea, took two Pirats Ships and brought them to *Dover*.

28. I did deny, after a ſort, the Requeſt to enter into War, as appeareth by the Copy of my Anſwer in the Study.

29. To the intent the Ambaſſador might more plainly underſtand My meaning, I ſent Mr. *Hobbey* and Mr. *Maſon* to him, to declare him mine intent more amply.

31. The Commiſſioners for the Debatable of the Scotch ſide, did deny to meet, except a certain Caſtle, or Pile, might be firſt 'razed; whereupon Letters were ſent to ſtay our Commiſſioners from the Meeting till they had further word.

10. Duke *Maurice* muſtered at *Artnſtat* in *Saxony* all his own Men, and left Duke *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Anhault*, and the Count of *Mansfield*, for defence of his Country, chiefly for fear of the *Bohemians*. The Young *Lanſgrave*, *Reiffenberg*, and others, muſtered in *Haſſen*.

14. The Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* muſtered his Men two leagues from *Erdfort*, and after entered the ſame, receiving of the Citizens, a Gift of 20000 Florins; and he borrowed of them 60000 Florins, and ſo came to *Steinfurt*, where Duke *Maurice* and all the German Princes were aſſembled.

April.

2. I fell ſick of the Meaſels and Small Pox.

4. Duke *Maurice*, with his Army, came to *Auguſta*; which Town was at the firſt yielded to him, and delivered into his Hands, where he did change certain Officers, reſtored their Preachers, and made the Town more free.

5. The Conſtable, with the French Army, came to *Metz*, which was within two days yielded to him, where he found great proviſion of Victuals, and that he determined to make the Staple of Victual for his Journey.

8. He came to a Fort wherein was an Abbey called *Gocoza*, and that Fort abide 80 Cannon-ſhot; at length came to a Parley, where the Frenchmen got in and won it by Aſſault, ſlew all, ſaving 115, with the Captain, whom he hanged.

9. He took a Fort called *Maranges*, and razed it.

12. The French King came to *Nancy* to go to the Army, and there found the Dutcheſs and the young Duke of *Lorrain*.

13. The *Mareſchal St. Andrew*, with 200 Men of Arms, and 2000 Foot-men, carried away the young Duke, accompanied with few of his old Men, toward France, to the *Dolphin*, which lay at *Rhemes*, to the no little diſcontentation of his Mother the Dutches. He fortified alſo divers Towns in *Lorrain*, and put in French Gariſons.

14. He departed from *Nancy* to the Army which, lay at *Metz*.

7. *Monſieur Senarpon* gave an overthrow to the Captain of St. *Omers*, having with him 600 Foot-men, and 200 Horſe-men.

15. The Parliament broke up, and becauſe I was ſick, and not able to go well abroad as then, I ſigned a Bill containing the Names of the Acts which I would have paſs; which Bill was read in the Houſe. Alſo I gave Commiſſion to the Lord Chancellor, two Arch-Biſhops, two Biſhops, two Dukes, two Marqueſſes, two Earls, and two Barons, to diſſolve wholly this Parliament.

18. The Earl of *Pembrook* ſurrendred his Maſterſhip of the Horſe, which I beſtowed on the Earl of *Warwick*.

19. Alſo he left 50 of his Men of Arms, of which 25 were given to Sir *Philip Hobbey*, and 25 to Sir *John Gates*.

21. It was agreed that Commiſſions ſhould go out for to take certificate of the ſuperfluous Church Plate to Mine uſe, and to ſee how it hath been embezeled.

The French Ambaſſador deſired, That foraſmuch as it was dangerous carrying of Victual from *Bolleign* to *Ard* by Land, that I would give licenſe to carry by Sea to *Calais*, aud from *Calais* to *Ard*, in my Ground.

22. The Lord *Paget* was degraded from the Order of the Garter for divers his Offences, and chiefly becauſe he was no Gentleman of Blood, neither of Father-ſide nor Mother-ſide.

Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, which was accuſed by the Biſhop of *Dublin* for divers brawling Matters, was taken again into the Privy-Chamber, and ſat among the Knights of the Order.

23. Anſwer was given to the French Ambaſſador, that I could not accompliſh his Deſire, becauſe it was againſt my League with the Emperor.

24. The Order of the Garter was wholly altered, as appeareth by the new Statutes. There were elected Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*.

26. *Monſieur de Couriers* came from the Regent, to deſire that her Fleet might ſafely, upon occaſion, take harbour in my Havens. Alſo he ſaid, he was come to give order for redreſſing all Complaints of our Merchants.

25. Whereas it was appointed that the 14000 *l.* that I owed in the laſt of *April*, ſhould be paied by the anticipation of the Subſidy of *London*, and of the Lords, becauſe to change the ſame over-Sea, was

loſs of the ſixth part of the Mony I did ſo ſend over. Stay was made thereof, and the paiment appointed to be made over of 20000 *l.* Flemiſh, which I took up there 14 *per Cent.* and ſo remained 6000 *l.* to be paid there the laſt of *May.*

30. Removing to *Greenwich.*

28. The Charges of the Mints were diminiſhed 1400 *l.* and there was left 600 *l.*

18. King *Ferdinando*, *Maximilian* his Son, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, came to *Linx*, to treat with Duke *Maurice* for a Peace; where *Maurice* declared his Griefs.

16. Duke *Maurice*'s Men received an overthrow at *Ulms*; Marqueſs *Albert* ſpoiled the Country, and gave them a day to anſwer.

31. A Debt of 14000 *l.* was paied to the *Foulcare.*

May.

1. The Stilyard-men received their Anſwer; which was, to confirm the former Judgment of my Council.

2. A Letter was ſent to the *Foulcare* from my Council to this effect; That I have paied 63000 *l.* Flemiſh in *February*, and 14000 in *April*, which came to 77000 *l.* Flemiſh, which was a fair Sum of Mony to be paied in one Year, chiefly in this buſy World, whereas it is moſt neceſſary to be had for Princes. Beſides this, That it was thought Mony ſhould not now do him ſo much pleaſure as at another time peradventure. Upon theſe Conſiderations they had adviſed Me to pay but 5000 *l.* of the 45000 I now owe, and ſo put over the reſt according to the old Intereſt, 14 *per Cent.* with which they deſired him to take patience.

4. *Monſieur de Couriers* received his Anſwer, which was, That I had long agoe given order that the Flemiſh Ships ſhould not be moleſted in my Havens, as it appeareth, becauſe Frenchmen chaſing Flemings into my Havens, could not get them becauſe of the reſcue they had, but that I thought it not convenient to have more Ships to come into my Havens than I could well rule and govern. Alſo a note of divers Complaints of my Subjects was delivered to him.

10. Letters were ſent to my Ambaſſadors, That they ſhould move to the Princes of *Germany*, to the Emperor, and to the French King, That if this Treaty came to any effect or end, I might be comprehended in the ſame.

Commiſſion was given to Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Richard Cotton*, to ſell ſome part of the Chauntry Lands, and of the Houſes, for the paiment of my Debts, which was 251000 *l. Sterling* at the leaſt.

Taylor, Dean of *Lincoln*, was made Biſhop of *Lincoln.*

Hooper, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, was made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter.*

Story, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*

Sir *Robert Bowes* was appointed to be made Maſter of the *Rolls.*

Commandment was given to the Treaſurers, that nothing of the Subſidy ſhould be diſburſed but by Warrant from the Board; and likewiſe for our *Lady-day* Revenues.

14. The Baron of the *Exchequer*, upon the ſurrender made by Juſtice *Leciſter*, was made Chief-Juſtice, the Attorney Chief-Baron, the

Sollicitor-General Attorney, and the Sollicitor of the Augmentation, *Gosnold*, General-Sollicitor, and no more Sollicitor to be in the Augmentation Court. Alſo there were appointed eight Serjeants of the Law againſt *Michaelmaſs* next coming.

Gaudy.
Stamford.
Carell, &c.

16. The Muſter was made of all the Men at Arms ſaving 50 of Mr. *Sadlers*, 25 of Mr. Vicechamberlains, and 25 of Sir *Philip Hobbey's*, and alſo of all the Penſioners.

17. The Progreſs was appointed to be by *Dorcheſter* to *Pool* in *Dorſetſhire*, and ſo through *Salisbury* homeward to *Windſor.*

18. It was appointed Mony ſhould be cried down in *Ireland* after a Pay, which was of Mony at *Midſummer* next; in the mean ſeaſon the thing to be kept ſecret and cloſe. Alſo the Pirry, the Mint-maſters, taking with him Mr. *Brabazon*, chief Treaſurer of the Realm, ſhould go to the Mines and ſee what profit may be taken of the Oar the *Almains* had digged in a Mine of Silver; and if it would quit coſt, or more, to go forward withal, if not, to leave off and diſcharge all the *Almains.*

Alſo that of 500 of the 2000 Souldiers there being, ſhould be cut off, and as many more as would go and ſerve the French King, or the Emperor, leaving ſufficient at Home, no Fortifications to be made alſo yet for a time, in no place unfortified; and many other Articles were concluded for *Ireland.*

20. Sir *Richard Wingfield*, *Rogers*, and———were appointed to view the State of *Portſmouth*, and to bring again their Opinions concerning the fortifying thereof.

4. The French King having paſſed the Straits of *Lorrain*, came to *Savern*, four miles from *Strasburg*, and was victualled by the Country, but denied paſſage through their Town.

21. Anſwer came from the *Foulcare*, That for the deferring of 30000 *l.* parcel of 45 Troas, he was content; and likewiſe *August Pyſo*, he might have paied him 20000 *l.* as ſoon as might be.

22. It was appointed, that foraſmuch as there was much diſorder on the Marches on *Scotland*-ſide, both in my Fortifications of ſome Places, and negligent looking to other Forts, the Duke of *Northumberland*, general Warden thereof, ſhould go down and view it, and take order for it, and return home with ſpeed. Alſo a pay of 10000 *l.* to go before him.

23. It was appointed that theſe Bands of Men of Arms ſhould go with me this Progreſs.

Lord Treaſurer	30	Lord Admiral	15
Lord Great Maſter	25	Lord *Darcy*	30
Lord Privy-Seal	30	Lord *Cobham*	20
Duke of *Suffolk*	25	Lord *Warden*	20
Earl of *Warwick*	25	Mr. Vicechamberlain	15
Earl of *Rutland*	15	Mr. *Sadler*	10
Earl of *Huntington*	25	Mr. *Sidney*	10
Earl of *Pembrook*	50		

26. It was appointed that *Thomas Greſham* ſhould have paied him out of the Mony that came of my Debts 7000 *l.* for to pay 6800 *l.* the laſt of the month, which he received the ſame Night.

28. The ſame *Thomas Greſham* had 9000 *l.* paid him toward the paiment of 20000 *l.* which the *Foulcare* required to be paied at the Paſſmart, for he had taken by Exchange from hence 5000 *l.* and odds, and 10000 *l.* he borrowed of the *Scheits*, and ten of *Lazarus Tukkar*. So there was in the whole 25, of which was paid the laſt of *April* 14, ſo there remained 11000, and 9000 *l.* which I now made over by Exchange, which made 20000 *l.* to pay the *Foulcare* with.

30. I received Advertiſement from Mr. *Pickering*, that the French King went from *Savern* to *Aroumasſhes*, which was yielded to him; from this to *Leimsberg*, and ſo towards *Spires*, his Army to be about 20000 Footmen, and 8000 Horſemen, well appointed; beſides Raſcals. He had with him 50 pieces of Artillery, of which were 26 Cannons, and ſix Organs, and great number of Boots. From *Leimſberg*, partly doubting Duke *Maurice*'s meaning, partly for lack of Victual; and alſo becauſe he had word that the Regent's Army, of which were Guides the Count *de Egmont*, *Monſieur de Rie*, *Martin Vanrouſe*, and the Duke of *Holeſt*, to the number of 16000 Footmen, and 6000 Horſemen, had invaded *Champaign*, and fortified *Aſchenay*; he retired homeward till he came to *Striolph*, and there commanded all unprofitable Carriage and Men ſhould depart to *Chalons*, and ſent to the Admiral to come to him with 6000 *Swiſſers*, 4000 Frenchmen, 1500 Horſemen, and 30 pieces of Ordnance, meaning, as it was thought, to do ſome Enterpriſe about *Luxemburg*, or to recover *Aſchenay* which the Regent had fortified. There died in this Journey 2000 Men for lack of good Victual; for eight days they had but Bread and Water, and they had marched 60 Dutch miles at the leaſt, and paſt many a Streight, very painfully and labourſomly.

19. Duke *Maurice* coming from *Auſpurg* in great haſt, came this day to the firſt Paſſage called the *Clowſe*, which the Emperor had cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified and victualled, a paſſage thorough an Hill, cut out artificially in the way to *Inſpurg*, and there was a ſtrong Bulwark made hard by it, which he wan, after a long fight within an hour and an half by Aſſault, and took and ſlew all that were within. And that Night he marched through that Hill into a Plain, where he looked for to ſee twelve Enſigns of *Lansknights* of his Enemies, but they retired to the ſecond Streight, and yet divers of them were both ſlain and taken; and ſo that Night he lodged in the Plain, at the entry of the ſecond Paſſage, where there were five Forts and one

Caſtle, which with Ordnance ſlew ſome of Duke *Maurice*'s Men.

20. This morning the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, with 3000 Footmen, caſt a Bridg over a River five miles beneath the Sluce, and came and gave aſſault behind the Sluce, and Duke *Maurice* gave aſſault in the Face, and the Country-men of *Tirol*, for hate of the *Spaniards*, helped Duke *Maurice*, ſo that five Forts were won by Aſſault, and the Caſtle yielded upon condition to depart, not to ſerve in three months after the Emperor. In this Enterpriſe he ſlew and took 3000 and 500 Perſons, and 23 pieces of Artillery, and 240000 S.

The Emperor hearing of this, departed by Night from *Inſpruk*, forty miles that Night in Poſt; he killed two of his Gennets, and rode continually every Night, firſt to *Brixinium*; and after for doubt of the Cardinal of *Ferrara*'s Army, turned to *Villucho* in *Carinthia.* The 30*th* of *May*, tarrying for the Duke *d' Alva*, who ſhould come to him with 2000 Spaniards, and 3000 Italians that came from *Parma.* Alſo the Emperor delivered Duke *Frederic* from Captivity, and ſent him through *Bohemia* into *Saxony*, to raiſe a Power againſt Duke *Maurice*'s Nephew.

22. Duke *Maurice*, after that *Hala* and divers other Towns about *Inſpruk* in *Tirol* had yielded, came to *Inſpruk*, and there cauſed all the Stuff to be brought to the Market-place, and took all that pertained to Imperialiſts as confiſcate, the reſt he ſuffered the Townſmen to enjoy. He took there fifty pieces of Ordnance, which he conveied to *Ausburg*, for that Town he fortified, and made it his Staple of Proviſion.

Certain Things which the Commiſſioners for the Requeſts ſhall not meddle withal.

Firſt, Suits for Lands.

Secondly, Suits for Forfeits, amounting to more than 40 *l.* value.

Thirdly, Suits for Penſions.

Fourthly, Reverſions of Farms, which have more than one Year to come.

Fifthly, Leaſes of Manours.

Sixthly, Leaſes for more than 21 Years.

Seventhly, No Offices of ſpecial Truſt in Reckonings of Mony, as Cuſtomers, Comptrollers, Surveyors, Receivers, Auditors, Treaſurers, and Chancellors, *&c.* to be given otherwiſe than *durante beneplacito.* Alſo all Mint-maſters, and others that have a doing in the Mint, and ſuch-like. The Biſhops, Judges, and other Officers of Judgment, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerit.* Balliwicks, Stewardſhips, keeping of Parks and Houſes, *&c.* to be granted during Life.

Eighthly, Suits for forgivement of Debts.

Ninthly, Releaſing of Debts to be paid.

Tenthly, Suits for Mony, to the intent to pay Debts they owe elſewhere.

Eleven, Suits to buy Land.

Twelve, Suits for Licenſes, to carry over Gold, Silver, Lead, Leather, Corn, Wood, *&c.* that be things unlawful.

Thirteen, Unreſidence upon Benefices.

They ſhall meddle with Baliewicks and Stewardſhips, during Leaſes for 21 Years; Forfeits under 40 *l.* Receiverſhips, Woodwardſhips, Surveyorſhips, *&c.* during pleaſure. Inſtalments of days for Debts. To thoſe Gentlemen that have well-ſerved, Fee-Farms to them and their Heirs Males of their Body, paying their Rent, and diſcharging the Annuities due to all Officers touching the ſame. Keeping of Houſes and Parks, ordinary Offices, as Yeomen of the Crown, the Houſhold Offices, *&c.*

June.

2. Sir *John Williams*, who was committed to the *Fleet* for diſobeying a Commandment given to him for not paying any Penſions, without not making my Council privy, upon his ſubmiſſion was delivered out of Priſon.

4. *Beamont* Maſter of the *Rolls*, did confeſs his Offences, who in his Office of Wards had bought Land with my Mony, had lent it, and kept it from Me, to the value of 9000 *l.* and above, more than this twelve month, and 11000 in Obligations, how he being Judg in the *Chancery* between the Duke of *Suffolk* and the Lady *Powis*, took her Tittle, and went about to get it into his Hands, paying a Sum of Mony, and letting her have a Farm of a Manour of his, and cauſed an Indenture to be made falſly, with the old Duke's counterfeit Hand to it; by which he gave theſe Lands to the Lady *Powis*, and went about to make twelve Men perjured. Alſo how he had concealed the Felony of his Man to the Sum of 200 *l.* which he ſtole from him, taking the Mony into his own hand again. For theſe Conſiderations he ſurrendered into my Hands all his Offices, Lands, and Goods, moveable and unmoveable, toward the paiment of this Debt, and of the Fines due to theſe particular Faults by him done.

6. The Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the Dutchy, confeſſed how he, without Commiſſion, did ſell away my Lands and great Timber-Woods; how he had taken great Fines of my Lands, to his ſaid particular Profit and Advantage, never turning any to my Uſe or Commodity; how he made Leaſes in Reverſion for more than 21 Years. For theſe Crimes, and other-like recited before, he ſurrendred his Office, and ſubmitted himſelf to thoſe Fines that I or my Council would appoint to be levied of his Goods and Lands.

7. *Whaley*, Receiver of *York-ſhire*, confeſſed how he lent my Mony upon Gain and Lucre; how he paied one Years Revenue over, with the Arrearages of the laſt; how he bought mine own Land with my own Mony; how in his Accompts he had made many falſe Suggeſtions; how at the time of the fall of Mony, he borrowed divers Sums of Mony, and had allowance for it, after by which he gained 500 *l.* at one crying down, the whole Sum being 2000 *l.* and above. For theſe and ſuch like Conſiderations he ſurrendred his Office, and ſubmitted to Fines which I or my Council ſhould aſſign him, to be levied of his Goods and Lands.

8. The Lords of the Council ſat at *Guild-hall* in *London*, where in the preſence of a thouſand People, they declared to the Mayor and Brethren their ſloathfulneſs in ſuffering unreaſonable prices of Things, and to Craftſmen their willfulneſs, *&c.* telling them, That if upon this Admonition they did not amend, I was wholly determined to call in

their Liberties as confiſcate, and to appoint Officers that ſhould look to them.

10. It was appointed that the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* ſhould be pardoned of his Offences, and delivered out of the *Tower*.

Whereas Sir *Philip Hobbey* ſhould have gone to *Calais* with Sir *Richard Cotton*, and *William Barnes* Auditor, it was appointed Sir *Anthony St. Legier*, Sir *Richard Cotton*, and Sir *Thomas Mildmay*, ſhould go thither, carrying with them 10000 *l.* to be received out of the *Exchequer*.

Whereas it was agreed that there ſhould be a Pay now made to *Ireland* of 5000 *l.* and then the Mony to be cried down, it was appointed that 3000 weight which I had in the *Tower*, ſhould be carried thither, and coined at 3 Denar. fine; and that incontinent the Coin ſhould be cried down.

12. Becauſe *Pirry* tarried here for the Bullion, *William Williams* Eſſay-Maſter was put in his place, to view the Mines with Mr. *Brabazon*, or him whom the Deputy ſhould appoint.

13. *Baneſter* and *Crane*, the one for his large Confeſſion, the other becauſe little Matter appeared againſt him, were delivered out of the *Tower*.

16. The Lord *Paget* was brought into *Star-Chamber*, and there declared effectuouſly his ſubmiſſion by word of Mouth, and delivered it in writing.

Beaumont who had before made his Confeſſion in writing, began to deny it again; but after being called before my Council, he did confeſs it again, and there acknowledged a Fine of his Land, and ſigned an Obligation in ſurrender of all his Goods.

17. *Monſieur de Couriers* took his leave.

2. The French King won the Caſtle of *Robdemac*. Certain Horſemen of the Regents came and ſet upon the French King's Baggage, and ſlew divers of the Carriers, but at length, with ſome loſs of the Frenchmen, they were compelled to retire. The French King won *Mount St. Ann.*

4. The French King came to *Deuvillars*, which was a ſtrong Town, and beſieged it, making three Breaches.

12. The Town was yielded to him, with the Captain. He found in it 2500 Footmen, 200 Horſemen, 63 great Braſs-pieces, 300 Hagbuts of Croke, much Victual, and much Ammunition, as he did write to his Ambaſſador.

19. It was appointed that the Biſhop of *Durham*'s Matter ſhould ſtay till the end of the Progreſs.

20. *Beaumont* in the *Star-Chamber* confeſſed, after a little ſticking upon the Matter, his Faults, to which he had put to his Hand.

22. It was agreed that the Bands of Men of Arms, appointed to Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Vicechamberlain*, Mr. *Hobbey*, and Mr. *Sadler*, ſhould not be furniſhed, but left off.

25. It was agreed, that none of my Council ſhould move Me in any Suit of Land for Forfeits above 20 *l.* for Reverſion of Leaſes, or other extraordinary Suits, till the State of my Revenues were further known.

15. The French King came to a Town ſtanding upon the River of *Moſa*, called *Yvoire*, which gave him many hot Skirmiſhes.

18. The French King began his Battery to the Walls.

• 14. The Townſmen of *Mountmedy* gave a hot Skirmiſh to the French, and ſlew *Monſieur de Toge*'s Brother, and many other Gentlemen of the Camp.

12. The Prince of *Salerno*, who had been with the French King to treat with him touching the Matter of *Naples*, was diſpatched in Poſt with this Anſwer, That the French King would aid him with 13000 Footmen, and 1500 Horſemen in the French Wages, to recover and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*; and he ſhould marry, as ſome ſaid, the French King's Siſter, Madam *Margaret*. The Cauſe why this Prince rebelled againſt the Emperor, was, partly the uncourteous handling of the Viceroy of *Naples*, partly Ambition.

The Flemings made an Invaſion into *Champaign*, in ſo much that the *Dolphin* had almoſt been taken; and the Queen lying at *Chalons*, ſent ſome of her Stuff toward *Paris*.

Alſo another Company took the Town of *Guiſe*, and ſpoiled the Country.

22. *Monſieur de Tallie* was ſent to raiſe the Arrierbands and Legionars of *Picardy* and *Champaign*, to recover *Guiſe*, and invade *Flanders*.

27. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

30. It was appointed that the Statds ſhould have this Anſwer, That thoſe Clothes which they had bought to carry over to the Sum of 2000 Clothes and odd, ſhould be carried at their old Cuſtom, ſo they were carried within ſix weeks; and likewiſe all Commodities they brought in till our *Lady-day* in Term next, in all other Points, the old Decree to ſtand, till by a further communication the Matter ſhould be ended and concluded.

The Lord *Paget* was licenſed to tarry at *London*, and there-abouts, till *Michaelmaſs*, becauſe he had no Proviſion in his Country.

26. Certain of the Heraulds, *Lancaſter* and *Portcullis*, were committed to Ward, for counterfeiting *Clarencieux* Seal to get Mony by giving of Arms.

23. The French King having received divers Skirmiſhes of the Townſmen, and chiefly two; in the one, they ſlew the French Light-horſe, lying in a Village by the Town; in the other, they entred into the Camp, and pulled down Tents; which two Skirmiſhes were given by the Count of *Mansfield* Governour of the Town. And the Duke of *Luxemburg* and his 300 Light-horſe, underſtanding by the Treaſon of four Prieſts, the weakeſt part of the Town, ſo affrighted the Townſmen and the Flemiſh Souldiers, that they by threatnings, compelled their Captain the Count, that he yielded himſelf and the Gentlemen Priſoners, the Common-Souldiers to depart with white Wands in their Hands. The Town was well Fortified, Victualled, and Furniſhed.

24. The Town of *Mountmedy* yielded to the French King, which before had given a hot Skirmiſh.

July.

4. Sir *John Gates* Vicechamberlain was made Chancellor of the Dutchy.

7. Removing to *Oatlands.*

5. The Emperor's Ambaſſador delivered the Regent's Letter, being of this effect; That whereas I was bound by a Treaty with the Emperor, made *Anno Dom.* 1542, at *Dotrecht*, That if any Man did Invade the two Counties, I ſhould help him with 5000 Footmen, or 700 Crowns a day during four months, and make War with him within a month after the Requeſt made; and now the French King had invaded *Luxemburg*, deſiring my Men to follow the Effect of the Treaty.

7. The Names of the Commiſſioners was added, and made more, both in the Debts, the ſurveying of the Courts, the Penal Laws, *&c.* and becauſe my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord Privy-Seal, Mr. Vicechamberlain, and Mr. Secretary *Petre*, went with me this Progreſs.

8. It was appointed that 50 pound weight of Gold ſhould be coined after the new Standard, to carry about this Progreſs, which maketh 150 *l. Sterling.*

9. The Chancellor of the *Augmentation* was willed to ſurceaſe his Commiſſion, given him the third Year of our Reign.

3. *Monſieur de Boſſy*, Grand Eſcuyer to the Emperor, was made General of the Army in the *Low-Countries*, and *Monſieur de Prat* over the Horſemen.

10. It was appointed here, that if the Emperor's Ambaſſador did move any more for Help or Aid, this Anſwer ſhould be ſent him by two of my Council, That this Progreſs-time my Council was diſperſed, I would move by their Adviſe, and he muſt tarry till the Matter were concluded, and their Opinions heard. Alſo I had committed the Treaty to be conſidered by divers learned Men, *&c.* And if another time he would preſs Me, then anſwer to be made, That I truſted the Emperor would not wiſh Me, in theſe young Years, having felt them ſo long, to enter into them. How I had Amity ſworn with the French King, which I could not well break; and therefore if the Emperor thought it ſo meet, I would be a Mean for a Peace between them, but not otherwiſe. And if he did preſs the Treaty, laſtly to conclude, That the Treaty did not bind Me which my Father had made, being againſt the profit of my Realm and Country; and to deſire a new Treaty to be made between Me and the Emperor in the laſt Wars. He anſwered, That he marvelled what We meant, for we are bound, quoth the Emperor, and not You. Alſo the Emperor had refuſed to fulfil it divers times, both in not letting paſs Horſes, Armour, Ammunition, *&c.* which were provided by Me for the Wars. As alſo in not ſending Aid upon the Forraging of the Low-Country of *Calais.*

12. A Letter was written to Sir *Peter Muntas*, Captain of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, both to command him that *Divine Service* may there be uſed as in *England*; and alſo that he take heed to the Church-Plate that it be not ſtollen away, but kept ſafe till further Order be taken.

9. The French King came to the Town *Aveins* in *Hainault*, where after he had viewed the Town, he left it, and beſieged a Pile called *Tirlokbut*; the Bailiff of the Town perceiving his departure, gave the

Onſet on his Rereward with 2000 Footmen, and 500 Horſemen, and ſlew 500 Frenchmen. After this, and the winning of certain Holds of little force, the French King returned into *France*, and divided his Army into divers good Towns to reſt them, becauſe divers were ſick of the Flux, and ſuch other Diſeaſes, meaning ſhortly to increaſe his Power, and ſo to go forward with his Enterpriſe.

12. *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* was releaſed from his Impriſonment, and ſent by the Emperor into his own Country, to the great rejoicing of all the Proteſtants.

5. The Emperor declared, That he would none of theſe Articles to which Duke *Maurice* agreed, and the King of the *Romans* alſo. The Copy of them remaineth with the Secretary *Cecil.*

Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* did great harm in the Country of *Franconia*, burnt all Towns and Villages about *Norimberg*, and compelled them to pay to the Princes of his League 200000 Dollars, ten of the faireſt pieces of Ordnance, and 150 Kintalls of Powder. After that he went to *Frankfort*, to diſtreſs certain Souldiers gathered there for the Emperor.

15. Removing to *Guilford.*

20. Removing to *Petworth.*

23. The Anſwer was made to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, touching the Aid he required, by Mr. *Wotton*, and Mr. *Hobbey*, according to the firſt Article *ſupra.*

24. Becauſe the number of Bands that went with Me this Progreſs made the Train great, it was thought good they ſhould be ſent home, ſave only 150 which were pickt out of all the Bands. This was, becauſe the Train was thought to be near 4000 Horſe, which were enough to eat up the Country, for there was little Meadow nor Hay all the way as I went.

25. Removing to *Londre*, Sir *Anthony Brown*'s Houſe.

27. Removing to *Halvenaker.*

30. Whereas it had been before deviſed, that the New Fort of *Barwick* ſhould be made with four Bulwarks; and for making of two of them, the Wall of the Town ſhould be left open on the Enemies ſide a great way together, (which thing had been both dangerous and chargeable) it was agreed the Wall ſhould ſtand, and two Slaughter-houſes to be made upon it to ſcour the outer Courtins; a great Rampier to be made within the Wall, a great Ditch within that, another Wall within that, with two other Slaughter-Houſes, and a Rampier within that again.

26. The Flemings entred in great numbers into the Country of *Terovenne*; whereupon 500 Men of Arms aroſe of Frenchmen, and gave the Onſet on the Flemings, overthrew them, and ſlew of them 1435, whereof were 150 Horſemen.

31. It was appointed, on my Lord of *Northumberland*'s Requeſt, that he ſhould give half his Fee to the Lord *Wharton*, and make him his Deputy-Warden there.

Auguſt.

2. Removing to *Warblington.*

3. The Duke of *Guiſe* was ſent into *Lorrain*, to be the French King's Lieutenant there.

Hhh 2

4. Removing to *Waltham.*

8. Removing to *Portſmouth.*

9. In the morning I went to *Chaterton's* Bullwark, and viewed alſo the Town; at afternoon went to ſee the Store-houſe, and there took a Boat and went to the wooden Tower, and ſo to *Haſelford.* Upon viewing of which things, it there was deviſed two Forts to be made upon the entry of the Haven; one where *Ridley's* Tower ſtandeth, upon the Neck that maketh the Camber; the other upon a like Neck ſtanding on the other ſide the Haven, where ſtood an old Bullwark of Wood. This was deviſed for the ſtrength of the Haven. It was meant, that that to the Town-ſide ſhould be both ſtronger and larger.

10. *Henry Dudley* who lay at *Portſmouth*, with a warlike Company of 140 good Souldiers, was ſent to *Guiſnes* with his Men, becauſe the Frenchmen aſſembled in theſe Frontiers in great numbers.

Removing to *Tichfield*, the Earl of *Southampton's* Houſe.

14. Removing to *Southampton.*

16. The French Ambaſſador came to declare how the French King meant to ſend one that was his Lieutenant in the Civil Law; to declare which of our Merchants Matters have been adjudged on their ſide, and which againſt them, and for what Conſideration.

16. Removing to *Beuleu.*

The French Ambaſſador brought news how the City of *Siena* had been taken by the French-ſide on St. *James's* day, by one that was called the Count *Perigliano*, and other Italian Souldiers, by Treaſon of ſome within the Town; and all the Gariſon of the Town, being Spaniards, were either taken or ſlain. Alſo how the *Mareſchal Briſac* had recovered *Saluzzo*, and taken *Verucca.* Alſo how *Villebone* had taken *Turnaham* and *Mountreville* in the Low-Countrey.

18. Removing to *Chriſt-Church.*

21. Removing to *Woodlands.*

In this month, after long Buſineſs, Duke *Maurice* and the Emperor agreed on a Peace, but Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* would not conſent thereto, but went away with his Army to *Spires* and *Worms*, *Colen* and *Treves*, taking large ſums of Mony of all Cities which he paſſed, but chiefly of the Clergy. Duke *Maurice's* Souldiers perceiving Marqueſs *Albert* would enter into no Peace, went almoſt all to the Marqueſs's Service; among which were Principal the Count of *Manſfelt*, Baron *Haydeke*, and a Colonel of 3000 Footmen, and 1000 Horſemen, called *Reiſſenberg*; So that of 7000 which ſhould been ſent into *Hungary* againſt the Turks, there remained not 3000. Alſo the Duke of *Wittenberg* did ſecretly let go 2800 of the beſt Souldiers in *Germany*, to the Service of Marqueſs *Albert*, ſo that his Power was now very great.

Alſo in this month the Emperor departing from *Villachia*, came to *Insbruk*, and ſo to *Monaco*, and to *Auguſta*, accompanied with 8000 Spaniards, and Italians, and a little Band of a few ragged *Almains.* Alſo in this month did the Turks win the City of *Tameſino* in *Tranſilvania*, and gave a Battel to the Chriſtians, in which was ſlain Count *Pallavicino*, and 7000 Italians and Spaniards. Alſo in this month did the Turks Navy take the Cardinal of *Trent's* two Brethren, and ſeven Gallies, and had in chaſe 39 other. Alſo in this month did the Turks

Navy Land at *Terracina* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the Prince of *Salerno* ſet forward with 4000 Gaſcoins, and 6000 Italians; and the Count *Perigliano* brought to his Aid 5000 Men of thoſe that were at the Enterpriſe of *Siena*. Alſo the *Mareſchal Briſac* won a Town in *Piedmont* called *Buſſac*.

24. Removing to *Salisbury*.

26. Upon my Lord of *Northumberland*'s return out of the North, it was appointed, for the better ſtrengthning of the Marches, that no one Man ſhould have two Offices; and that Mr. *Stirley*, Captain of *Barwick*, ſhould leave the Wardenſhip of the Eaſt-Marches to the Lord *Evers*; and upon the Lord *Coniers* reſignation, the Captainſhip of the Caſtle of *Carliſle* was appointed to Sir — *Gray*, and the Wardenſhip of the Weſt-Marches to Sir *Richard Muſgrave*.

27. Sir *Richard Cotton* made Comptroller of the Houſhold.

28. Removing to *Wilton*.

30. Sir *Anthony Archer* was appointed to be Marſhal of *Calais*, and Sir *Edward Grimſton* Comptroller of *Calais*.

22. The Emperor being at *Auguſta*, did baniſh two Preachers Proteſtants out of *Auguſta*, under pretence that they preached ſeditiouſly, and left *Mecardus* the chief Preacher, and ſix other Proteſtant Preachers in the Town, giving the Magiſtrates leave to chuſe others in their place, that were baniſhed.

29. The Emperor cauſed eight Proteſtant Citizens of the Town to be baniſhed, of them that went to the Fair at *Lintz*, under pretence, that they taking Marqueſs *Albert*'s part, would not abide his Preſence.

September.

2. Removing to *Wotisfunt*, my Lord *Sandes* Houſe.

5. Removing to *Wincheſter*.

7. From thence to *Baſing*, my Lord Treaſurer's Houſe.

10. And ſo to *Donnington*-Caſtle beſides the Town of *Newbery*.

12. And ſo to *Reading*.

15. To *Windſor*.

16. *Stuckley* being lately arrived out of *France*, declared, how that the French King being wholly perſuaded that he would never return again into *England*, becauſe he came away without leave, upon the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Somerſet* his old Maſter, declared to him his Intent, That upon a Peace made with the Emperor, he meant to beſiege *Calais*, and thought ſurely to win it by the way of *Sandhills*, for having *Ricebank* both to famiſh the Town, and alſo to beat the Market-place; and asked *Stuckley*'s Opinion: When *Stuckley* had anſwered, he thought it impoſſible. Then he told him that he meant to Land in *England*, in an Angle thereof about *Falmouth*, and ſaid, the Bullwarks might eaſily be won, and the People were papiſtical; alſo that *Monſieur de Guiſe* at the ſame time ſhould enter into *England* by *Scotland*-ſide, with the Aid of the Scots.

19. After long reaſoning it was determined, and a Letter was ſent in all haſte to Mr. *Moriſon*, willing him to declare to the Emperor, That I having pity, as all other Chriſtian Princes ſhould have, on the Invaſion of Chriſtendom by the Turk, would willingly join with the Emperor, and other States of the Empire, if the Emperor could bring it

to paſs in ſome League againſt the Turk and his Confederates, but not to be aknown of the French King, only to ſay, That he hath no more Commiſſion, but if the Emperor would ſend a Man into *England*, he ſhould know more. This was done on intent to get ſome Friends. The Reaſonings be in my Deſk.

21. A Letter was ſent only to try *Stuckley*'s Truth to Mr. *Pickering*, to know whether *Stuckley* did declare any piece of this Matter to him.

Barnabe was ſent for home.

23. The Lord *Gray* was choſen Deputy of *Calais* in the Lord *Willowby*'s place, who was thought unmeet for it.

24. Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* was diſcharged of the Porterſhip of *Calais*, and one—*Cotton* was put into it. In conſideration of his Age, the ſaid Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* had 100 *l.* Penſion.

26. Letters were ſent for the diſcharge of the Men of Arms at *Michaelmaſs* next following.

27. The young Lords Table was taken away, and the Maſters of Requeſts, and the Serjeants of Arms, and divers other extraordinary Allowances.

26. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Secretary *Petre*, and Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, ended a Matter at *Eaton*-College, between the Maſter and the Fellows; and alſo took order for the amendment of certain ſuperfluous Statutes.

28. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

29. Two Lawyers came from the French King to declare what things had paſſed with the Engliſhmen in the King's Privy-Council; what and why againſt them, and what was now in doing, and with what diligence. Which when they had eloquently declared, they were referred to *London*, where there ſhould ſpeak with them Mr. Secretary *Petre*, Mr. *Wotton*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*; whereby then was declared the Griefs of our Merchants, which came to the Sum of 50000 *l.* and upwards; to which they gave little anſwer, but that they would make Report when they came home, becauſe they had yet no Commiſſion, but only to declare us the Cauſes of things done.

The firſt day of this month the Emperor departed from *Auguſta* toward *Ulmes*; and thanking the Citizens for their ſtedfaſt ſticking to him in theſe perrilous Times, he paſſed by them to *Strasburg*, accompanied only with 4000 Spaniards, 5000 Italians, 12000 Almains, and 2000 Horſmen, and thanking alſo them of *Strasburg* for their goodwill they bore him, that they would not let the French King come into their Town, he went to *Weyſenberg*, and ſo to *Spires*, and came thither the 23*d* of this month. Of which the French King being advertiſed, ſummoned an Army to *Metz*, and went thitherward himſelf; ſent a Pay of three months to Marqueſs *Albert*, and the Rhinegrave and his Band; alſo willing him to ſtop the Emperor's Paſſage into theſe Low-Countries, and to fight with him.

27. The Matter of the Debatable was agreed upon, according to the laſt Inſtructions.

26. Duke *Maurice*, with 4000 Footmen and 1000 Horſemen, arrived at *Vienna* againſt the Turks.

21. Marqueſs *Hans* of *Brandenburg*, came with an Army of 13000 Footmen, and 1500 Horſemen, to the Emperor's Army; and many Almain Souldiers encreaſed his Army wonderfully, for he refuſed none.

October.

3. Becauſe I had a pay of 48000 *l.* to be paid in *December*, and had as yet but 14000 beyond Seas to pay it withal, the Merchants did give me a Loan of 40000 *l.* to be paid by them the laſt of *December*, and to be repaied again by Me the laſt of *March*. The manner of levying this Loan was of the Clothes, after the rate of 20 *s.* a Cloth, for they carried out at this Shipping 40000 Broad-Clothes. This Grant was confirmed the *4th* day of this month, by a company aſſembled of 300 Merchant-Adventurers.

2. The Bullwarks of Earth and Boards in *Eſſex*, which had a continual allowance of Souldiers in them, were diſcharged, by which was ſaved preſently 500 *l.* and hereafter 700 or more.

4. The Duke *D'alva*, and the Marqueſs of *Marigna*, ſet forth with a great part of the Emperor's Army, having all the Italians and Spaniards with them, towards *Treves*, where the Marqueſs *Albert* had ſet ten Enſigns of Launce-Knights to defend it, and tarried himſelf with the reſt of his Army at *Landaw* beſides *Spires*.

6. Becauſe Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Captain of *Guiſnes*, had indebted himſelf very much by his Service at *Guiſnes*; alſo becauſe it ſhould ſeem injurious to the Lord *Willowby*, that for the Contention between him and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, he ſhould be put out of his Office, therefore it was agreed, That the Lord *William Howard* ſhould be Deputy of *Calais*, and the Lord *Gray* Captain of *Guiſnes*.

Alſo it was determined that Sir *Nicholas Sturley* ſhould be Captain of the new Fort at *Barwick*, and that *Alex. Brett* ſhould be Porter, and one *Rokſby* ſhould be Marſhal.

7. Upon report of Letters written by Mr. *Pickering*, how that *Stuckley* had not declared to him, all the while of his being in *France*, no one word touching the Communication afore ſpecified; and declared alſo how Mr. *Pickering* thought, and certainly advertiſed, that *Stuckley* never heard the French King ſpeak no ſuch word, nor never was in credit with him, or the Conſtable, ſave once, when he became an Interpreter between the Conſtable and certain Engliſh Pioneers, He was committed to the *Tower* of *London*.

Alſo the French Ambaſſador was advertiſed how we had committed him to Priſon, for that he untruly ſlandered the King our good Brother, as other ſuch Runnagates do daily the ſame. This was told him, to make him ſuſpect the Engliſh Runnagates that be there. A like Letter was ſent again to Mr. *Pickering*.

8. *Le Seigneur de Villandry* came in Poſt from the French King with this Meſſage. Firſt, That although Mr. *Sidney's* and Mr. *Winter's* Matters, were juſtly condemned; yet the French King, becauſe they both were my Servants, and one of them about me, was content *gratuito* to give Mr. *Sidney* his Ship, and all the Goods in her; and Mr. *Winter* his Ship, and all his own Goods. Which Offer was refuſed, ſaying, We required nothing *gratuito*, but only Juſtice and Expedition. Alſo *Villandry* declared, That the King his Maſter, wiſhed that an Agreement

were made between the Ordinances and Cuſtoms of *England* and *France* in Marine Affairs. To which was anſwered, that our Ordinances were nothing but the Civil Law, and certain very old Additions of the Realm; That we thought it reaſon not to be bound to any other Law than their old Laws, which had been of long time continued, and no fault found with them. Alſo *Villandry* brought forth two new Proclamations, which for things to come were very profitable for *England*, for which he had a Letter of Thanks to the King his Maſter. He required alſo Pardon and Releaſement of Impriſonment for certain Frenchmen taken on the Sea-Coaſt. It was ſhewed him they were Pirats: Now ſome of them ſhould by Juſtice be puniſhed, ſome by Clemency pardoned; and with this Diſpatch he departed.

11. *Horne* Dean of *Durham*, declared a ſecret Conſpiracy of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Year of the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Somerſet*, How he would have taken out Treaſure at *Midleham*, and would have robbed his Mother, and ſold 200 *l.* Land; and to pleaſe the People, would have made a Proclamation for the bringing up of the Coin, becauſe he ſaw them grudg at the fall. He was commanded to keep this Matter cloſe.

6. Mr. *Moriſon*, Ambaſſador with the Emperor, declared to the Emperor the Matter of the Turks before ſpecified; whoſe Anſwer was, He thanked us for our gentle Offer, and would cauſe the Regent to ſend a Man for the ſame purpoſe, to know our further meaning in that behalf.

11. Mr. *Pickering* declared to the French King, being then at *Rhemes*, *Stuckley*'s Matter of Confeſſion, and the Cauſe of his Impriſonment: Who after proteſtation made of his own good Meaning in the Amity, and of *Stuckley*'s Ingratitude toward him, his lewdneſs and ill-demeanour, thanked Us much for this ſo gentil an uttering of the Matter, that we would not be led with falſe Bruites and Tales.

The Biſhop *Tunſtal* of *Durham* was deprived of his Biſhoprick.

In this month *Monſieur de Rue*, *Martin Roſſen*, and an Army of Flemings, while the French had aſſembled his Men of War in *Lorrain*, had ſent the Conſtable to the Army, which lay four leagues from *Verdun*, the Duke *de Guiſe* with 7000 Men to *Metz*, and the *Mareſchal St. Andrew* at *Verdun*, razed and ſpoiled, between the River of *Some* and *Oyſe*, many Towns, as *Noyon*, *Roy*, *Chamy*; and Villages, *Nelle*, *Follumbray*, a new built Houſe of the King's, *&c.* inſomuch that the French King ſent the Admiral of *France* to help the Duke of *Vendoſme* againſt that Army.

There was at this time a great Plague that reigned in ſundry parts of *France*, of which many Men died.

20. A Man of the Earl of *Tyrones* was committed to the *Tower*, becauſe he had made an untrue Suggeſtion and Complaint againſt the Deputy and the whole Council of *Ireland*. Alſo he had bruited certain ill Bruites in *Ireland*, how the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembrook* were fallen out, and one againſt another in the Field.

17. The Flemings, and the Engliſhmen that took their parts, aſſaulted by Night *Hamletue*; the Engliſhmen were on the Walls, and ſome

of

ſome of the Flemings alſo; but by the cowardiſe of a great part of the Flemings, the Enterprize was loſt, and many Men ſlain. The number of the Flemings were 4000, the number of the Men within *Hambletue* 400. The Captain of this Enterpriſe was *Monſieur de Vandeville* Captain of *Gravelin*.

6. *Monſieur de Boiſſey* entred *Treves* with a Flemiſh Army, to the number of 12000 Footmen, and 2500 Horſemen, Burgunions, without any reſiſtance, becauſe the Enſigns there left by Marqueſs *Albert* were departed; and thereupon the Duke *d' Alva*, and the Marqueſs of *Marion*, marched toward *Metz*; the Emperor himſelf, and the Marqueſs *Hans* of *Brandenburg*, having with him the reſt of his Army, the ninth day of this month departed from *Landaw* towards *Metz*. *Monſieur de Boiſſey*'s Army alſo joined with him at a place called *Swayburg*, or *Deuxpont*.

23. It was agreed, that becauſe the State of *Ireland* could not be known without the Deputy's preſence, that he ſhould, in this dead time of the Year, leave the governance of the Realm to the Council there for the time, and bring with him the whole State of the Realm, whereby ſuch order might be taken, as the ſuperfluous Charge might be avoided, and alſo the Realm kept in quietneſs, and the Revenue of the Realm better and more profitably gathered.

25. Whereas one *George Paris* an Iriſhman, who had been a practiſer between the Earl of *Deſmond* and other Iriſh Lords, and the French King, did now, being weary of that Matter, practiſe means to come home, and to have his old Lands in *Ireland* again. His Pardon was granted him, and a Letter written to him from my Council, in which he was promiſed to be conſidered and holpen.

There fell in this month a great Contention among the Scots, for the *Kers* ſlew the Lord of *Balcleugh*, in a Fray in *Edinburgh*; and as ſoon as they had done, they aſſociated to them the Lord *Home* and all his Kin: But the Governour thereupon ſummoned an Army to go againſt them; but at length, becauſe the Dowager of *Scotland* favoured the *Kers* and *Homes*, and ſo did all the French Faction, the French King having alſo ſent for 5000 Scotch Footmen, and 500 Horſemen, for his Aid in theſe Wars, the Governour agreed the 5000 Footmen under the leading of the Earl of *Caſſils*; and 500 Light-Horſemen, of which the *Kers* and the *Homes* ſhould be Captains, and go with ſuch haſte into *France*, that they might be in ſuch place as the French King would appoint them to ſerve in, by *Chriſtmaſs*, or *Candlemaſs* at the furtheſt. And thus he truſted to be well rid of his moſt mortal Enemies.

27. The Scots hearing that *George Paris* practiſed for Pardon, committed him to Ward in *Striveling*-Caſtle.

25. *Monſieur de Rue* having burnt in *France* eighteen leagues in length, and three leagues in breadth; having pillaged, and ſacked, and razed the fair Towns of *Noyon*, *Roy*, *Nelle*, and *Chamy*, the King's new Houſe of *Follambray*, and infinite other Villages, Bulwarks, and Gentlemens Houſes in *Champaign* and *Picardy*, returned into *Flanders*.

23. The Emperor in his Perſon came to the Town of *Metz* with his Army, which was reckoned 45000 Footmen, as the Bruit went,

and 7000 Horſemen. The Duke *d' Alva* with a good Band went to view the Town; upon whom iſſued out the Souldiers of the Town, and ſlew of his Men about 2000, and kept him play till the main force of the Camp came down, which cauſed them to retire with loſs. On the French Party was the Duke of *Nemours* hurt on the Thigh. There was in the Town as Captain, the Duke of *Guiſe*; and there were many other great Lords with him, as the Prince of *Rochſurion*, the Duke *de Nemours*, the Vicedam of *Chartres*, *Pierro Stozzy*, *Monſieur Chaſtilion*, and many other Gentlemen.

November.

5. *Monſieur de Villandry* returned to declare, how the King his Maſter did again offer to deliver four Ships againſt which Judgment had paſſed. He ſaid, The King would appoint Men to hear our Merchants at *Paris*, which ſhould be Men of the beſt ſort. He ſaid likewiſe, how the King his Maſter meant to mend the Ordinance, of which Amendment he brought Articles.

7. Theſe Articles were delivered to be conſidered by the Secretaries.

9. Certain were thought to be ſought out by ſeveral Commiſſions; *viz.* Whether I were juſtly anſwered of the Plate, Lead, Iron, *&c.* that belonged to Abbeys? Whether I were juſtly anſwered the Profit of Alome, Copper, Fuſtians, *&c.* which were appointed to be ſold? and of ſuch Land as the King my Father ſold, and ſuch-like Articles.

12. *Monſieur Villandry* received anſwer for the firſt Article, as he did before, How I meant not by taking freely ſo few, to prejudice the reſt. For hearing of our Merchants Matters at *Paris*, by an inferior Council, We thought both too dilatory after theſe long Suits, and alſo unreaſonable, becauſe the inferior Council would undoe nothing (though cauſe appeared) which had been before judged by the higher Council. And as for the New Ordinances, we liked them in effect as ill as their Old, and deſired none other but the Old accuſtomed ones which have been uſed in *France* of late Time, and to be yet continued between *England* and the *Low-Country*. Finally, We deſire no more Words, but Deeds.

4. The Duke *d'Aumail* being left in *Lorrain*, both to ſtop the Emperor's Proviſion, to annoy his Camp, and to take up the Straglers of the Army, with a Band of 400 Men of Arms, which is 1200 Horſe, and 800 Light-Horſe, hearing how Marqueſs *Albert* began to take the Emperor's part, ſent firſt certain Light-Horſe to view what they intended. Thoſe Avan-Couriers lighted on a Troop of 500 Horſemen, who drove them back till they came to the Duke's Perſon; Whereupon the Skirmiſh grew ſo great, that the Marqueſs with 12000 Footmen, and 1000 Horſemen, came to his Mens ſuccours, ſo the Duke's Party was diſcomfited, the Duke himſelf taken and hurt in many places; *Monſieur de Roan* was alſo ſlain, and many other Gentlemen ſlain and taken. This Fight was before *Toul*, into which Fort eſcaped a great part of the Light-Horſe.

6. *Heading* Town and Caſtle was taken by the *Monſieur de Reux*; The Caſtle was reckoned too well ſtored of all things, and rendred either by Cowardice or Treaſon. The Battery was very ſmall, and not ſuitable. The moſt was, that the Captain, *Monſieur Jeulis*,

was, with one of the firſt ſhots of the Cannon, ſlain, and his Lieutenant with him.

In this month *Ferdinando Gonzaga* beſieged St. *Martins* in *Piedmont*.

18. There was a Commiſſion granted out to Sir *Richard Cotton*, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, to examine the account of the fall of Mony, by the two Proclamations.

20. The Lord *Ogle* leaving the Wardenſhip of the Middle Marches, becauſe my Lord *Evers* Land lay there, he was made Deputy-Warden there, with the Fee of 600 Merks; and Sir *Thomas Dacres* of the Eaſt Marches, with the Fee of 500 Merks.

24. *Thomas Greſham* came from *Antwerp* hither, to declare how *Monſieur de Langie*, Treaſurer to the Emperor, of *Flanders*, was ſent to him from the Regent with a certain Pacquet of Letters which the Burgonions had taken in *Bullonois*, coming from the Dowager of *Scotland:* The Effect whereof was, How ſhe had committed *George Paris* the Iriſh-man to Priſon, becauſe ſhe had heard of his meaning to return into *England*; how ſhe had found the Pardon he had, and divers other Writings; and how ſhe had ſent *O-Coners*'s Son into *Ireland*, to comfort the Lords of *Ireland*. Alſo he ſhewed certain Inſtructions, *Anno* 1548, upon the Admiral's fall, given to a Gentleman that came hither, That if there were any here of the Admiral's Faction, he ſhould do his uttermoſt to raiſe an Uproar.

29. *Henry Knowls* was ſent in Poſt into *Ireland* with a Letter, to ſtay the Deputy, if he met him, in *Ireland*, becauſe of the Buſineſs; and that he ſhould ſeem to ſtay for his own Affairs, and prolong his going from Week to Week, leſt it be perceived. Alſo he had with him certain Articles concerning the whole ſtate of the Realm, which the Deputy was willed to anſwer.

30. There was a Letter of Thanks written to the Regent, and ſent to Mr. Chamberlain, to deliver her for the gentle Overture made to *Thomas Greſham* by the Treaſurer *Langie*. He was alſo willed to uſe gentle words in the delivery of the Letters, wiſhing a further Amity: And for recompence of her Overture, to tell her of the French King's practice, for 5000 Scotch Footmen, and 500 Horſemen. And alſo how he taketh up by Exchange at *Lubeck* 100000 *l.* whereby appeareth ſome meaning that way the next Spring.

28. The Lord *Paget* was put to his Fine of 6000 *l.* and [illegible]000 *l.* diminiſhed to pay it within the ſpace of—Years, at days limited.

Here the Journal ends, or if more was written by the King, it is loſt.

Some other Papers written with King Edward the Sixth's own Hand.

Number 2.

A Collection of Paſſages of Scripture againſt Idolatry, in French, dedicated to the Protector.

In Trinity Coll. Libr. Cambridg.

Le fervent zele que Je vous apercoy avoir en la Reformation de Idolatrie, Tres-cher et bien aimè Oncle, ma incitè comme par maniere de paſſe temps, en liſant la ſainct Eſcriture, de nôter pluſieurs lieux en icelle qui defendent de n'adorer ny faire aucuns Images. Non ſeulement de Dieux Eſtranges, mais auſi de ne former choſe penſant la faire ſemblable a la Majeſtè de Dieu lè Creature ſi tresbahy. Veu qui lui meſme & ſon St. Eſprit, par la bouche de ſes Prophetes, L'a ſi ſouvent defendu, que tant de gens ont oſè et oſent commetre Idolatrie en faiſant et adorant les Images. Mais Je croy que ceſtoit pourtant quils n'avoient ou n'entendoit pas ſes paroles. Car comme il dit il ne peut eſtre veu en choſes qui ſoient materielles. Mais veut eſtre veu par ſes ouvres, ni plus ne moins que quand on voit quelque excellente piece d'ouvrage ſans voir ouvrier qui L'a fait, on peut Imaginer ſon excellence: Ainſi regardant et conſiderant l' excellence du Firmament et les choſes tant parfaites et mervelleuſes, que y ſont compriſes, nous pouvons Imaginer quelle è le Createur qui les a formees ſeulement par ſa parole, et en telle maniere noſtre Oeil Spirituel pouroit beaucoup mieux voir quelle choſe c'eſt que de Dieu, que noſtre Oeil corporell ne le pourroit voir en choſe que Creature humane ait fait et formee. Pourtant, cher Oncle, apres avoir notè en ma Bible en Anglois pluſieurs ſentences qui contradiſent a tout Idolatrie a celle fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l' Eſcriture Francoiſe, je me ſuis amusè a le Tranſlàter en la dite Langue Francoiſe: Puis les ay fait reſcrire en ſe petit livret, lequell de tresbon cueur Je vous offre: Priant Dieu le Createur de vous donner grace de continuer en voſtre labeur ſpirituel au ſalut de voſtre ame et a l' honneur et gloire d' iceluy.

Then follow 72 Paſſages out of the Old Teſtament, againſt worſhipping ſtrange Gods or Images, with little Paraphraſes of his own, he concludes.

Il y a autres places en la ſainte Eſcriture, tant Apocryphes que autres, deſquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le preſent, qui toutesfois ſont correſpondentes a celles dont eſt fait mention par cy devant. Mais pour tant que quaſi tous les Prophetes et autres Saints, deſquels la Sainte Eſcriture parle deffendent de ne commetre Idolatrie Je deſire et exhorte toute la Congregation des Chreſtiens qu'un chaſcun d'eux vueille delaiſſer ceſt abominable vice.

A Diſ-

A Diſcourſe about the Reformation of many Abuſes.

Number 2.

The Government of this Realm is divided into two parts, one Eccleſiaſtical, and the other Temporal.

Cotton Libr. *Nero* C. 10.

THe Eccleſiaſtical conſiſteth in ſetting forth the Word of God, continuing the People in Prayer, and the Diſcipline. The ſetting forth of the Word of God, conſiſteth in the good diſcreet Doctrine and Example of the Teachers, and Spiritual Officers; for as the good Huſbandman maketh his Ground good and plentiful, ſo doth the true Preacher with Doctrine and Example, print and graft in the Peoples Mind the Word of God, that they at length become plentiful. Prayers alſo to God muſt be made continually, of the People, and Officers of the Church, to aſſiſt them with his Grace. And thoſe Prayers muſt firſt, with good conſideration, be ſet forth, and Faults therein be amended. Next, being ſet forth, the People muſt continually be allured to hear them. For Diſcipline, it were very good that it went forth, and that thoſe that did notably offend in Swearing, Rioting, neglecting of God's Word, or ſuch the like Vices, were duly puniſhed, ſo that thoſe that ſhould be the Executors of this Diſcipline, were Men of tried Honeſty, Wiſdom, and Judgment. But becauſe thoſe Biſhops who ſhould execute it, ſome for Papiſtry, ſome for Ignorance, ſome for Age, ſome for their ill Name, ſome for all theſe, are Men unable to execute Diſcipline; it is therefore a thing unmeet for theſe Men: Wherefore it were neceſſary, that thoſe that were appointed to be Biſhops, or Preachers, were honeſt in Life, and learned in their Doctrine; that by rewarding of ſuch Men, others might be allured to follow their good Life.

As for the Prayers, and Divine Service, it were meet the Faults were drawn out (as it was appointed) by learned Men, and ſo the Book to be eſtabliſhed, and all Men willed to come thereunto to hear the Service, as I have put in Remembrances in Articles touching the Statutes of this Parliament. But as for Diſcipline, I would wiſh no Authority given generally to all Biſhops, but that Commiſſion be given to thoſe that be of the beſt ſort of them to exerciſe it in their Dioceſſes.

Thus much generally for Religion.

Temporal Regiment.

The Temporal Regiment conſiſteth, in well-ordering, enriching, and defending the whole Body Politick of the Common-Wealth, and every part of the whole, to one Part, not the other. The Example whereof may be beſt taken of a Man's Body; for even as the Arm defendeth, helpeth, and aideth the whole Body, chiefly the Head, ſo ought Servingmen, and Gentlemen chiefly, and ſuch-like kind of People, be always ready to the defence of their Country, and chiefly of their Superior and Governor; and ought in all things to be vigilant and painful for the encreaſing and aiding of their Country. And foraſmuch as they, in ſerving their King and Country, have divers great and manifold Charges, even as the Arm doth many times bear great ſtreſſes for defence of the Head and Body, having no kind of way to enrich themſelves, neither by Merchandize, neither by Handicraft, neither by Huſbandry; as the Arm doth decoct no Meat it ſelf, nor engendereth no Blood, therefore even as the Stomach, Liver, and Lights, which parts engender the Blood, doth ſend nouriſhment to the Arms and Legs ſufficient to ſtrengthen the part, even ſo muſt the Artificers ſo uſe their Gain in working, and ſo truly and juſtly make that that they work; The Merchants muſt ſo ſell their Ware, and ſo labour to bring in ſtrange Commodities; The Huſbandmen muſt pay ſuch Rent, and ſo ſell Things that come of the increaſe of the Ground, that the Hands, and the Legs, that is to ſay, the States of Gentlemen and of Servingmen may well do the Common-Wealth that Service they ought to do. And as the Gentlemen and Servingmen ought to be provided for, ſo ought not they neither to have ſo much as they have in *France*, where the Peaſantry is of no value, neither yet meddle in other Occupations, for the Arms and Legs doth never draw the whole Blood from the Liver, but leaveth it ſufficient to work on; neither doth meddle in any kind of engendring of Blood. No nor no one part of the Body doth ſerve for two Occupations; even ſo neither the Gentleman ought to be a Farmer, nor the Merchant an Artificer, but to have his Art particularly. Furthermore, no Member in a well-faſhioned and whole Body, is too big for the proportion of the Body: So muſt there be in a well-ordered Common-Wealth, no Perſon that ſhall have more than the proportion of the Country will bear; ſo it is hurtful immoderately to enrich any one Part. I think this Country can bear no Merchant to have more Land than 100 *l.* no Huſbandman nor Farmer worth above 100 or 200 *l.* no Artifice above 100 Merks; no Labourer much more than he ſpendeth. I ſpeak now generally, and in ſuch Caſes may fail in one Particular; but this is ſure, This Common-Wealth may not bear one Man to have more than two Farms, than one Benefice, than 2000 Sheep, and one kind of Art to live by. Wherefore as in the Body no part hath too much, nor too little, ſo in a Common-Wealth ought every part to have *ad victum & non ad ſaturitatem.* And there is no Part admitted in the Body that doth not work and take pains, ſo ought there no part of the Common-Wealth to be but labourſome in his Vocation. The Gentleman ought to labour in Service in his Country; the Servingman ought to wait diligently on his Maſter; the Artificer ought to labour in his Work; the Huſbandman in Tilling the Ground; the Merchant in paſſing the Tempeſts; but the Vagabonds ought clearly to be baniſhed, as is the ſuperfluous Humour of the Body, that is to ſay, the Spittle and Filth, which becauſe it is for no uſe, it is put out by the ſtrength of Nature. This is the true ordering of the ſtate of a well-faſhioned Common-Wealth, That every Part do obey one Head, one Governor, one Law, as all Parts of the Body obey the Head, agree among themſelves, and one not to eat another up through greedineſs, but that we ſee that Order, Moderation, and Reaſon, bridle the Affections. But this is moſt of all to be had in a Common-Wealth well-ordered, That the Laws and Ordinances be well executed, duly obeyed, and miniſtred without corruption. Now having ſeen how things ought to be, let us firſt ſee how now they be ordered, and in what ſtate they ſtand now, and then go forward to ſeek a Remedy.

The firſt Point in ordering the Common-Wealth we touched, was, That the Gentlemen, Noblemen, and Servingmen, ſhould ſtand ſtoutly to the defence of their Superior and Governor, and ſhould be painful in ordering their Country; which thing, although in ſome part, and the moſt part, be well (thanks be to God) yet in ſome parts is not abſolutely, which I ſhall ſhew hereafter particularly.

But the ſecond Point, for maintenance of the State of Landed Men, is ill-looked to; for that State of Gentlemen and Noblemen, which is truly to be termed the State of Nobles, hath alonely not exerciſed the Gain of living: for Merchants, have enhaunced their Ware; Farmers have enhaunced their Corn and Cattel; Labourers their Wages; Artificers the price of their Wormanſhip; and Mariners and Boatſmen their Hire for Service, whereby they recompence the loſs of things they buy; but the moſt part of true Gentlemen (I mean not theſe Farming Gentlemen, nor Clarking Knights) have little or nothing increaſed their Rents; yet their Houſe-keeping is dearer, their Meat is dearer, their Liveries dearer, their Wages greater; which thing at length, if ſpeedy Remedy be not had, will bring that State into utter Ruin, *Quod abſit.*

The Artificers work falſly; the Clothiers uſe deceit in Cloth; the Maſons in Building; the Clockmakers in their Clocks; the Joiner in his working of Timber, and ſo forth all other almoſt, to the intent they would have Men oftner come to them for amending their Things, and ſo have more Gain, although at the beginning they take out of meaſure. The Merchants adventure not to bring in ſtrange Commodities, but loiter at home, ſend forth ſmall Hoyes with two or three Mariners, occupy exchange of Mony, buy and ſell Victual, ſteal out Bullion, Corn, Victual, Wood, and ſuch-like things, out of the Realm, and ſell their Ware unreaſonably. The Huſbandmen and Farmers take their Ground at a ſmall Rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor Men for triple the Rent they take it for, and ſell their Fleſh, Corn, Milk, Butter, *&c.* at unreaſonable prices. The Gentleman, conſtrained, by Neceſſity and Poverty, becometh a Farmer, a Graſier, or a Sheep-maſter. The Graſier, the Farmer, the Merchants become Landed-men, and call themſelves Gentlemen, though they be Churls; yea, the Farmer will have ten Farms, ſome twenty, and will be a Pedlar-Merchant. The Artificer will leave the Town, and for his more Paſtimes, will live in the Country; yea, and more than that, will be a Juſtice of Peace, and will think ſcorn to have it denied him; ſo Lordly be they now-a-days: for now they are not content with 2000 Sheep, but they muſt have 20000, or elſe they think themſelves not well; they muſt have twenty mile ſquare their own Land, or full of their Farms, and four or five Crafts to live by is too little, ſuch Hellhounds be they. For Idle Perſons, there were never I think more than be now; the Wars, Men think is the cauſe thereof, ſuch Perſons can do nothing but Rob and Steal; but ſlack execution of the Laws hath been the chiefeſt ſore of all; the Laws have been manifeſtly broken, the Offenders baniſhed, and either by Bribery, or fooliſh Pity, eſcaped puniſhment. The Diſſention, and Diſagreement, both for private Matters, and alſo in Matters of Religion, hath been no little cauſe, but the principal hath been the diſobedient and contentious talking and doing of the fooliſh and fond People, which for lack of teaching, have wandered, and broken wilfully and diſobediently the Laws of this Realm. The Lawyers alſo, and Judges, have much offended in Corruption and Bribery.

Furthermore, they do now-a-days much uſe to foreſtall, not only private Markets of Corn and Victual, whereby they enhaunce the price thereof, but alſo ſend to the Sea too, aboard Ships, and take the Wine, Sugar, Dates, or any other Ware, and bring it to *London*, where they ſell at double the price. What ſhall I ſay of thoſe that buy and ſell Offices of Truſt, that impropriate Benefices, that deſtroy Timber; that not conſidering the ſuſtaining of Men of their Corn, turn Till Ground to Paſture; that uſe exceſs in Apparel, in Diet, and in building of Incloſures of Waſtes and Commons; of thoſe that caſt falſe and ſeditious Bills; but that the thing is ſo tedious, long, and lamentable to entreat of the Particulars, that I am weary to go any further in the Particulars; wherefore I will ceaſe, having told the worſt, becauſe the beſt will ſave it ſelf.

Now I will begin to entreat of a Remedy. The Ill in this Common-Wealth, as I have before ſaid, ſtandeth in deceitful working of Artificers, uſing of Exchange and Uſury, making vent with Hoyes only into *Flanders*; conveying of Bullion, Lead, Bell-mettle, Copper, Wood, Iron, Fiſh, Corn, and Cattel, beyond Sea; inhauncing of Rents; uſing no Arts to live by; keeping of many Sheep, and many Farms; idleneſs of People; diſobedience of the lower ſort; buying and ſelling of Offices, Impropriations, Benefices; turning Till Ground to Paſture; exceeding in Apparel, Diet, and Building; encloſing of Commons; caſting of ill and ſeditious Bills.

Theſe Sores muſt be cured with theſe Medicines or Plaiſters. 1. Good Education. 2. Deviſing of good Laws. 3. Executing the Laws juſtly, without reſpect of Perſons. 4. Example of Rulers. 5. Puniſhing of Vagabonds and idle Perſons. 6. Encouraging the Good. 7. Ordering well the Cuſtomers. 8. Engendring Friendſhip in all parts of the Common-Wealth. Theſe be the chief Points that tend to order well the whole Common-Wealth.

And for the firſt, as it is in order firſt, ſo it ſeemeth to be in dignity and degree; for *Horace* ſaith very wiſely,

Quo eſt mnta recens ſervabit odorem
Teſta diu———

With whatſoever thing the New Veſſel is imbued, it will long keep the ſavour, ſaith *Horace*; meaning, That for the moſt part Men be as they be brought up, and Men keep longeſt the ſavour of their firſt bringing up. Wherefore ſeeing that it ſeemeth ſo neceſſary a thing, We will ſhew our device herein. Youth muſt be brought up, ſome in Huſbandry, ſome in Working, Graving, Gilding, Joining, Printing, making of Clothes, even from their tendereſt Age, to the intent they may not, when they come to Man's Eſtate, loiter as they do now-a-days, and neglect, but think their Travail ſweet and honeſt. And for this purpoſe would I wiſh that Artificers and others were either commanded to bring up their Sons in like Trade, or elſe had ſome Places appointed them in every good Town, where they ſhould be Apprentices, and bound to certain kind of Conditions. Alſo that thoſe Vagabonds that take Children and teach them to beg, ſhould, according to [illegible] merits, be worthily puniſhed. This ſhall well eaſe and remedy [illegible] deceitful working of Things, diſobedience of the lower Sort, caſting of Seditious Bills, and will clearly take away the Idleneſs of People.

2. Deviſing of good Laws, I have ſhewed my Opinion heretofore, what Statutes I think moſt neceſſary to be enacted this Seſſions; nevertheleſs I would wiſh, that beſide them hereafter, when time ſhall ſerve, the ſuperfluous and tedious Statutes were brought into one Sum together, and made more plain and ſhort, to the intent that Men might the better underſtand them; which thing ſhall much help to advance the profit of the Common-Wealth.

3. Nevertheleſs when all theſe Laws be made, eſtabliſhed, and enacted, they ſerve to no purpoſe, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom? By thoſe that have authority to execute; that is to ſay, the Noblemen, and the Juſtices of Peace. Wherefore I would wiſh, that after this Parliament were ended, thoſe Noblemen, except a few that ſhould be with Me, went to their Countries, and there ſhould ſee the Statutes fully and duly executed; and that thoſe Men ſhould be put from being Juſtices of Peace, that be touched or blotted with thoſe Vices that be againſt theſe new Laws to be eſtabliſhed; for no Man that is in fault himſelf, can puniſh another for the ſame offence.

Turpe eſt Doctori cum culpa redarguit ipſum.

And theſe Juſtices being put out, there is no doubt for execution of the Laws.

Deſunt cætera.

Number 3.

A Reformation of the Order of the Garter; Tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin by King Edward.

Cotton Libri *Nero* C.10.

EEwardus ſextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, &c. Omnibus qui præſentes videbunt Literas Salutem. Sereniſſimi Majores noſtri Reges Angliæ deliberantes & ſecum ipſis cogitantes, de eo officio quo uti debeant erga Deum, Patriam, & eos qui ſuæ ditioni erant ſubjecti, ſatis facile invenerunt nihil tam ad ſuum officium pertinere quam ut bonos, fortes, magnanimos, prudentes & claros Viros (pro ſingularibus eorum meritis) honore gloriaq; afficerent, & amicitiam, ſocietatem, conſenſionem quandam in bonis rebus inter omnes, præcipue vero

inter pares foverent. Honorem enim (ut certe eſt) præmium virtutis judicabant; concordiam vero fundamentum & auctricem rerumpublicarum exiſtimabant. Hæc igitur illis perpendentibus, optimum viſum eſt conſtituere ſocietatem cœtum aut conventum aliquem eorum, qui in domeſticis pacis negotiis optime ſe geſſerant, & in militaribus pugnis fortiter & prudenter ſe exercuerant. Hoſq; voluerunt in ſignum concordiæ & unitatis Tibias faſcia quadam circumligare, quaſi eo facto divulgantes ſeſe non dubitare Patriæ Religionis & Domini cauſa vitam & bona profundere, eamq; ob cauſam Ordinem Garterii nominaverunt. Quem quidem Ordinem omnium voce celebratum, ſerpens ille humano generi infeſtus Satanas conſpiciens, tantopere ad virtutem homines incitare, conatus eſt pœnitus delere. In quo tantum elaboravit, tam diligenter prædam quæſivit, tam ingenioſe & callide homines decepit, ut tandem repliverit decreta hujus Societatis multis ambiguis, ſuperſtitioſis, Papiſticis & inter ſe contrariis ſententiis. Putandum enim erit, quod ſi Evangelii lux non apparuiſſet, de iſto Ordine penitus actum fuiſſet, ſaltem de his rebus in Ordine in quo bonorum nomen meruiſſent. Indies enim crevit malum; Nos autem ſummopere commoti, antiquitate, magnificentia & pulchritudine hujus Ordinis omnibus viribus elaboravimus, ad eum reducendum ad ſtatum priſtinum. Quapropter in cætu quodam celebrato die Anno Dom. 1551 Regni vero noſtri.

Ubi permulti Milites ejuſdem Ordinis aderant, conſtitutum erat a nobis, Autoritate eorundem Militum, quod hi articuli infraſcripti firmiſſime obſervabuntur, ut hujus Ordinis Decreta.

1. Primum Concluſum Statutumq; exiſtit, quod hic ordo poſthac appellabitur Ordo Garterii; non Ordo Sancti Georgii: nec idem Georgius amplius poſthac appellabitur; nec nominabitur Patronus Ordinis, ne ille honor qui ſoli Deo debeatur, cuidam creaturæ attribuatur.

2. Item Milites circumligabunt Tibias Garteriis (ut vulgo dicunt) quibus inſcribunt hæc verba. Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe; in collis autem cathenarum more gerent equitem ſculptum, altera manu tenentis gladium penetrantem librum, in quem gladium ſcribetur *Protectio*, in Librum vero *Verbum Dei*, altera autem Clipeum in quem inſcribetur *Fides*, hac re ſignificantes ſe concordes protectores Verbi Divini & Fideles exiſtere. Cum enim ab Georgio eodem auferetur honor ille, quod Patronus amplius Ordinis non erit, Milites non amplius geſtabunt eundem divum, poſt Feſtum Michaelis proxime ſequentis.

3. Arma tamen Ordinis maneant in eodem Statu quo antea manere ſunt ſolita, viz. Crux rubea in Campo Argenteo.

4. Numerus Militum erunt 24 præter præfectum, ſi enim plures exiſtant tum minori in honore habebitur Collegam eſſe Ordinis, hi autem Milites jam exiſtunt.

5. Quod Rex Angliæ, Hæredes & Succeſſores ejus, erunt hujus Ordinis Præfecti quemadmodum & ſolitum eſt antehac. Et quia ſæpe oriuntur ambiguitates contentiones & mutationes temporum; propter quas aut tolli, aut definiri, aut adjungi debent aliqua decreta hujus Ordinis, ſæpe etiam in mortuorum Militum locum alii ſubſtituantur neceſſe eſt: Idcirco concluſum eſt, quod licet eidem Regi Angliæ, aliqua tali re mota, Advocatis ſex ex Sociis Ordinis, cum eorum conſenſu, celebrato in loco aliquo, mutare, definire, addere, aut detrahere ab hoc Ordine; ut illis

bonum videbitur, & etiam eligere, in numerum Militum, alios omnes, qui ſunt generoſi, inſignia geſtantes, à parte Patrum & Matrum per tres progenies ſive generationes quoſcunque arbitrabuntur maxime idoneos.

6. Omnes hi qui rei ſunt inventi Capitalium Criminum; aut ignave a prælio aufugerunt, aut Notabili Crimine ſunt contaminati, quanquam mors illis non infligatur, tamen Milites Ordinis eſſe deſinent. Æquum enim qui eſſe poteſt, enim qui inſigni & fœdo aliquo vitio ſit contaminatus, in bonorum Societate aut cætu manere. Capitalia vero ſint Crimina, pro quibus leges judicant debere mortis pænam ſubire.

7. Si autem idem Ordinis præfectus intelligat locum aliquem vacuum exiſtere, tum mittet ad Milites vicinos & propinquos ut certo quodam die adſint, haſq; literas mittet triduum ante diem celebrandi cætus; niſi forte adſint plus quam ſex Milites.

8. Qui Milites Congregati in cætu quodam veſtibus Ordinis induti, ſi locus aliquis ſit vacuus, ſcribent unuſquiſq; nomina trium Principium: viz. Imperatorum, Regum, Archiducum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, aut Vicecomitum, nomina tria Baronum, ſive Dominorum, & nomina trium Militum Aureatorum quos Baccalaureos Milites vulgo dicunt.

9. Cum nomina ſunt ſcripta, tum Rex Angliæ Ordinis præfectus ex eorum numero eliget quem maxime idoneum arbitrabitur ex antiquà illuſtriq; familia natum, aut qui ſuis geſtis præclaris nomen famam & honorem ſummum acquiſiverit, nam in electione Militum divitias reſpicere nullo modo oportet, ſed virtutem & generis Nobilitatem, primo autem in loco virtutem.

10. Miles electus, cum proxime adſit; adducetur in Domum ubi cætus celebratur per duos Collegas Ordinis, Præfectus induet eum cathenà ſive Collario Roſarum circumligatorum faſciis cum ſculpta equitis imagine, ut prædixi, appendente; duo vero Collegæ faſcia, ſive ut vulgo dicunt, Gartorio tibiam circumligabunt: Tradetur etiam electo Militi liber horum decretorum.

11. Miles vero electus ibit Windeſoram, & Præfectus Ordinis mittet ad illum ſubſtitutum ſuum & duos coadjutores, qui collocabunt eum, ſi fieri poſſit, ſine aliorum Militum detrimento in ſede, ejus gradui Nobilitatis apta & accomoda, & ſecundum veterem modum veſtes recipiet (quas vulgo dicunt Anglicè, *The Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood.*) & his veſtibus indutus audiet preces divinas in ſede illi conſtituta, ſimul cum ſubſtituto & coadjutoribus Communionem recipiens.

12. Poſt preces abſolutas recipiet hoc jusjurandum; ſe pro viribus velle ſuſtinere & defendere omnes honores, titulos, querelas & Dominia Regis Angliæ Ordinis Præfecti; velle etiam (quantum in ſe eſt) protegere amare & colere Divini Verbi ſtudioſos; velle deponere humanas Traditiones & augere Gloriam & Honorem Dei.

13. Ille ordo qui inſtitutus fuit olim de inſignibus, gladiis, galæis & armis reponendis in cellis aut ſedibus, maneat in priori forma.

14. Adhæc cum Dedicatio Ordinis auferatur a divo Georgio, & ſi tempus anni non ſit idoneum ad multos homines cogendos, & ex patria accerſendos, præſertim vero ne ipſam dedicationem Verbis auferentes re videremur retinere, idcirco ſtatutum eſt cætum cælebratum fore, ut olim in Anglia die Divi Georgii; ſic nunc primo Die Sabbati, &

primo Die Dominico in menſe Decembris, niſi forte primus dies menſis Decembris ſit dies Dominicus; tunc autem celebrabitur primo Die Sabbati, & ſecundo die Dominico.

15. Primo vero Die Sabbati Milites qui adſunt (omnes autem adeſſe debent niſi forte habeant licitam excuſationem) audient preces Veſpertinas inſtitutas Autoritate Parliamenti veſtibus Ordinis induti, ſedentes quiſque in ſede conſtituta. Miles autem electus non collocatus in ſede ſtabit directe verſus eum locum ubi collocabitur.

16. Die Dominico ſequenti in aurora audient ſupradicti Milites preces, & qui ſe paratos facere poſſint, Communionem recipient, veſperi etiam audient preces veſpertinas.

17. Milites autem abſentes tenebuntur eadem facere in ſuis ædibus toto hoc tempore veſtibus Ordinis induti.

18. Præterea Milites qui adſunt veſtibus Ordinis induti prandebunt omnes, ab uno latere ſedentes in eodem gradu quo collocantur Windeſoræ, in cellis in cætum etiam intrabunt hoc die, ut ſi, quid faciendum ſit, perficiant:

19. Cantatores & Præbendarii fruentur ſuis poſſeſſionibus durante Vita, poſt mortem autem eorum conferentur in Concionatores in caſtro Windeſoræ.

20. Pauperes autem qui in eodem Collegio manent, habebunt omnia ſua priſtino more, loci autem conferentur in Milites vulneratos aut admodum ſenes viros, ſolum privabuntur ſuperſtitioſis & vanis Cæremoniis quibus uti ſunt ſoliti ut Oratione pro defunctis, &c. Quemadmodum vero ſoliti ſunt miſſæ adeſſe ſic jam adſint in precibus conſtitutis.

21. Sunt autem certæ ſummæ Argenti quæ ſolent impendi cum moriantur Milites Ordinis.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
A Rege Angliæ	08	06	8	*A* Comite	02	10	0
A Rege peregrino	06	13	4	*A* Vice Counte	02	01	8
A Principe	05	16	8	*A* Barone	01	13	4
A Duce	05	00	0	*A* Milite Baccalaureo	00	16	8
A Marchione	03	13	0				

Adhæc cum Milites eligantur ſolvendæ ſunt hæ ſummæ Peccuniæ.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
A Rege Angliæ	30	00	0	*A* Comite	06	13	8
A Rege peregrino	20	00	0	*A* Vice Comite	05	16	8
A Principe	13	06	8	*A* Barone	05	00	0
A Duce	10	00	0	*A* Milite	03	06	8
A Marchione	08	06	8				

Hæ prædictæ ſummæ Argenti colligantur & quotannis pauperibus deſtribuantur ut interdum ſolitum eſt fieri.

22. Rex Angliæ exſolvat Pecuniam quam peregrini Principes debebunt propter articulum ſupradictum.

23. Sed quia difficile eſt omnia hæc ſine Miniſtris idoneis fieri, igitur conſtitutum eſt fore quatuor Ordinis hujus Miniſtros. Gancellarius,

Annotator ſive Regiſter, Præceſſor qui nigram virgam geſtabit, & præcipuus Rex armorum qui ab Ordine nomen obtinebit Garter.

24. Sigillum Ordinis habebit ex uno latere Arma Angliæ & Franciæ ſimul cum Armis Ordinis circumligata hac circumſcriptione, *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*, ex altera parte equitem ſculptum, ut Milites geſtabunt circumligatum faſcia ſive Garterio.

25. Hoc ſigillo Cancellarius ſigillabit omnia decreta, licentias, conſtitutiones, literas & reliqua omnia quæ ad ordinem prædictum pertinent aut ullo modo debent pertinere.

26. Annotator in magno Libro Annotabit Latine quibus temporibus quiſque miles fuerit electus, quibus mortuus, quænam ſancita erant decreta, quænam diſſoluta, & ſi quæ erunt alia pertinentia ad Ordinem ſupradictum, hunc autem librum relinquet in Caſtro Windeſoræ ſuo ſucceſſori in eodem officio.

27. Rex Heraoldorum & inſignium Garter ſervabit nomina & cognomina arma & inſignia cujuſq; Militis electi, eundem librum relinquens ſuo ſucceſſori, & ſi quæ ſit ambiguitas de armis, ipſe dijudicabit.

28. Præceſſor Ordinis geſtans virgam nigram præibit ordinem & oſtium cuſtodiet, & eandem autoritatem habebit, qua antehac uſus eſt. Quod ſiquis Militum contumelioſe & graviter offenderit, & ejus criminis in cetu fuerit convictus, Præceſſor Ordinis cum Rege Heroaldorum eum exuent catena & Garterio.

29. Adhæc cum aliquis peregrinus Rex in Militum numerum ſubſtituatur & eligatur, Cæremoniis hujus Ordinis non detinebitur, ſed prout placuerit.

30. Poſt electionem vero præfectus Ordinis mittet duos Milites ejuſdem Ordinis, qui poſt preces in ejus patria vulgares induent eum veſtibus illis quæ ſolent geſtari, viz. Anglice, *The Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood.* In collum etiam imponent catenam roſarium cum equite ſculpto appendente & faſcia vulgo dicto Garterio.

31. Poſtea per procuratorem in ſede collocabitur, nullum omnino juramentum recipiens, nec preces unquam alias quam ſolitas audiens.

32. Quod Rex Angliæ poſſit diſpenſare & veniam dare omittendi ullas Cæremonias, ſi cauſa poſtulet.

33. Quod hi articuli ut monumenta decreta & Leges Ordinis reponentur in Collegio Windeſoræ, omnes autem his contrariæ penitus abrogabuntur.

FINIS.

A

A Paper concerning a Free Mart in *England*.

Number 4.

The Reaſons and Cauſes why it is now moſt neceſſary to have a Mart in England.

1. BEcauſe our vent of Clothes might be open in all Wars.

2. Becauſe our Merchants Goods might be out of danger of Strangers, without fear of arreſting for every light Cauſe.

3. Becauſe it would much enrich the Realm; for as a Market enricheth a Town, ſo doth a Mart enrich a Realm.

4. Becauſe for at a need, round Sums of Mony might be of them borrowed that haunt the Mart.

5. Becauſe we ſhould have a great multitude of Ships ſtrangers to ſerve in the Wars.

6. Becauſe all ſtrangers Goods, when War is made, ſhould be in our danger.

7. Becauſe we ſhould buy all things at the firſt hand of Strangers; whereas now the Spaniards ſell to the Flemings their Wares, and the Flemings to us.

8. Becauſe the Towns toward the Sea-ſide ſhould be much more populous.

9. Becauſe whereas now they bring Tapeſtry, Points, Glaſſes, and Laces, they would then bring in Bullion, and other ſubſtantial Merchandice, to the intent to have our Cloth and our Tin.

10. Becauſe we ſhould take from our Enemies their Power, and make that they ſhould borrow no Mony of Merchants but when we liſt, at leaſt no great Sum of Mony.

The Cauſes why this Time is moſt Commodious to erect a Mart in.

1. The Wars between the French King and the Emperor, and the Ships of either ſide, maketh the Italians, Genoa's, Portugals, and Spaniards, to forbear their Trade to *Antwerp.* 2. The Frenchmen, the Stadts, the Spruſſes, and Ships of Eaſtland, being againſt the Emperor, will not come neither. 3. The French King invading *Lorrain*, and fearing *Flanders.* 4. And the Almains lying on the River of *Rhene*, ſtopeth the Courſe of Merchants out of *Italy* to *Antwerp*, and alſo *Frankfort.* 5. The putting of Men of War in the Town, maketh the Merchants to forbear their Traffique, and to look to their Lives. 6. The breach of the laſt Tempeſt is like, they ſay, to make the Channel uncertain, and the Haven naught. 7. The ſtop of the Exchange to *Lions*, will make many Flemings Bankrupts. Theſe things will decay the Marts of *Antwerp* and *Frankfort.* But theſe Nations cannot live without a Vent, therefore they will now moſt willingly come hither if they had a Free Mart.

2. It were an eaſier matter to come to *Southampton* for the Spaniards, Britanes, Vaſcoins, Lombards, Geneoeſe, Normands, and Italians, than to go to *Antwerp.*

3. It were eaſier for the Merchants of the Eaſtland, the Spruſſes, the Danes, Swedens, and Norvegians, to come to *Hull* than to *Antwerp.*

4. *Southampton* is a better Port than *Antwerp.*

5. The Flemings have allured Men to make a Mart there with their Privileges, having but very little Commodities; much eaſier ſhall we do it, having Cloth, Tin, Seacoal, Lead, Bellmettal, and ſuch other Commodities, as few Realms Chriſtian have the like; nor they when they began had no ſuch opportunity.

How the Mart will be brought to paſs.

1. Our Merchants are to be ſtaied from a Mart or two, under pretence that they abſtain becauſe of the Impoſition.

2. Then Proclamation muſt be made in divers places of the Realm where Merchants reſort, That there ſhall be a free Mart kept at *Southampton*, with theſe Liberties and Cuſtoms.

1. The time of the Mart to begin after *Whitſontide*, and to hold on five weeks; by which means it ſhall not let St. *James*'s Fair at *Briſtol*, nor *Bartholomew* Fair at *London.*

2. All Men coming to the Mart ſhall have free going and free coming, without Arreſting, except in caſes of Treaſon, Murder, or Felony.

3. For the time of the Mart, all ſorts of Men ſhall pay but half the Cuſtom they do in other places of the Realm.

4. No Shipping ſhall be from any other place from *South-Wales* to *Eſſex* during that time.

5. In the Shires of *Hampſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Kent*, *Dorſetſhire*, That no Bargain ſhall be made of Wares during that time but in the Mart Town.

6. A Court to correct Offenders, with Liberties thereto.

7. Some one Commodity muſt be aſſigned to the Mart, or ſome one kind of Cloth.

8. The Merchants of the Staple muſt be bargained withal, and contented with ſome honeſt Offer, to the intent by their Liberties they may not let the Mart.

9. Some more Liberties muſt be given to the Inhabitants of *Southampton*; and if Mony may be ſpared, ſome muſt be lent them to begin their Trade withal.

10. Our Ships on the Sea muſt look as well as they may, obſerving the Treaties, to the ſafeguard of the Merchants when they come.

11. If this prove well, then may another be made at *Hull*, to begin after *Stowrbridg*-Fair, to the intent they may return before the great Ices come to their Seas.

The Diſcommodities and Letts to the Mart to be kept in England.

1. Becauſe Strangers lack acceſs hither by Land, which they have at *Antwerp*.

2. The ill-working of our Cloths, which maketh them leſs eſteemed.

3. The abundance of our Cloths in *Flanders* will make them leſs ſought for here.

4. The Merchants have eſtabliſhed their dwelling-places at *Antwerp*.

5. That other Nations will ſtay their coming hither for a while by the Emperor's Commandment.

6. The denial of the Requeſt of the Merchants of the Stiliard, will ſomewhat let the Mart, if it be not looked to.

7. The poverty and littleneſs of the Town of *Southampton*.

8. The goodlineſs of the *Rhine*.

The Remedies and Anſ

To the firſt Poin

1. At this time when the Mart ſhould begin at *Southampton*, the French King and the Almains ſhall ſtop the entercourſe by Land, ſo that nothing ſhall come that way but in great danger.

2. When War ſhall be made againſt us, then our Navy may defend them.

3. As the Town of *Southampton* lacketh the Commodity of the Acceſs of Merchandiſe by Land, ſo it hath this Commodity, that there can be no acceſs of Enemies by Land, which may be at *Antwerp*, and Men think will be this Year, which is a great ſafety to the Merchants.

4. The Traffique that cometh by Land will not much diminiſh the Mart, for it is only almoſt the Venetians Traffique, who ſhall much eaſilier come hither by Sea, than to *Antwerp*, and with leſs danger of the Seas.

To the ſecond Point.

1 The ill-making of our Clothes will be meet to be looked on this Parliament, and order thereupon to be given. The Matter is come to ſome ripeneſs already, the Upper Houſe hath one Bill, and the Nether Houſe hath another in good forwardneſs.

2. As ill as they be made, the Flemings do at this time deſire them wonderfully, offering rather to pay the Impoſition of the Emperor, than to lack them.

To the third Point.

1. It were very neceſſary that the Ships that ſhall be hereafter going were ſtaied till the Mart were come to ſome ripeneſs.

2. The Clothes hereafter might be bought up with our Mony here,

and conveied to *Southampton*, to be there uttered at the Mart time, and ſo it ſhould help the Mart very well.

To the fourth Point.

1. The danger of their Lives, which they now fear very much, will make them ſeek another Harbor to reſt in more ſafely.

2. They came from *Bruges* to *Antwerp* only for the Engliſh Commodities, although they were ſetled at *Bruges*.

3. They have a great Commodity to come to *Southampton*, and a great fear of ſpoiling to drive them from *Antwerp*.

4. The Merchants never aſſign to themſelves ſuch a Manſion, but for more gain they will leave that, and take another.

To the fifth Point.

1. The Emperor is at this time ſo driven to his Shifts, that neither he ſhall be able to attend the ſtay of Mony from coming to the Mart, neither if he were able to attend, could, I think, do it, now the Flemings being put in ſuch fear as they be of the loſs of all they have.

2. The Flemings and the Spaniards which be under him, can hardlier be without us than we without them, and therefore they would hardly be brought to forbear our Traffique.

To the ſixth Point.

1. It were good the Stiliard-men were for this time gently anſwered, and that it were ſeen, whether by any gentle offer of ſome part of their Liberties, again they might be brought to ſhip their Wares to the Mart. The Frenchmen alſo I think would eaſily be brought to come hither, having now none other Traffique but hither, theſe two Nations would ſuffice to begin a Mart for the firſt part.

To the ſeventh Point.

1. It is not the ability of the Engliſh Merchants only that maketh the Mart, but it is the reſort of other Nations to ſome one place when they do exchange their Commodities one with another, for the bargaining will be as well amongſt the Strangers themſelves; the Spaniards with the Almains, the Italians with Flemings, the Venetians with the Danes; *&c.* as other Nations will bargain with Us.

2. The Merchants of *London*, of *Briſtol*, and other places, will come thither for the Mart time, and traffique.

3. The Merchants will make ſhift enough for their Lodging.

4. There may be ſome of theſe Clothes that ſhall go hereafter, be bought with my Mony, and ſo carried to *Southampton* to be there uttered.

To the eighth Point.

1. *Bruges*, where the Mart was before, ſtood not on the River of *Rhine*, nor *Antwerp* doth not neither ſtand on that River.

2. *Frankfort* Mart may well ſtand for a Fair in *Almain*, although *Southampton* ſerve for all Nations that lie on the Sea-ſide; for few of thoſe come to *Frankfort* Mart.

Number 5.

Windſor, Sept. 23. *Sexto Edwardo Sexti.* 1552.

The Method in which the Council repreſented Matters of State to the King. An Original. Written by Sir William Cecil *Secretary of State.*

Queſtions.

1. *Whether the King's Majeſty ſhall enter into the Aid of the Emperor?*

Anſw. *He ſhall.*

A Pacto. 1. THe King is bound by the Treaty; and if he will be helped by that Treaty, he muſt do the Reciproque.

A periculo vitando. 2. If he do not Aid, the Emperor is like to Ruin, and conſequently the Houſe of *Burgundy* come to the French Poſſeſſion, which is perilous to *England*; and herein the greatneſs of the French King is dreadful.

Religio Chriſtiana. 3. The French King bringeth the Turk into Chriſtendom, and therefore that exploit to be ſtaied.

Periculum violati pacti. 4. If the Emperor, for Extremity, ſhould agree now with the French, then our Peril were double greater. 1. The Emperor's Offence for lack of Aid. 2. The French King's Enterpriſes towards us; and in this Peace, the Biſhop of *Rome*'s devotion towards us.

Pro Repub. & Patria. 5. Merchants be ſo evil uſed, that both for the loſs of Goods and Honour, ſome Remedy muſt be ſought.

Pericula conſequentia. 6. The French King's Proceedings be ſuſpicious to the Realm, by breaking and burning of our Ships, which be the old ſtrength of this Iſle.

Declaration of *Stuckley*'s Tale.

Anſwer, *He ſhall not.*

Difficile quaſi impoſſibile. 1. The Aid is to be chargeable for the Coſt, and almoſt to be executed is impoſſible.

Solitudo in periculis. 2. If the Emperor ſhould die in this Confederacy, we ſhould be left alone in the War.

Amicorum ſuſpitio vitanda. 3. It may be the German Proteſtants might be more offended with this Conjunction with the Emperor, doubting their own Cauſes.

Sperandum bene ab amicis. 4. The Amity with *France* is to be hoped will amend and continue; and the Commiſſioners coming may perchance reſtore.

Corro-

Corrolarium *of a mean way.*

Judicium.

1. So to help the Emperor as we may alſo join with other Chriſtian Princes, and conſpire againſt the French King, as a common Enemy to Chriſtendom.

Reaſons for the Common Conjunction.

1. The cauſe is common, and therefore there will be more Parties to it. Auxilia communia.

2. It ſhall avoid the chargeable entry into Aid with the Emperor, according to the Treaties. Sumptus vitandi.

3. If the Emperor ſhould die or break off, yet it is moſt likely ſome of the other Princes and Parties will remain, ſo as the King's Majeſty ſhall not be alone. Amicorum copia.

4. The Friendſhip ſhall much advance the King's other Cauſes in Chriſtendom. Dignitas cauſæ.

5. It ſhall be moſt honourable to break with the French King for this common Quarrel of Chriſtendom. Pro fide & Religione.

Reaſons againſt this Conjunction.

1. The Treaty muſt be with ſo many Parties, that it can neither be ſpeedily or ſecretly concluded. Inter multos nihil ſecretum.

2. If the Matter be revealed, and nothing concluded, then conſider the French King's Offence, and ſo may he at his leaſure be provoked to practiſe the like Conjunction againſt *England* with all the Papiſts. Amicitiæ irritatæ.

Concluſion.

1. The Treaty to be made with the Emperor, and by the Emperor's means with other Princes. *The King's Hand.*

2. The Emperor's Acceptation to be underſtanded, before we treat any thing againſt the French King.

Number 6.

A Method for the Proceedings in the Council, written with King Edward's *Hand.*

The Names of the whole Council.

The Biſhop of *Canterbury.*
The Bp of *Ely* Lord Chancellor.
The Lord Treaſurer.
The Duke of *Northumberland.*
The Lord Privy-Seal.
The Duke of *Suffolk.*
The Marqueſs of *Northampton.*
The Earl of *Shrewsbury.*
The Earl of *Weſtmoreland.*
The Earl of *Huntington.*
The Earl of *Pembrook.*
The Viſcount *Hereford.*
The Lord Admiral.
The Lord Chamberlain.
The Lord *Cobham.*
The Lord *Rich.*
Mr. Comptroller.
Mr. Treaſurer.
Mr. Vicechamberlain.
Mr. Secretary *Petre.*
Mr. Secretary *Cecil.*
Sir *Philip Hobbey.*
Sir *Robert Bowes.*
Sir *John Gage.*
Sir *John Maſon.*
Mr. *Ralph Sadler.*
Sir *John Baker.*
Judg *Broomley.*
Judg *Montague.*
Mr. *Wotton.*
Mr. *North.*

Thoſe that be now called in Commiſſion.

The Biſhop of *London.*
The Biſhop of *Norwich.*
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*
Sir *Richard Cotton.*
Sir *Walter Mildmay.*
Mr. Sollicitor.
Mr. *Goſnold.*
Mr. *Cook.*
Mr. *Lucas.*

The Counſellors above-named to be thus divided into ſeveral Commiſſions and Charges.

Firſt, For hearing of thoſe Suits which were wont to be brought to the whole Board.

The Lord Privy-Seal.
The Lord Chamberlain.
The Biſhop of *London.*
The Lord *Cobham.*
Mr. *Hobbey.*
Sir *John Maſon.*
Sir *Ralph Sadler.*
Mr. *Wotton.*
Mr. *Cook*, } Maſters of Requeſts.
Mr. *Lucas*, }

Thoſe Perſons to hear the Suits, to anſwer the Parties, to make Certificate what Suits they think meet to be granted; and upon anſwer received of their Certificate received, to diſpatch the Parties: Alſo to give full anſwer of denial to thoſe Suits that be not reaſonable nor convenient: Alſo to diſpatch all Matters of Juſtice, and to ſend to the common Courts thoſe Suits that be for them.

The Calling of Forfeits done againſt the Laws, for puniſhing the Offenders and breakers of Proclamations that now ſtand in force.

The Lord Privy-Seal.
The Earl of *Pembrook.*
The Lord Chamberlain.
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*
Sir *Robert Bowes.*
Mr. Secretary *Petre.*
Mr. *Hobbey.*
Mr. *Wotton.*
Sir *John Baker.*
Mr. Sollicitor.
Mr. *Goſnald.*

Theſe ſhall firſt ſee what Laws Penal, and what Proclamations, ſtanding now in force, are moſt meet to be executed, and ſhall bring a Certificate thereof. Then they ſhall enquire in the Countries how they are diſobeyed, and firſt, ſhall begin with the greateſt Offenders, and ſo afterward puniſh the reſt, according to the pains ſet forth. They ſhall receive alſo the Letters out of the Shires, of Diſorders there done, and puniſh the Offenders.

For the State.

The Biſhop of *Canterbury.*
The Lord Chancellor.
The Lord Treaſurer.
The Duke of *Northumberland.*
The Duke of *Suffolk.*
The Lord Privy-Seal.
The Marqueſs of *Northampton.*
The Earl of *Shrewsbury.*
The Earl of *Pembrook.*
The Earl of *Weſtmoreland.*
The Lord Admiral.
The Viſcount *Hereford.*
The Lord Chamberlain.
Mr. Vicechamberlain.
Mr. Treaſurer and Comptroller.
Mr. *Cecil.*
Mr. *Petre.*
Mr. *Wotton.*
Sir *Philip Hobbey.*
Sir *Robert Bowes.*

Theſe to attend the Matters of the State, I will ſit with them once a week to hear the debating of things of moſt importance.

Theſe Perſons under-written ſhall look to the ſtate of all the Courts, eſpecially of the new erected Courts, as the *Augmentation*, the *First Fruits* and *Tythes*, the *Wards*; and ſhall ſee the Revenues anſwered at the half Years end, and ſhall conſider with what ſuperfluous Charges they be burdened, and thereof ſhall make a Certificate which they ſhall deliver.

The Lord Chamberlain.
The Biſhop of *Norwich.*
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*
Sir *Robert Bowes.*
Sir *Richard Cotton.*
Sir *Walter Mildmay.*
Mr. *Goſnald.*

I underſtand it is a Member of the Commiſſion that followeth, but yet thoſe ſhall do well to do it for the preſent, becauſe the other ſhall have no leaſure till they have called in the Debts; after which done, they may ſit with them.

Thoſe that now be in Commiſſion for the Debts, to take Accompts of all Paiments ſince the 35*th* of the King that dead is, after that they have done this Commiſſion they are now in hand with.

Likewiſe for the Bullwarks, the Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Treaſurer, and Mr. Comptroller, to be in Commiſſion in their ſeveral Juriſdictions.

The reſt of the Council, ſome go home to their Countries ſtreight after the Parliament, ſome be ſore ſick that they ſhall not be able to attend any thing, which when they come, they ſhall be admitted of the Council. Alſo that theſe Councils that ſit apart. Alſo that thoſe of the Council that have theſe ſeveral Commiſſions.

Deſunt quedam.

15. *Jan.* 1552.

This ſeems not to be the King's Hand, but is interlined in many places by him.

Certain Articles deviſed and delivered by the King's Majeſty, for the quicker, better, and more orderly diſpatch of Cauſes, by his Majeſty's Privy-Council.

Cotton Libr. *Nero*. C. 10.

1. HIs Majeſty willeth, that all Suits, Petitions, and common Warrants delivered to his Privy-Council, be conſidered by them on the *Mundays* in the Morning, and anſwered alſo on the *Saturdays* at Afternoon; and that that day, and none others, be aſſigned to that purpoſe.

2. That in anſwering of theſe Suits and Bills of Petition, heed be taken that ſo many of them as pertain to any Court of his Majeſty's Laws be as much as may be referred to thoſe Courts where by order they are triable; ſuch as cannot be ended without them, be with expedition determined.

3. That in making of thoſe Warrants for Mony that paſs by them, it be foreſeen that thoſe Warrants be not ſuch as may already be diſpatcht by Warrant *dormant*, leſt by means of ſuch Warrants, the Accompts ſhould be uncertain.

4. His Majeſty's pleaſure is, That on the * *Sundays*, they intend the Publick Affairs of this Realm; they diſpatch Anſwers to Letters for the good order of the Realm, and make full Diſpatches of all Things concluded the Week before.

*Provided that on *Sundays* they be preſent at Common-Prayer.

5. That on the *Sunday* Night, the Secretaries, or one of them, ſhall deliver to his Majeſty a Memorial of ſuch Things as are debated to be by his Privy-Council, and then his Majeſty to appoint certain of them to be debated on ſeveral days, *viz.* *Munday* Afternoon, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday*, *Friday*, Morning.

6. That on *Friday* at Afternoon, they ſhall make a Collection of ſuch things as have been done the four days paſt; how many of thoſe Articles they have concluded; how many they debated but not ended; how many the time ſuffered not to peruſe; and alſo the principal Reaſons that moved them to conclude on ſuch Matters as ſeemeth doubtful.

7. That on *Saturday* Morning they ſhall preſent this Collection to his Majeſty, and know his Pleaſure upon ſuch things as they have concluded, and alſo upon all the private Suits.

8. That on *Sunday* Night again, his Majeſty having received of the Secretaries ſuch new Matters as hath ariſen upon new occaſion, with ſuch Matters as his Council have left, ſome not determined, and ſome not debated, ſhall appoint what Matters, and on which days ſhall be determined, the next Week following.

9. That none of them depart his Court for longer than two days, without there be left here at the leaſt eight of the Council, and that not without giving notice thereof to the King's Majeſty.

10. That they ſhall make no manner of Aſſembly or Meeting in Council, without there be to the number of four at the leaſt.

11. Furthermore, if they be aſſembled to the number of four, and under the number of ſix, then they ſhall reaſon and debate things, examine all Inconveniences and Dangers, and alſo Commodities on each ſide; make thoſe things plain which ſeem diffuſe at the firſt opening; and if they agree amongſt themſelves, then at the next full Aſſembly of ſix, they ſhall make a perfect concluſion and end with them.

12. Alſo if there riſe ſuch matter of weight, as it ſhall pleaſe the King's Majeſty himſelf to be at the debating of, then warning ſhall be given, whereby the more may be at the debating of it.

13. If ſuch Matter ſhall happen to riſe as ſhall require long debating and reaſoning, or e're it come to a full concluſion or end, then his Majeſty's Council ſhall not intermeddle other Cauſes, nor fall to other Matters for that day, until they have brought it to ſome end.

14. When Matters for lack of time be only debated, and yet brought to no end, then it ſhall be noted how far, and to what point the Matter is brought, and which have been the principal Reaſons on each ſide, to the intent when the Matter is treated or ſpoken of again, it may the ſooner and eaſilier come to concluſion.

15. In Matters that be long, tedious, and buſie, there may be pointed or choſen two or three, more or leſs, as the caſe ſhall ſeem to require, to prepare, ſet forth, and make plain the Matters, and to bring report thereof, whereby the things being leſs cumbrous and diffuſe, may the eaſilier be diſpatcht.

Finally; If upon Advertiſements, Letters, or other occaſion whatſoever there ariſe, Matters of great Importance, that require haſte, his Majeſty's meaning is not, but that ſuch Matters be waved, conſidered, and determined, notwithſtanding the Articles pointed to ſeveral days, ſo that neverthleſs this Order be not generally or commonly broken.

17. That all Warrants for Reward above 40 *l.* and for his Buſineſs or Affairs above 100 *l.* paſs not but under his Signature.

18. That no private Suit be intermedled with the great Affairs, but heard on the *Mundays* before.

19. If there be under four, and a Matter of Expedition ariſe, they ſhall declare it to the King's Majeſty, and before him debate it, but not ſend anſwer without it require wonderful haſte.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

Number I.

The Character of EDWARD *the Sixth, as it is given by* Cardanus, *lib.* 12. de Genituris, de Genitura *Edwardi* Sexti.

ADerant enim illi gratiæ ; Linguas enim multas adhuc Puer callebat : Latinam, Anglicam patriam, Gallicam ; non expers, ut audio, Græcæ, Italicæ & Hiſpanicæ, & forſan aliarum : Non illi Dialectica deerat, non Naturalis Philoſophiæ principia, non Muſica : Mortalitatis noſtræ imago, gravitas Regiæ Majeſtatis, indoles tanto Principe digna ; In univerſum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii & tantæ expectationis, Puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetorice exornata veritatem excedunt, ſed ſunt minora.

And afterwards.

Fuit in hoc monſtrificus puellus : hic linguas jam ſeptem, ut audio, perdidicerat ; propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exacte tenebat. Dialecticæ non expers, & ad omnia docilis. Cum illo congreſſus, decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum, interrogavit, (Latine non minus quam ego polite & prompte loquebatur) quid contineant libri tui de rerum varietate rari ? Hos enim nomini M. S. dedicaveram. Tum ego, Cometarum primum cauſam, diu fruſtra quæſitam, in primo capite oſtendo. Quænam, inquit ille ? Concurſus ego aio, luminis, erraticorum ſyderum. At Rex, Quomodo cum diverſis motibus aſtra moveantur, non ſtatim diſſipatur aut movetur illorum motu ? At ego, Movetur equidem, ſed longe celerius illis, ob diverſitatem aſpectus, velut in Criſtallo & ſole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, Et quonam pacto abſq; ſubjecto illud fieri poteſt, irridi enim paries ſubjectum ? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accenſæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaq; ex ungue leonem, ut dici ſolet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione

pectatione ob ingenuitatem atq; ſuavitatem morum. Prius ceperat favere artibus quam noſceret, & noſcere antequam uti poſſet. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis quem non ſolum Anglia, ſed orbis, ereptum immature deflere debet. Plurimum educationi debueramus, plus ereptum eſt hominum dolo, fraudeve. O quam bene dixerat ille

Immodicis brevis eſt ætas & rara ſenectus.

Specimen vertutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum.

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales, veſter corruit omnis honor;
Nam regum decus, & juvenum flos, ſpeſq; bonorum,
Delitiæ ſæcli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis Lachrymis, doctæq; Minervæ
Floſculus, heu miſere concidis ante diem!
Te tumulo dabimus Muſæ, ſupremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpomene triſtia fata cavet.

Ubi gravitas Regia requirebatur, ſenem vidiſſes, ut blandus erat & comis ætatem referebat. Cheli pulſabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atq; in his patrem æmulabatur. Qui dum nimium bonus eſſe ſtuduit, malus videri poterat: ſed a filio aberat ſuſpicio criminis, indoles Philoſophiæ ſtudiis exculta fuit.

Number 2.

The Commiſſion which the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury *took out for his Arch-Biſhoprick.*

Regiſt. *Cran.* Fol. 28. EDwardus ſextus, Dei Gratiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor, ac in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum Caput, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Partri, ac prædicto Conſiliario noſtro, Thomæ Cant. Archiep. ſalutem. Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam juriſdictio omnimodo; tum illa quæ Eccleſiaſtica dicitur, quam ſecularis, a regia Poteſtate velut a ſupremo Capite, ac omnium Magiſtratuum infra Regnum noſtrum, fonte & ſcaturigine primitus emanaverit; ſane illos qui juriſdictionem hujuſmodi antehac non niſi præcario fungebantur beneficium hujuſmodi ſic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoſcere, idque Regiæ munificentiæ ſolummodo acceptum referre, eique, quoties ejus Majeſtati videbitur, cedere convenit. Nos tuis in hac parte ſupplicationibus humilibus inclinati, & noſtrorum ſubditorum commodis conſulere cupientes. Tibi vices noſtras ſub modo & forma inferius deſcriptis committend. fore; teque licentiand. eſſe decernimus ad Ordinand. igitur quoſcunque infra Dioceſ. tuam Cant. ubicunque Oriundos, quos, moribus & literatura prævio diligenti & rigoroſo examine idoneos fore compereris, ac ad omnes etiam ſacros & Preſbyteratus Ordines promovend. ordinand. præſentatoſque ad beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque infra Dioc. tuam Cant. conſtituta, ſi ad curam Beneficiis hujuſmodi iminentem ſuſtinend. habiles reperti fuerint & idonei, ac non aliter admittend. ac in & de eiſdem inſtituend. & inveſtiend. ac etiam ſi res ita exigat, deſtituend. Beneficiaque Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque ad tuam collationem ſive diſpoſitionem ſpectantia & pertinentia Perſonis idoneis conferend. atque approband. teſtamenta & ultimas voluntates. Necnon adminiſtrationes committend. bonorum quorumcunq; ſubditorum noſtrorum ab inteſtat decedend. quorum bona jura ſive credita in diverſis Dioc. ſive juriſdictionibus, aut alibi juxta conſuetudinem Curiæ Prærogativæ Cant. vitæ & mortis ſuarum tempore habentium calculumque & ratiocinium, & alia in ea parte expediend. teſtamentaque & adminiſtrationes, quorumcunque tuæ Dioc. ut prius approband. & committend. cauſaſque lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. Indeciſas, necnon alias ſive alia quaſcunque ſive quæcunque ad forum Eccleſiaſticum pertinend. ad te aut tuos deputatos ſive deputandos per veſtram querelæ, aut appellationis devolvend. ſive deducend. quæ citra legum noſtrarum & Statutorum Regni noſtri offenſionem coram te aut tuis deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam ſive alicujus Comiſſariorum per te vigore hujus Commiſſionis jure deputandorum cognitione devolvi aut deduci valeant, & poſſunt examinand. & decidend. Cæteraq; omnia & ſingula in Præmiſſis, ſeu circa ea neceſſaria, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, per & ultra ea quæ tibi ex ſacris Literis divinitus Commiſſa eſſe dignoſcuntur, vice, nomine & Autoritate noſtris exequend. Tibi de cujus ſana Doctrina, Conſcientiæ puritate, vitæq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerundis fide & induſtria plurimum confidimus, vices noſtras cum poteſtate alium vel alios, Commiſſarium vel Commiſſarios, ad præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua ſurrogand. & ſubſtituend. eoſdemque ad placitum revocand. tenore præſentium Committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus, teq; licentiamus per præſentes ac noſtrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturatum cum cujuſlibet congrue & Eccleſiaſt. coercionis poteſtate, quacunq; inhibitione ante dat. præſentium emanata in aliquo non obſtante, tuam Conſcientiam coram Deo ſtrictiſſime onerantes, & ut ſummo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo ſub periculo corporali, reſpondere intendis te admonentes, ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & ſancte exercere ſtudeas, & ne quem ullo tempore unquam ad ſacros Ordines promoveas; vel ad curam animarum gerendam quoviſmodo admittas; niſi eos duntaxat quos & tanti & tam venerabilis officii functionem, vitæ & morum Integritas notiſſimis teſtimoniis approbata, literarum ſcientia & aliæ qualitates requiſitæ ad hoc habiles & idoneos clare & luculenter oſtenderint & declaraverint. Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium & maxime Chriſtianæ Religionis corruptelam, a malis paſtoribus in populum emanaſſe, ſic & veram Chriſti Religionem vitæq; & morum emendationem a bonis paſtoribus iterum delectis & aſſumptis in integrum reſtitutum iri haud dubie ſperamus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſentes Literas noſtras inde fieri, & ſigilli noſtri quo ad cauſas Eccleſiaſticas utimur appenſione juſſimus communiri. Datum ſeptimo die menſis Februarii, Anno Dom. milleſimo quingenteſimo quadrageſimo ſexto & Regni noſtri Anno primo.

Number 3.

The Councils Letter to the Juſtices of Peace.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

AFter our right hearty Commendations, where the moſt Noble King, of famous memory, our late Soveraign Lord and Maſter King *Henry* the *8th*, (whom God pardon) upon the great Truſt which his Majeſty had in your virtous Wiſdoms and good Diſpoſitions to the Common-Wealth of this Realm, did ſpecially name and appoint you, among others, by his Commiſſions under his Great Seal of *England*, to be Conſervatours and Juſtices of his Peace, within that his County of *Norfolk*. Foraſmuch as the ſame Commiſſions were diſſolved by his deceaſe, it hath pleaſed the King's Majeſty, our Soveraign Lord that now is, by the Advice and Conſent of us, the Lord Protector and others Executors to our ſaid late Soveraign Lord, whoſe Names be underwritten; to whom with others, the Government of his moſt Royal Perſon, and the Order of his Affairs, is by his laſt Will and Teſtament committed, till he ſhall be of full Age of eighteen Years, to cauſe new Commiſſions again to be made for the conſervation of his Peace throughout this Realm, whereof you ſhall by this Bearer receive one for that County. And for that the good and diligent execution of the Charge committed to you and others by the ſame, ſhall be a notable Surety to the King, our Soveraign Lord's Perſon that now is, to whom God give increaſe of Vertue, Honour, and many Years, a moſt certain Stay to the Common-Wealth, which muſt needs proſper where Juſtice hath place and reigneth. We ſhall deſire you, and in his Majeſty's Name charge and command you, upon the receit hereof, with all diligence, to aſſemble your ſelves together; and calling unto you all ſuch others as be named in the ſaid Commiſſion. You ſhall firſt cry and call to God to give you Grace to execute this Charge committed unto you with all truth and uprightneſs, according to your Oaths, which you ſhall endeavour your ſelves to do in all things appertaining to your Office accordingly: in ſuch ſort as all private Malice, Sloth, Negligence, Diſpleaſure, Diſdain, Corruption, and ſiniſter Affections ſet apart, it may appear you have God, and the preſervation of your Soveraign Lord, and natural Country before your Eyes; and that you forget not that by the ſame, your Selves, your Wives, and your Children, ſhall ſurely proſper and be alſo preſerved. For the better doing whereof, you ſhall at this your firſt Aſſembly, make a diviſion of your ſelves into Hundreds or Wapentakes; that is to ſay, Two at the leaſt to have eſpecial eye and regard to the good Rule and Order of that, or thoſe Hundreds, to ſee the Peace duly kept, to ſee Vagabonds and Perturbers of the Peace puniſhed, and that every Man apply himſelf to do as his Calling doth require; and in all things to keep good Order, without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing that by the Laws of our late Soveraign Lord is preſcribed and ſet forth unto us, for the better direction and framing of our ſelves towards God and honeſt Policy. And if any Perſon, or Perſons, whom ye ſhall think you cannot Rule and Order, without trouble to this Country, ſhall preſume to do the contrary, upon your Information to us thereof, we ſhall ſo aid and aſſiſt you in the execution of Juſtice, and the puniſhment of all ſuch contemptuous Offenders, as the ſame ſhall be example to others. And further, his Majeſty's Pleaſure, by the Advice and Conſent aforeſaid is, That you ſhall take ſuch Orders amongſt you, as you fail not once every ſix weeks, till you ſhall be otherwiſe commanded, to write unto the ſaid Lord Protector, and others of the Privy-Council, in what ſtate that Shire ſtandeth; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen, in thoſe Parts that you cannot redreſs, which would be ſpeedily met withal and looked unto; or whether you ſhall need any advice or counſel, to the intent we may put our hands to the ſtay and reformation of it in the beginning, as appertains: Praying you alſo to take order, That every Commiſſioner in the Shire may have a Double, or a Copy of this Letter, both for his own better Inſtruction, and to ſhew to the Gentlemen, and ſuch others as inhabit in the Hundreds, ſpecially appointed to them, that every Man may the better conform himſelf to do Truth, and help to the advancement of Juſtice according to their moſt bounden Duties, and as they will anſwer for the contrary. Thus fare you well. From the *Tower* of *London*, the 12*th* of *February*.

Your loving Friends,

E. *Hertford.*

T. Cantuarien. *Thomas Wriothelſey* Cancel. *W. St. John.*

J. Ruſſell.
Anthony Brown.
Anthony Denny.

Cuth. Dureſme.
William Paget.
W. Herbert.
Edward North.

Number 4.

The Order for the Coronation of King *Edward.*

Sunday, the 13*th* of *Febr.* at the *Tower*, &c.

THis day the Lord Protector, and others his Executors, whoſe Names be hereunto ſubſcribed, upon mature and deep deliberation had among them, did finally reſolve, That foraſmuch as divers of the old Obſervances and Ceremonies afore-times uſed at the Coronations of the Kings of this Realm, were by them thought meet, for ſundry reſpects, to be corrected; and namely, for the tedious length of the ſame, which ſhould weary and be hurtſome peradventure to the King's Majeſty, being yet of tender Age, fully to endure and bide out. And alſo for that many Points of the ſame were ſuch as by the Laws of the Realm at this preſent were not allowable. The King's Majeſty's Coronation Ex Libro Concilii.

nation ſhould be done and celebrated upon *Shrove-Sunday* next enſuing, in the Cathedral Church of *Weſtminſter*, after the Form and Order enſuing.

Firſt; The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſhall ſhew the King to the People at four parts of the great Pulpit or Stage to be made for the King, and ſhall ſay on this wiſe; *Sirs, Here I preſent King* Edward *rightful and undoubted Inheritor, by the Laws of God and Man, to the Royal Dignity and Crown Imperial of this Realm, whoſe Conſecration, Inunction, and Coronation, is appointed by all the Nobles and Peers of this Land to be this day. Will ye ſerve at this time, and give your good-wills and aſſents to the ſame Conſecration, Inunction, and Corronation, as by your Duty of Allegiance ye be bound to do?*

The People to Anſwer, *Yea, Yea, Yea*; *King* Edward, *King* Edward, *King* Edward.

This done, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, being reveſted as he ſhould go to Maſs, with the Biſhops of *London* and *Winchester* on both ſides, with other Biſhops, and the Dean of *Weſtminſter* in the Biſhop's abſence, to go in order before the King; the King ſhall be brought from his Seat by them that aſſiſted him to the Church to the high Altar, where after his Prayer made to God for his Grace, he ſhall offer a Pall and a pound of Gold, 24 pound in Coin, which ſhall be to him delivered by the Lord Great Chamberlain. Then ſhall the King fall groveling before the Altar, and over him the Arch-Biſhop ſhall ſay this Collect, *Deus humilium*, &c. Then the King ſhall riſe and go to his Chair, to be prepared before the Altar, his Face to the Altar, and ſtanding, one ſhall hold him a Book; and the Arch-Biſhop ſtanding before the King, ſhall ask him, with a loud and diſtinct Voice, in Manner and Form following.

Will ye grant to keep to the People of England, *and others your Realms and Dominions, the Laws and Liberties of this Realm, and others your Realms and Dominions?*

I grant and promit.

You ſhall keep, to your ſtrength and power, to the Church of God, and to all the People, holy Peace and Concord.

I ſhall keep.

You ſhall make to be done, after your Strength and Power, equal and rightful Juſtice in all your Dooms and Judgments, with Mercy and Truth.

I ſhall do.

Do you grant to make no Laws, but ſuch as ſhall be to the Honour and Glory of God, and to the Good of the Common-Wealth; and that the ſame ſhall be made by the conſent of your People, as hath been accuſtomed.

I grant and promit.

Then ſhall the King riſe out of his Chair, and by them that before aſſiſted him, be led to the High Altar, where he ſhall make a ſolemn Oath upon the Sacrament, laid upon the ſaid Altar, in the ſight of all the People, to obſerve the Premiſſes; and laying his Hand again on the Book, ſhall ſay;

The things which I have before promiſed, I ſhall obſerve and keep. So God help me, and thoſe holy Evangeliſts by Me bodily touched upon this holy Altar.

That done, the King ſhall fall again groveling before the High Altar, and the ſaid Arch-Biſhop kneeling before him, ſhall, with a loud Voice, begin *Veni Creator Spiritus*, &c.

Which done, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſtanding, ſhall ſay over the King, *Te invocamus*; and at the end ſhall kneel again, and then ſhall the King riſe and be ſet in the Chair again; and after a little pauſe he ſhall riſe, and aſſiſted with thoſe that did before that Office, go again to the High Altar, where he ſhall be uncloathed by his Great Chamberlain unto his Coat of Crimſon Satin; which, and alſo his Shirt, ſhall be opened before and behind on the Shoulders, and the bowght of the Arms, by the ſaid Great Chamberlain, to the intent that on thoſe Places he be anointed; and whiles he is in the anointing, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, muſt hold a Pall over him. And firſt, The ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſhall anoint the King, kneeling, in the Palms of his Hands, ſaying theſe words, *Ungas Manus*; with this Collect, *Reſpice Omnipotens Deus*. After he ſhall anoint him in the Breſt, in the midſt of his Back, on his two Boughts of his Arms, and on his Head making a Croſs; and after making another Croſs on his Head, with Holy Chriſm, ſaying as he anointeth the places aforeſaid, *Ungatur Caput, ungantur ſcapulæ*, &c. During which time of Unction, the Quire ſhall continually ſing, *Ungebant Regem*, and the Pſalm, *Domine in virtute tua lætabitur Rex*. And it is to be remembred, that the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter*, after the King's Inunction, ſhall dry all the Places of his Body, where he was anointed, with Cotton, or ſome Linnen Cloth, which is to be burnt. And furthermore the places opened for the ſame, is to be cloathed by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and on the King's Hands ſhall be put, by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a pair of Linnen Gloves, which the Lord Great Chamberlain ſhall before ſee prepared.

This done, the King ſhall riſe, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſhall put on the King a Tabert of Tanteron-white, ſhaped in manner of a Dalmatick; and he ſhall put up on the King's Head a Quoif, the ſame to be brought by the Great Chamberlain. Then the King ſhall take the Sword he was girt withal, and offer it himſelf to God, laying it on the Altar, in token that his Strength and Power ſhould firſt come from God. And the ſame Sword he ſhall take again from the Altar, and deliver to ſome great Earl, to be redeemed of the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter* for 100 *s.* which Sword ſhall be born naked afterwards before the King.

Then the King being ſet in his Chair before the Altar, ſhall be crowned with St. *Edward*'s Crown; and there ſhall be brought, by the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Royal Sandals and Spurs to be preſently put on by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and the Spurs again immediately taken off, that they do not encumber him.

Then the Arch-Biſhop, with all the Peers and Nobles, ſhall convey the King, ſuſtained as before, again into the Pulpit, ſetting him in his

Siege Royal; and then ſhall the Arch-Biſhop begin, *Te Deum Laudamus*; which done, the Arch-Biſhop ſhall ſay unto the King, *Sta & retine a modo locum.* And the King being thus ſet, all the Peers of the Realm, and Biſhops, holding up their Hands, ſhall make unto him Homage as followeth; firſt, the Lord Protector alone, then the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor, ſo two and two as they be placed.

J. N. *become your Liege Man, of Life and Limb, and of earthly Worſhip, and Faith, and Truth, I ſhall bear unto you, againſt all manner of Folks, as I am bound by my Allegiance, and by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. So help us God and Allhallowes.* And then every one ſhall kiſs the King's left Cheek; which done, all they holding up their hands together, in token of their Fidelity, ſhall with one Voice on their knees ſay. *We offer to ſuſtain and defend you and your Crown, with our Lives, and Lands, and Goods, againſt all the World.* And then with one Voice to cry, *God ſave King* Edward; which the People ſhall cry accordingly. Then ſhall the King be led to his Travers to hear the High Maſs, and ſo depart home crowned in Order, as he ſet forth accordingly.

E. *Hertford.*

T. Cantuarien. Tho. Wriotheſley, Cancel. *W. St. John. J. Ruſſel. John Liſle. Cuth. Dureſme. Anthony Brown. W. Paget. Anthony Denny. W. Herbert.*

Number 5.

The Commiſſion for which the Lord Chancellor was deprived of his Office; with the Opinion of the Judges concerning it.

Ex Libro Concilii. *Fol.* 49.

EDwardus ſextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor; & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum Caput, dilectis & fidelibus Conſiliariis ſuis, Roberto Southwell Militi, cuſtodi ac Magiſtro Rotulorum Cancellariæ noſtræ, & Johanni Tregonwell Armigero uni Magiſtrorum Cancellariæ noſtræ prædictæ, & dilectis ſibi Johanni Olyver Clerico, & Antonio Bellaſis Clerico, Magiſtris ejuſdem Cancellariæ noſtræ ſalutem. Quia prædilectus & fidelis conſanguineus noſter Thomas Comes Southampton Cancellarius noſter Angliæ, noſtris arduis negotiis ex mandato noſtro continuo intendens, in eiſdem adeo verſatur, quod ad ea quæ in Curia Cancellariæ noſtræ, in cauſis & materiis inter diverſos ligeos & ſubditos noſtros ibidem pendentibus, tractand. audiend. diſcutiend. & terminand. Sicut ut fieri debeant, ad preſens non ſufficiat: volentes proinde in ejuſdem Cancellarii noſtri abſentia omnibus ligeis & ſubditis noſtris quibuſcunque, quaſcunque materias ſuas in Curia Cancellariæ noſtræ prædictæ proſequentibus, plenam & celerem juſtitiam exhiberi, ac de fidelitatibus, & providis circumſpectionibus veſtris plenius confidentes, aſſignavimus, vos tres, & duos veſtrum, ac tenore præſentium damus vobis tribus & duobus, plenam poteſtatem & autoritatem audiendi & examinandi

quaſcunq; materias, cauſas, & Petitiones coram nobis in Cancellaria noſtra, inter quoſcunq; ligeos & ſubditos noſtros nunc pendentes, & in poſterum ibidem exhibend. & pendend. & eaſdem materias, cauſas & Petitiones, juxta ſanas veſtras diſcretiones, finaliter terminand. & debitæ executioni demandand. parteſq; in materiis ſive cauſis vel Petitionibus illis nominatis & ſpecificatis ad teſtes & alios quoſcunque, quos vobis fore videbitur, evocandos, quoties expedire videbitis coram vobis tribus vel duobus veſtrum evocandos; & ipſos & eorum quemlibet debite examinari compellend. dieſq; productorios imponend. & aſſignand. proceſſuſq; quoſcunq; in ea parte neceſſarios concedend. & fieri faciend. contemptus etiam quoſcunq; ibidem commiſſos ſive perpetratos, debite caſtigand. & puniend. cæteraque omnia & ſingula faciend. & exequend. quæ circa præmiſſa neceſſaria fuerint; ſeu quomodolibet opportuna: Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa promiſſa diligenter attendatis, ac ea faciatis, & exequamini cum effectu. Mandamus etiam tenore præſentium omnibus & ſingulis Officiariis & Miniſtris noſtris curiæ noſtræ prædictæ, quod vobis tribus, & duobus voſtrum in executione præmiſſorum diligenter intendant, prout decet: Volumus enim & per præſentes concedimus, quod omnia & ſingula judicia ſive finalia decreta per vos tres vel duos veſtrũ ſuper hujuſmodi cauſis, ſive materiis reddend. ſeu fiend. ſicut & eſſe debeant, tanti & conſimilis valoris, effectus, efficaciæ, roboris, & virtutis, ac ſi per Dominum Cancellarium Angliæ & Curiæ Cancellariæ prædictæ, reddita, ſeu reddenda forent, proviſo ſemper, quod omnia & ſingula hujuſmodi judicia ſeu finalia decreta, per vos tres vel duos veſtrum, virtute præſentium reddend. ſeu fiend. manibus veſtris trium vel duorum veſtrum, ſubſcribantur & conſignentur, & ſuperinde eadem judicia ſive decreta præfato Cancellario noſtro præſententur & liberentur, ut idem Cancellarius noſter antequam irrotulentur, eadem ſimiliter manu ſua conſignet. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſt. 18 die Feb. Anno Regni noſtri primo.

THE ſaid Students referring to the conſideration of the ſaid Protector and Council, what the granting out of the ſaid Commiſſion without warrant did weigh; Foraſmuch as the ſaid Protector and Council minding the ſurety of the King's Majeſty, and a direct and upright proceeding in his Affairs, and the obſervation of their Duties in all things, as near as they can, to his Majeſty, with a deſire to avoid all things which might offend his Majeſty, or his Laws; and conſidering, that the ſaid Commiſſion was none of the things which they in their Aſſemblies in Council, at any time ſince the Death of the King's Majeſty late deceaſed, did accord to be paſſed under the Great Seal, have for their own Diſcharges required us, whoſe Names be under-written, for the Opinion they have of our knowledge and experience in the Laws of this Realm, to conſider the ſaid Caſe of making of the ſaid Commiſſion without warrant; and after due conſideration thereof, to declare in writing to what the ſaid Caſe doth weigh in Law. We therefore, whoſe Names be under-written, after mature and adviſed conſultation and deliberation thereupon; do affirm and ſay, for our Knowledges and Determinations, That the ſaid Chancellor of *England* having made forth, under the Great Seal of *England*, without any

Warrant, the Commiſſion aforeſaid hath done, and doth by his ſo doing offend the King's Majeſty, hath and doth by the Common Law, forfeit his Office of Chancellor, and incurreth the Danger, Penalty, and Paiment, of ſuch Fine as it ſhall pleaſe the King's Majeſty, with the adviſe of the ſaid Lord Protector and Council to ſet upon him for the ſame; with alſo Impriſonment of his Body at the King's Will: In Witneſs whereof we have ſet our Names to this Preſent, the laſt day of *Februaty*, in the firſt Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord King *Edward* the *6th*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth of the Church of *England*; and alſo of *Ireland* the Supream Head; And have likewiſe, for more ample teſtimony of this our Opinion of, and upon the Premiſſes, put and ſubſcribed our Names to this preſent Duplicate of the ſame here aſſerted, in this preſent Act of this *6th* day of the month of *March* accordingly.

Number 6.

The Duke of Somerſet's *Commiſſion to be Protector.*

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 62.

EDward the *6th*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland*, in Earth the Supream Head. Whereas our Council, and divers of the Nobles and Prelats of this our Realm of *England*, conſidering Our young and tender Age, have thought meet and expedient, as well for Our Education, and bringing up in Knowledg, Learning, and Exerciſes of Good and Godly Manners, Vertues, and Qualities, meet and neceſſary for a Prince of Our Eſtate, and whereby We ſhould, and may at Our full Age be the more able to miniſter and execute the Charge of our Kingly Eſtate and Office, committed unto Us by the Goodneſs of Almighty God, and left, and come unto Us, by right Inheritance, after and by the deceaſe of Our late Soveraign Lord and Father, of moſt famous Memory, King *Henry* the *8th*, whoſe Soul God pardon. As alſo to the intent, that during the time of our Minority, the great and weighty Cauſes of our Realms and Dominions may be ſet forth, conducted, paſſed, applied, and ordered, in ſuch ſort, as ſhall be moſt to the Glory of God, our Surety and Honour; and for the Weal, Benefit, and Commodity of Us, Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of all Our loving Subjects of the ſame, have adviſed Us to nominate, appoint, and authorize ſome one meet and truſty Perſonage, above all others, to take the ſpecial Care and Charge of the ſame for Us, and in our Name and Behalf; without the which the things before remembred could not, nor can be done ſo well as appertaineth. We therefore uſing their Advices and Counſels in this behalf, did heretofore aſſign and appoint our dear and well-beloved Uncle *Edward*, now Duke of *Somerſet*, Governour of our Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of our Subjects and People of the ſame. Which thing, albeit We have already declared heretofore, and our Pleaſure therein publiſhed by Word of our Mouth, in the preſence of Our ſaid Council, Nobles, and Prelats of

Our ſaid Realm of *England*, and not by any Writing ſet forth under Our Seal for that only purpoſe. Yet for a more perfect and manifeſt knowledg, and further corroboration and underſtanding of Our determination in that behalf; and conſidering that no manner of Perſon is ſo meet to have and occupy the ſaid Charge and Adminiſtration, and to do Us ſervice in the ſame, as is Our ſaid Uncle *Edward*, Duke of *Somerſet*, eldeſt Brother to our Natural moſt gracious late Mother Queen *Jane*, as well for the proximity of Blood, whereby he is the more ſtirred to have ſpecial eye and regard to our Surety and good Education, in this Our ſaid Minority; as alſo for the long and great experience which Our ſaid Uncle hath had in the Life-time of Our ſaid dear Father, in the Affairs of our ſaid Realm and Dominions, both in time of Peace and War; whereby he is more able to Order and Rule Our ſaid Realms, Dominions, and Subjects of the ſame: and for the ſpecial confidence and truſt that We have in Our ſaid Uncle, as well with the Advice and Conſent of our Council, and other our Nobles and Prelats, as alſo of divers diſcreet and ſage Men that ſerved Our ſaid late Father in his Council and weighty Affairs; We therefore, by theſe Preſents, do not only ratify, approve, confirm, and allow, all and every thing and things whatſoever deviſed or ſet forth, committed or done by Our ſaid Uncle, as Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, ſith the time he was by Us named, appointed, and ordained by Word Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, as is aforeſaid, or otherwiſe any time before, ſithence the death of Our ſaid late Father. But alſo by theſe Preſents, We for a full and perfect Declaration of the Authority of Our ſaid Uncle, given and appointed as aforeſaid, do nominate, appoint, and ordain Our ſaid Uncle, Governor of Our ſaid Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, until ſuch time as We ſhall have, by the ſufferance of God, accompliſhed the Age of eighteen Years.

And We alſo do grant to Our ſaid Uncle, by theſe Preſents, full Power and Authority, from time to time, until ſuch time as We ſhall have accompliſhed the ſaid Age of eighteen Years, to do, procure, and execute, and cauſe to be done, procured, and executed, all and every ſuch Thing and Things, Act and Acts, which a Governor of the King's Perſon of this Realm, during his Minority, and a Protector of his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, ought to do, procure, and execute, or cauſe to be done, procured, and executed; and alſo all and every other thing and things, which to the Office of a Governor of a King of the Realm, during his Minority, and of a Protector of his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, in any wiſe appertaineth or belongeth. Willing, Authoriſing, and Commanding, Our ſaid Uncle, by theſe Preſents, to take upon him the Name, Title, and Authority of Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects; and to do, procure, and execute, and cauſe to be done, procured and executed, from time to time, until We ſhall have accompliſhed the ſaid Age of eighteen Years, all and every Thing and Things, Act and Acts, of what Nature, Quality, or Effect ſoever they be or ſhall be, concerning our Affairs, Doings, and Proceedings, both Private and Publick, as well in Outward and Forreign Cauſes and Matters, as alſo concerning our Affairs, Doings, and Proceedings within Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, or in any of them, or concerning any Manner, Cauſes, or Matters, of any of our Subjects of the ſame, in ſuch like manner and form as ſhall be thought, by his Wiſdom and Diſcretion, to be for the Honour, Surety, Proſperity, good Order, Wealth, or Commodity of Us, or of any of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, or of the Subjects of any of the ſame.

And to the intent Our ſaid Uncle ſhould be furniſhed with Men qualified in Wit, Knowledg, and Experience for his Aid and Aſſiſtance, in the managing and accompliſhment of Our ſaid Affairs, We have, by the Advice and Conſent of Our ſaid Uncle, and others, the Nobles, Prelats, and wiſe Men of Our ſaid Realm of *England*, choſen, taken, and accepted, and by theſe Preſents do chuſe, take, accept, and ordain to be our Counſellors, and of our Council, the moſt Reverend Father in God, *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and our right Truſty and well-beloved *William*, Lord *St. John*, Great Maſter of our Houſhold, and Preſident of our Council; *John* Lord *Ruſſel* Keeper of our Privy-Seal; and Our truſty and right well-beloved Couſins, *William* Marqueſs of *Northampton*; *John* Earl of *Warwick*, Great Chamberlain of *England*; *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, our Lord Chamberlain; *Thomas* Lord *Seymour* of *Sudley*, High Admiral of *England*; the Reverend Father in God, *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſm*, and Our right truſty and well-beloved *Richard* Lord *Rich*; Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Knight of our Order, and Treaſurer of our Houſhold; Sir *John Gage* Knight of our Order, and Comptroller of our Houſhold; Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight of our Order, Maſter of our Horſes; Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Knight of our Order, our Vicechamberlain; Sir *William Paget* Knight of our Order, Our chief Secretary; Sir *William Petre* Knight, one of Our two principal Secretaries; Sir *Ralph Sadler* Knight, Maſter of our Great Wardrobe; Sir *John Baker* Kt. Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*; Sir *Anthony Denny* and Sir *William Herbert* Kts. Gentlemen of our Privy-Chamber; Sir *Edward North* Kt. Chancellor of our Court of Augmentations and Revenues of our Crown; Sir *Edward Montague* Kt. Chief Juſtice of our Common-Pleas; Sir *Edward Wotton* Kt. Sir *Edmund Peckham* Kt. Cofferer of our Houſhold; Sir *Thomas Bromley* Kt. one of the Juſtices for Pleas before us to be holden, and Sir *Richard Southwell* Kt.

And furthermore We are contented and pleaſed, and by theſe Preſents do give full Power and Authority to our ſaid Uncle, from time to time, untill We ſhall have accompliſhed, and be of the full Age of eighteen Years, to call, ordain, name, appoint, and ſwear ſuch, and as many other Perſons of our Subjects, as to him our ſaid Uncle ſhall ſeem meet and requiſite to be of our Council; and that all and every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, ſo by our ſaid Uncle, for and during the time aforeſaid to be called, named, ordained, appointed, and ſworn of our Council, and to be our Counſellor or Counſellors, We do by theſe Preſents name, ordain, accept, and take our Counſellor and Counſellors, and of our Council in like manner and form, as if he, they, and every of them, were in theſe Preſents by Us appointed, named, and taken to be of our Council, and our Counſellor or Counſellors, by expreſs Name or

Names. And that alſo of our forenamed Counſellors, or of any others which our ſaid Uncle ſhall hereafter at any time take and chuſe to be our Counſellor or Counſellors, or of our ſaid Council, he our ſaid Uncle ſhall, may, and have Authority by theſe Preſents, to chuſe, name, appoint, uſe, and ſwear of Privy-Council, and to be our Privy-Counſellor or Counſellors, ſuch and ſo many as he from time to time ſhall think convenient.

And it is Our further pleaſure, and alſo We will and grant by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, That whatſoever Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing, or Things, of what Nature, Quality, or Condition ſoever the ſame be; yea, though the ſame require, or ought by any Manner, Law, Statute, Proclamation, or other Ordinance whatſoever, to be ſpecially, or by Name, expreſſed or ſet forth in this Our preſent Grant or Letters Patents, and be not herein expreſſed or mentioned, ſpecially which Our ſaid Uncle, or any of our Privy-Counſellor, or Counſellors, with the Advice, Conſent, or Agreement of Our ſaid Uncle, have thought neceſſary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any manner-wiſe convenient to be deviſed, done, or executed, during our Minority, and until We come to the full Age of eighteen Years, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Health, or Education of our Perſon; or for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Weal, Benefit, or Commodity of any of our Realms, Dominions, or Subjects; and the ſame have deviſed, done, or executed, or cauſed to be deviſed, executed, or done at any time ſince the Death of Our moſt Noble Father of moſt famous memory. We are contented, and pleaſed, and will and grant, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, that the ſame Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing and Things, and every of them, ſhall ſtand, remain, and be (until ſuch time our ſaid Uncle, with ſuch and ſo many of Our foreſaid Counſellors as he ſhall think meet to call unto his aſſiſtance, ſhall revoke and annihilate the ſame) good, ſure, ſtable, vailable, and effectual, to all Intents and Purpoſes, without offence of Us, or againſt Us, or of or againſt any of our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other Ordinances whatſoever; and without incurring therefore into any Danger, Penalty, Forfeit, Loſs; or any other Encumbrance, Penalty, or Vexation of his or their Bodies, Lands, Rents, Goods, or Chattels; or of their, or of any of their Heirs, Executors, or Adminiſtrators, or of any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, which have done or executed any Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, now, or any time ſince the Death of Our ſaid Father, by the Commandment or Ordinance of Our ſaid Uncle, or any of our Counſellors, with the Advice, Conſent, or Agreement of Our ſaid Uncle.

And further We are contented and pleaſed, and will and grant, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, that whatſoever Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, of what Nature, Quality, or Condition ſoever the ſame be, or ſhall be; yea, though the ſame require, or ought by any Manner, Law, Statute, Proclamation, or other whatſoever Ordinance to be ſpecially and by name expreſſed and ſet forth in this our preſent Grant and Letters Patents, and be not herein ſpecially named or expreſſed, which our ſaid Uncle ſhall at any time, during our Minority, and until We ſhall come to the full Age of eighteen Years, think neceſſary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any wiſe convenient to be deviſed, had, made, executed or done in our Name, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Health, or Education of our Perſon, or which our ſaid Uncle, with the Advice and Conſent of ſuch, and ſo many of our Privy-Council, or of our Counſellors, as he ſhall think meet to call unto him from time to time, ſhall at any time, until We come unto the full Age of eighteen Years, think neceſſary, meet, decent, expedient, or in any-wiſe convenient to be deviſed, had, made, executed, or done in our Name, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Weal, Benefit, or Commodity of any of our Realms, Dominions, or Subjects, or any of them, he Our ſaid Uncle and Counſellors, and every of them, and all and every other Perſon or Perſons, by his Our ſaid Uncle's Commandment, Direction, Appointment, or Order, or by the Commandment, Appointment, Direction, or Order of any of Our ſaid Counſellors, ſo as Our ſaid Uncle agree, and be contented, to and with the ſame, ſhall and may do, or execute the ſame without diſpleaſure to Us, or any manner of Crime or Offence to be by Us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, laid or imputed to him Our ſaid Uncle, or any Our ſaid Counſellors, or any other Perſon or Perſons therefore, or in that behalf, and without any offence of or againſt our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other whatſoever Ordinances; and without incurring therefore into any Dammages, Penalty, Forfeit, Loſs, or any other Encumbrance, Trouble, or Vexation of his, or any of their Bodies, Lands, Tenements, Goods or Chattels; or of his or their, or any their Heirs, Succeſſors, Aſſigns, Executors or Adminiſtrators. And therefore we Will and Command, not only all and every our Judges, Juſtices, Serjeants, Attornies, Sollicitors, Sheriffs, Eſcheators, Bailiffs, and all other our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, that now be, or hereafter ſhall be, in no wiſe to Impeach, Appeal, Arreſt, Trouble, Vex, Injure, or Moleſt in our Name or otherwiſe, Our ſaid Uncle, or our ſaid Counſellors, or any of them, or any other Perſon, for any Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, which he or they, or any of them have done, or ſhall do, execute, or cauſe to be executed ot done as aforeſaid; But alſo We require, and nevertheleſs ſtraitly Charge and Command, by theſe Preſents, all and every our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition ſoever he or they be, or ſhall be, to be obedient, aiding, attendant and aſſiſting to Our ſaid Uncle and Counſellors, and to every of them as behoveth, for the execution of this Charge and Commiſſion given and committed unto Our ſaid Uncle and Council as aforeſaid, as they tender our Favour, and their own Weals, and as they will anſwer unto Us at their uttermoſt Perils for the contrary. In Witneſs whereof, We have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents; Witneſs our Self at *Weſtminſter*, the 13*th* day of *March*, in the firſt Year of our Reign.

E. *Somerſet.*

T. Cantuarien. *W. St. John.* *J. Ruſſell.* *W. Northamp.*

T. Cheynie.

Anthony Brown. *William Paget.*

Number

Number 7.

The King's Letter to the Arch-Biſhop of York, *concerning the Viſitation then intended.*

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

EDwardus ſextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor, ac in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum Caput, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, ac prædilecto Conſiliario noſtro Roberto permiſſione divina Eboracen. Archiepiſc. Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano ſalutem. Quum nos, ſuprema Authoritate noſtra Regia, omnia & ſingula loca Eccleſiaſtica, clerumq; & populum infra & per totum noſtrum Angliæ Regnum conſtituta, propediem viſitare ſtatuerimus, Vobis tenore præſentium ſtricte inhibemus atq; mandamus & per vos Suffraganeis veſtris confratribus Epiſcopis, ac per illos ſuis Archidiaconis ac aliis quibuſcunq; juriſdictionem Eccleſiaſticam exercentibus, tam exemptis quam non exemptis, infra veſtram Provinciam Eboracenſ. ubilibet conſtitutis ſic inhibere volumus atq; præcipimus, quatenus nec vos nec quiſquam eorum Eccleſias, aut alia loca prædicta Clerumve aut populum viſitare, aut ea quæ ſunt juriſdictionis exercere ſeu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ noſtræ Viſitationis generalis quoviſmodo attemptare preſumat ſive preſumant ſub pœna contemptus, donec & quouſq; licentiam & facultatem vobis & eis in ea parte largiend. & impertiend. fore duxerimus. Et quia non ſolum internam animorum ſubditorum noſtrorum pacem; verum etiam externam eorum concordiam multiplicibus opinionum procellis ex contentione, diſſentione & contraverſiis concionatorum exortis, multum corruptam, violatam ac miſere divulſam eſſe cernimus; Idcirco nobis admodum neceſſarium viſum eſt ad ſedandas & componendas hujuſmodi opinionum varietates, quatenus inhibeatis, ſeu inhiberi faciatis omnibus & ſingulis Epiſcopis, nec alibi quam in Eccleſiis ſuis Cathedralibus, & aliis Perſonis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque, ne in alio loco quam in ſuis Eccleſiis, Collegiatis, ſive Parochialibus, in quibus intitulati ſunt, predicent, aut ſubditis noſtris quoviſmodo concionandi munus exerceant, niſi ex gratia noſtra ſpeciali ad id poſtea licentiati fuerint, ſub noſtræ indignationis pæna. In cujus rei teſtimonium, Sigillum noſtrum, quo ad cauſas Eccleſiaſticas utimur, præſentibus apponi mandavimus. Dat. quarto die menſis Maii, Anno Dom. 1547. & Regni noſtri Anno primo.

E. Somerſet.

T. Seimour.

T. Cantuarien. *W. St. John.* *Will. Petre* Secretary.

J. Ruſſell.

John Barker.

John Gage.

Number

Number 8.

The Form of bidding Prayer before the Reformation.

The Bedes on the Sunday.

Out of the Feſtival, printed *An.* 1509.

YE ſhall kneel down on your Knees, and lift np your Hearts, making your Prayers to Almighty God, for the good State and Peace of all-holy Church, that God maintain, ſave, and keep it. For our Holy Father the Pope, with all his true College of Cardinals, that God for his Mercy them maintain and keep in the right Belief, and it hold and increaſe, and all Miſbelief and Hereſy be leſs and deſtroy'd. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Holy Land, and for the Holy Croſs that Jeſus Chriſt died on for the redemption of Man's Souls, that it may come into the power of Chriſtian Men the more to be honoured for our Prayers. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops; and eſpecially for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* our Metropolitane, and for the Biſhop of *N.* our Dioceſan, that God of his Mercy give to them Grace ſo to govern and rule Holy Church, that it may be to the Honour and Worſhip of him, and Salvation of our Souls. Alſo ye ſhall pray for Abbots, Priors, Monks, Canons, Friers, and for all Men and Women of Religion, in what Order, Eſtate, or Degree that they ſtand in, from the higheſt Eſtate unto the loweſt Degree. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all them that have Charge and Cure of Chriſtian Mens Souls, as Curats and Parſons, Vicars, Prieſts and Clarks; and in eſpecial for the Parſon and Curat of this Church, and for all the Prieſts and Minſters that ſerve therein, or have ſerved therein; and for all them that have taken any Order, that Almighty God give them Grace of continuance well for to keep and obſerve it to the honour and health of their Souls. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Unity and Peace of all Chriſtian Realms, and in eſpecial for the good Eſtate, Peace and Tranquility, of this Realm of *England*, for our Liege Lord the King, that God for his great Mercy ſend him Grace ſo to Govern and Rule this Realm, that God be pleaſed and worſhipped, and to the Profit and Salvation of this Land. Alſo ye ſhall pray for our Liege Lady the Queen, my Lord Prince, and all the noble Progeny of them; for all Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, and other Lords of the King's Council, which have any Rule and Governance in this Land, that God give them Grace ſo to Council, Rule, and Govern, that God be pleaſed, the Land defended, and to the Profit and Salvation of all the Realm. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Peace both on Land, and on the Water; that God grant Love and Charity among all Chriſtian People. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all our Pariſhes, where that they be, on Land or on Water, that God ſave them from all manner of Perils; and for all the good Men of this Pariſh, for their Wives, Children, and Men, that God them maintain, ſave and keep. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Tithers, that God multiply their Goods and Encreaſe; for all true Tillers that labour for our Suſtenance, that Till the Earth; and alſo for all the Grains and Fruits that be ſown, ſet, or done on the Earth, or ſhall be done, that God ſend ſuch Weather that they may grow, encreaſe, and multiply, to the help and profit of all Mankind. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Shipmen and Merchants, whereſoever that they be, on Land or on Water, that God keep them from all Perils, and bring them home in ſafety, with their Goods, Ships, and Merchandiſes, to the Help, Comfort, and Profit of this Realm. Alſo ye ſhall pray for them that find any Light in this Church, or give any Beheſts, Book, Bell, Chalice, or Veſtment, Surplice, Water-cloath, or Towel, Lands, Rents, Lamp or Light, or any other Adornments, whereby God's Service is the better ſerved, ſuſtained and maintained in Reading and Singing, and for all them that thereto have counſelled, that God reward and yield it them at their moſt need. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Pilgrims and Palmers, that have taken their way to *Rome*, to *Jeruſalem*, to St. *Katherines*, or St. *James*, or to any other Place, that God of his Grace give them time and ſpace, well for to go and to come, to the profit of their Lives & Souls. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all them that be ſick or diſeaſed of this Pariſh, that God ſend to them Health, the rather for our Prayers; for all the Women which be in our Ladys Bands, and with Child, in this Pariſh, or in any other, that God ſend to them fair Deliverance, to their Children right Shape, Name, and Chriſtendom, and to the Mother's purification; and for all them that would be here, and may not, for Sickneſs or Travail, or any other lawful Occupation, that they may have part of all the good Deeds that ſhall be done here in this Place, or in any other. And ye ſhall pray for all them that be in good Life, that good them hold long therein; and for them that be in Debt, or deadly Sin, that Jeſus Chriſt bring them out thereof, the rather for our Prayer. Alſo ye ſhall pray for him or her that this day gave the Holy Bread, and for him that firſt began and longeſt holdeth on, that God reward it him at the day of Doom; and for all them that do well, or ſay you good, that God yield it them at their need, and for them that otherwiſe would that Jeſus Chriſt amend them; For all thoſe, and for all Chriſtian Men and Women, ye ſhall ſay a *Pater Noſter*; *Ave Maria*; *Deus miſereatur noſtri*; *Gloria Patri*; *Kyrie Eleiſon*; *Chriſte Eleiſon*; *Kyrie Eleiſon*; *Pater Noſter*; *Et ne nos*; *Sed libera*; *Verſus*; *Oſtende nobis*; *Sacerdotes*; *Domine ſalvum fac Regem*; *Salvum fac Populum*; *Domine fiat Pax*; *Domine exaudi*; *Dominus vobiſcum*; *Oremus*; *Eccleſiæ tuæ quæſumus*; *Deus in cujus manu*; *Deus a quo ſancta*, &c. Furthermore, ye ſhall pray for all Chriſtian Souls, for Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops Souls; and in eſpecial, for all that have been Biſhops of this Dioceſs; and for all Curats, Parſons and Vicar's Souls, and in eſpecial, for them that have been Curats of this Church, and for the Souls that have ſerved in this Church. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Souls of all Chriſtian Kings and Queens, and in eſpecial for the Souls of them that have been Kings of this Realm of *England*; and for all thoſe Souls that to this Church have given Book, Bell, Chalice, or Veſtment, or any other thing, by the which the Service of God is better done, and Holy Church worſhipped. Ye ſhall alſo pray for your Father's Soul, for your Mother's Soul; for your God-fathers Souls, for your God-mothers Souls; for your Brethren and Siſters Souls, and for your Kindreds Souls, and for your Friends Souls, and for all the Souls we be bound to pray for; and for all the Souls that be in the Pains of Purgatory, there abiding the Mercy of Almighty God; and in eſpecial for them that have moſt need and leaſt help; that God of his endleſs Mercy leſſen and miniſh their Pains by the means of our Prayers, and bring them to his Everlaſting Bliſs in Heaven. And alſo of the Soul *N.* or of them that upon ſuch a day this Week we ſhall have the Anniverſary; and for all Chriſtian Souls ye ſhall devoutly ſay a *Pater Noſter* and *Ave Maria*; *Pſalmus de profundis, &c.* with this Collect, *Oremus*; *Abſolve quæſumus Domine animas famulorum tuorum Pontificum, Regum, Sacerdotum, Parentum, Parochianorum, Amicorum, Benefactorum Noſtrorum, & omnium fidelum defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in Reſurrectionis Gloria inter ſanitos & electos tuos reſuſcitati reſpirent, per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum.* Amen.

Number 9.

Biſhop Tonſtall's *Letter, proving the Subjection of* Scotland *to* England.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* B. 7 PLeaſe it your Grace, my Lord Protector, and you right hounourable Lords of the King's Majeſtys Council, to underſtand, that I have received your Letter of the *4th* of this month, by which ye will me to ſearch all mine old Regiſters, and ancient Places to be ſought, where any thing may be found for the more clear declaration to the World of the King's Majeſtys Title to the Realm of *Scotland*, and to advertiſe you with ſpeed accordingly: And alſo to ſignify unto you what ancient Charters and Monuments for that purpoſe I have ſeen, and where the ſame are to be ſought for. According unto which your Letters, I have ſought with all diligence all mine old Regiſters, making mention of the Superiorities of the Kings of *England* to the Realm of *Scotland*, and have found in the ſame of many Homages made by the Kings of *Scots* to the Kings of *England*, as ſhall appear by the Copies which I do ſend to your Grace and to your Lordſhips herewith. Ye ſhall alſo find in the ſaid Copies the Gift of the Barony of *Coldingham*, made to the Church of *Dureſm* by *Edgar* the King of *Scots*; which Original Gift is under Seal, which I ſhewed once to my Lord *Maxwell* at *Dureſm*, in the preſence of you my Lord Protector. I find alſo a confirmation of the ſame Gift by King *William Rufus* in an old Regiſter, but not under Seal, the Copy whereof is ſent herewith. The Homages of Kings of *Scotland* which I have found in the Regiſters, I have ſent in this Copy. I ſend alſo herewith the Copy of a Grant made by King *Richard* the Firſt unto *William* King of *Scots* and his Heirs, How as oft as he is ſummoned to come to the Parliament, he ſhall be received in the Confines of the Realm of *Scotland*, and conducted from Shire to Shire unto his coming to the Parliament; and what the King doth allow him for his Diet every day unto the Court; and alſo what Diet and Allowance he hath, being at the Parliament, both in Bread and Wine, Wax and Candle, for his time of his abode there; and of his Conduct in his return home.

And where King *William*, King of *Scots*, made Homage to King *Henry* the Second, and granted, That all the Nobles of his Realm ſhould be his Subjects, and make Homage to him; and all the Biſhops of his Realm ſhould be under the Arch-Biſhops of *York*: And the ſaid King *William* delivered to the ſaid King *Henry*, the Caſtles of *Roxburgh*, *Edinburgh*, and the Caſtle of *Barwick*, as is found in my Regiſter; and that the King of *England* ſhould give all Abbeys and Honours in *Scotland*, or at leaſt they ſhould not be given without his Counſel. I do find, in the confirmation of the ſame, out of the old Regiſters of the Priors of *Dureſm*, Hommage made by the Abbots, Priors, and Prioreſſes of *Scotland*, to King *Edward* the Firſt, in French, which I do ſend herewith. Alſo I do ſend herewith in French, how King *Edward* the Firſt was received and taken to be Supream Lord in *Scotland*, by all thoſe that pretended Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, as next Heirs to the King, that was then dead without Iſſue, and the compromiſe of them all made unto the ſaid King *Edward* the Firſt to ſtand to his Judgment, which of all them that did claim ſhould have the Crown of *Scotland*: The Tranſcript of which Compromiſe in French, was then ſent by the ſaid King *Edward*, under the Seal of the King's *Exchequer* in green Wax, to the Prior of *Dureſm*, to be regiſtred for a perpetual Memory, that the Supremity of *Scotland* belonged to the Kings of *England*, which yet the Chapiters of *Dureſm* have to ſhew, which thing he commandeth them to put in their Chronicles.

And touching the ſecond part of your Letter, where you will me to advertiſe you what I have ſeen in the Premiſſes; ſo it is, that I was commanded by mine old Maſter, of famous memory, King *Henry* the *8th*, to make ſearch among the Records of his Treaſury, in the Receipt for Solemnities to be done at his Coronation in moſt ſolemn manner; according to which commandment, I made ſearch in the ſaid Treaſury, where I fortuned to find many Writings for the Supremacy of the King to the Realm of *Scotland*; and among others alſo, a Writing with very many Seals of Arms of *Scots*, confeſſing the right of the Supremacy to the King of *England*; which Writings I doubt not may be found there.

I have alſo ſent a Copy of a Book my ſelf have of Homages made to the Kings of *England* by the Kings of *Scotland*, which the Chancellor of *England* in King *Henry* the Sevenths days had gathered out of the King's Records, which I doubt not, but out of the King's Records and Ancient Books, the ſame may be found again by my Lord Chancellor and the Judges.

Furthermore your Grace, and you the Right Honourable Lords of the Council, ſhall underſtand, That in making much ſearch for the Premiſſes, at the laſt we found, out of the Regiſters of the Chapters of *Dureſm*, when it was a Priory, the Copy of a Writing, by which King *Edward* the Second doth renounce ſuch Superiority as he had in the Realm of *Scotland*, for him and his Heirs, to *Robert* King of *Scots* then being, as will appear by a Copy of the ſame, which I do ſend you herewith, making mention, in the end of the ſaid Writings, of a Commiſſion that he gave to *Henry* the Lord *Percy*, and to *William* the Lord *Souch*, under his Letters Patents, to give his Oath upon the ſame. And after the ſaid Writing, we found alſo in the ſaid Book, a

Renunciation of the ſaid King *Edward*, of a Proceſs that he had commenced before the Biſhop of *Rome*, againſt *Robert* King of *Scots* and his Subjects, for breaking their Oath to him, as will appear by the Copy thereof, which I do ſend alſo herewith. And touching the ſaid Renunciation of King *Edward* the Second, to the Superiority of the Realm of *Scotland*, I have often heard it ſpoken of by *Scots*, but I did never ſee the form of it in writing, until I ſee it now; which thing it is not unlikely but the *Scots* have under the Seal of the ſaid King *Edward*. Whereunto anſwer is to be made, That a King renouncing the right of his Crown, cannot prejudice his Succeſſors, who have at the time of their entry, the ſame whole right that their Predeceſſors had at their firſt entry, as Men learned in the Civil Law can by their learning ſhew.

And furthermore, ſearch is to be made in the King's Records in the Treaſury, whether Homages have been made ſithence King *Edward* the Second's Time; that is to ſay, in the Times of King *Edward* the Third, King *Richard* the Second, King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the Fifth, and King *Henry* the Sixth. In which Times, if any Homage can be found to be made, it ſhall appear the ſame Renunciation to have taken none effect in the Succeſſors, and Ancient Right to be continued again. For after King *Edward* the Fourth and King *Henry* the Sixth ſtrove for the Crown, I think none Homage of *Scotland* will be found, for then was alſo loſt *Gaſcoigne* and *Guienne* in *France*. It is alſo to be remembred, that when the Body of King *Henry* the Fifth was brought out of *France* to be buried at *Weſtminſter*, the King of *Scots* then being, came with him, and was the chief Mourner at his Burial; which King of *Scots*, whether he made any Homage to King *Henry* the Fifth in his Life-time, or to King *Henry* the Sixth at his Coronation, it is to be ſearched by the Records of that time.

This is all that can be found hitherto, by all moſt diligent ſearch that I could make in my Records here; and if any more can be found, it ſhall be ſent with all ſpeed.

And thus Almighty preſerve your Grace, and your Honourable Lordſhips, to his Pleaſure and yours.

From *Ackland* the 15*th* of *October*, 1547.

Your Graces moſt humble Orator at Commandment.

Cuth. Dureſme.

Number

Number 10.

A Letter from the Scotiſh Nobility to the Pope, concerning their being an *Independent* Kingdom.

An Original.

Literæ directæ ad Dominum Summum Pontificem per Communitatem Scotiæ. 1320.

Ex *Autogr.* apud Ill. Com. de H.

SAnctiſſimo Patri in Chriſto, ac Domino D. Johanni Divina Providentia Sacroſanctæ Romanæ & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ Summo Pontifici, filii ſui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fiſe, Thomas Ranulph Comes Moraviæ, D. Manniæ & Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius de Dumbar, Comes Marchiæ, Maliſius Comes de Straherne, Malcolmus Comes de Levenex, Willielmus Comes de Roſs, Magnus Comes Cathaneæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus Comes Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Seneſcallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Souls Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus D. Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David D. de Brechen, David de Grahame, Ingelramus de Umphavill, Johannes de Meneteth cuſtos Comitatis de Meneteth, Alex. Fraſer, Gilbertus de Haia Conſtabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith Mariſcallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto Claro, Johannes de Grahame, David de Lindſey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricius de Grahame, Johannes de Tenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weemes, Willielmus de Monte fixo, Ferguſius de Ardroſſane, Euſtachius de Maxwell, Willielmus de Ramſay, Willielmus de Monte alto, Alanus de Moravia, Donenaldus Campbell, Johannes Cambrime, Regenaldus de Chein, Alex. de Seaton, Andreas de Leſcelyne, & Alex. de Straton, cæteriq; Barones & libere-tenentes; ac tota Communitas Regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum oſculis Beatorum; Scimus, Sanctiſſime Pater, & Domine, & ex antiquorum geſtis & libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras nationes egregias, noſtra [ſcilicet Scotorum Natio] multis præconiis fuerit inſignita; quæ de majori Scythia per Mare Tyrrhenum & Columnas Herculis tranſiens, & in Hiſpania inter færociſſimos per multa temporum curricula reſidens, a nullis quantumcunq; Barbaricis poterat alicubi ſubjugari; Indeq; veniens poſt mille & ducentos annos a tranſitu Populi Iſraelitici ſibi ſedes in occidente, quas nunc obtinet, expulſis Brittonibus, & Pictis omnia deletis: licet per Norwagienſes, Dacos & Anglicos ſæpius impugnata fuerit, multis ſibi victoriis & laboribus quamplurimis adquiſivit; ipſaſq; ab omni ſervitute liberas (ut priſcorum teſtantur Hiſtoriæ) ſemper tenuit: In quorum Regno centum & tres decem Reges de ipſorum regali præſapia, nullo alienigena interveniente, Regnaverunt; Quorum Nobilitas & merita (licet ex aliis non clarerent) ſatis patenter effulgent ex eo; quod Rex regum D. Jeſus Chriſtus poſt Paſſionem & Reſurrectionem ſuam ipſos in ultimis terræ finibus conſtitutos, quaſi primos ad ſuam fidem ſanctiſſimam convocavit, nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit, ſed per ſuum primum Apoſtolum, quamvis ordine ſecundum vel tertium, Sanctum Andream meritiſſimum beati

Petri Germanum, quem ſemper ipſis præceſſe voluit ut Patronum. Hæc autem Sanctiſſimi Patres & Predeceſſores veſtri ſollicita mente penſantes, ipſum Regnum & Populum, ut beati Petri germano peculium multis favoribus & privilegiis quam plurimis muniverunt. Itaq; gens noſtra ſub ipſorum protectione libera hactenus degit & quieta; donec ille princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater iſtius, (qui hunc eſt) Regnum noſtrum Acephalum, populumq; nullius mali aut doli conſcium, nec bellis aut inſultibus tunc aſſuetum ſub amica & confederata ſpecie innumerabiliter infeſtavit. Cujus injurias, cædes, & violentias, prædationes, incendia, Prælatorum incarcerationes, Monaſteriorum combuſtiones, Religioſorum ſpoliationes & occiſiones, alia quoq; enormia, quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut ſexui, Religioni aut ordini; nullus ſcriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret niſi quem experientia informaret: a quibus malis innumeris (ipſo juvante qui poſt vulnera medetur & ſanat) liberati ſumus per ſereniſſimum Principem Regem & Dominum noſtrum, D. Robertum, qui pro populo & hæreditate ſuis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quaſi alter Maccabeus aut Joſua, labores, & tædia, inedias & pericula, leto ſuſtinuit animo; quem etiam divina diſpoſitio, & juxta leges & conſuetudines noſtras, quas uſq; ad mortem ſuſtinere volumus, juris Succeſſio, & debitus noſtrorum omnium conſenſus & aſſenſus, noſtrum fecerunt Principem ac Regem: Cui, tanquam illi, per quem ſalus in populo facta eſt, pro noſtra libertate tuenda tam jure quam meritis tenemur & volumus in omnibus adhærere; Quem, (ſi ab inceptis deſiſtet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut Regnum noſtrum, volens ſubjicere) tanquam inimicum noſtrum, & ſui noſtriq; juris ſubverſorem, ſtatim expellere intemur; & alium Regem noſtrum, qui ad defenſionem noſtram ſufficiet, faciemus: Quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanſerint nunquam Anglicorum dominio aliquatenus volumus ſubjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores, pugnamus; ſed propter libertatem ſolummodo, quam nemo bonus niſi ſimul cum vita amittet. Hinc eſt, Reverende Pater & Domine, quod ſanctitatem veſtram cum omni præcum inſtantia genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus ſincero corde menteq; pia recenſentes, quod apud eum, cujus vices in terris geritis, non ſit pondus & pondus, nec diſtinctio Judæi & Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes & Auguſtias nobis & Eccleſiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes Regem Anglorum, cui ſufficere debet quod poſſidet (cum olim Anglia ſeptem aut pluribus ſolebat ſufficere Regibus) monere & exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes, Scotia (ultra quam habitatio non eſt) nihilq; niſi noſtrum cupientes in pace dimittat: Cui pro noſtra procuranda quiete, quicquid poſſumus (ad ſtatum noſtrum reſpectu habito) facere volumus cum effectu. Veſtra enim intereſt, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum feritatem Chriſtianorum culpis exigentibus in Chriſtianos ſævientem aſpicitis, & Chriſtianorum terminos arctari indies. * ———————— Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, ſi (quod abſit) Eccleſia in aliqua ſui parte veſtris temporibus patiatur Ecclipſin aut Scandalum, vos videritis: Exhortet igitur Chriſtianos Principes, qui non cauſam ut cauſam ponentes ſe fingunt in ſubſidium terræ ſanctæ propter guerras, quas habent cum proximus ire non poſſe; Cujus impedimenti cauſa eſt verior, quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas proprior, & reſiſtentia de

* Quædam ſunt deleta.

bilior eſtimantur. Sic quam leto corde dictus D. Rex Noſter & nos; Si Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittit, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignorat ſatis novit: quod Chriſti Vicario totiq; Chriſtianitati oſtendimus & teſtamur. Quibus, ſi Sanctitas veſtra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem ſinceram non adhibet, aut ipſis in noſtram confuſionem favere non deſinat, Corporum excidia, animarum exitia, & cætera quæ ſequentur in commoda, quæ ipſi in nobis & nos in ipſis fecerimus, vobis ab altiſſimo credimus imputanda; ex quo ſumus & erimus in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii, vobis tanquam ipſius vicario, in omnibus complacere; ipſiq; tanquam ſummo Regi & judici cauſam noſtram tuendam committimus, cogitatum noſtrum jactitantes in ipſo, ſperanteſq; finem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet, & ad nihilum rediget Hoſtes noſtros, Serenitatem ac Sanctitatem veſtram conſervet Altiſſimus, Eccleſiæ ſuæ Sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monaſterium de Aberbroth in Scotia, 6 die Aprilis, Anno gratiæ Milleſimo trecenteſimo viceſimo. Anno vero Regni Regis noſtri ſupradicti quintodecimo.

Number 11.

The Oath given to the *Scots*, who ſubmitted to the Protector.

YOu ſhall bear your Faith to the King's Majeſty, our Soveraign Lord Edward the Sixth, &c. till ſuch time as you ſhall be diſcharged of your Oath by ſpecial Licenſe. And you ſhall, to the uttermoſt of your power, ſerve his Majeſty truly and faithfully, againſt all other Realms, Dominions, and Potentates, as well Scots as others. You ſhall hear nothing that may be prejudicial to his Majeſty, or any of his Realms or Dominions, but with as much diligence as you may, ſhall cauſe the ſame to be opened, ſo as the ſame come to his Majeſty's Knowledg, or to the knowledg of the Lord Protector, or ſome of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. You ſhall, to the uttermoſt of your poſsible Power, ſet forwards and advance the King's Majeſties Affairs in Scotland, for the Marriage and Peace.

Fx Libro Concilii. Fol. 139.

Number 12.

The Proteſtation of the Biſhop of London *made to the Viſitors, when he received the King's Majeſties Injunctions and Homilies.*

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 110.

I Do receive theſe Injunctions and Homilies, with this Proteſtation, That I will obſerve them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of this Church.

The Submiſſion and Revocation of the ſame Biſhop, made before the Lords of the Kings Majeſty's Council, preſently attending upon his Majeſty's Perſon; with the ſubſcription of his Name thereunto.

WHere I *Edmund* Biſhop of *Lodon*, have at ſuch time as I received the King's Majeſty's, my moſt dread Soveraign Lord's Injunctions and Homilies at the Hands of his Highneſs Viſitors, did unadviſedly make ſuch Proteſtation, as now upon better conſideration of my duty of Obedience, and of the ill Example that may enſue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reaſonable, nor ſuch as might well ſtand with the Duty of an humble Subject; foraſmuch as the ſame Proteſtation, at my requeſt, was then by the Regiſter of that Viſitation enacted and put in Record; I have thought it my bounden Duty, not only to declare before your Lordſhips, That I do now, upon better conſideration of my Duty, renounce and revoke my ſaid Proteſtation, but alſo moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that this my Revocation of the ſame may likewiſe be put in the ſame Records for a perpetual Memory of the Truth: Moſt humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhips, both to take order that it may take effect, and alſo that my former unadviſed doings may, by your good Mediations, be pardoned of the King's Majeſty.

Edmund London.

Number 13.

Gardiner's *Letter to Sir* John Godſalve *concerning the Injunctions.*

Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

MR. *Godſalve*, after my right hearty Commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it) although it agreeth not with mine Accompt, ſuch as I have had leaſure to make in this time of Liberty, ſince the Death of my late Soveraign Lord, (whoſe Soul Jeſu pardon). For this have I reckon'd, that I was called to this Biſhoprick without the offence of God's Law, or the King's, in the attaining of it. I have kept my Biſhoprick theſe ſixteen Years, accompliſhed this very day, that I write theſe my Letters unto you, without offending God's Law, or the King's, in the retaining of it, howſoever I have of frailty otherwiſe ſinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the Biſhoprick without the offence of God's Law, or the King's, I ſhall think the Tragedy of my Life well paſſed over: and in this part to be well handled is all my care and ſtudy now, how to finiſh this third Act well; for ſo I offend not God's Law, nor the King's, I will no more care to ſee my Biſhoprick taken from me, than my ſelf to be taken from the Biſhoprick. I am by Nature already condemned to die, which Sentence no Man can pardon, nor aſſure me of delay in the execution of it; and ſo ſee that of neceſſity I ſhall leave my Biſhoprick to the diſpoſition of the Crown from whence I had it, my Houſhold alſo to break up, and my bringing up of Youth to ceaſe, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my Houſe at *London* a pleaſant Study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the Country and leave it; and as I have left the uſe of ſomewhat, ſo can I leave the uſe of all to obtain a more quiet; it is not loſs to change for the better. Honeſty and Truth are more leef to me than all the Poſſeſſions of the Realm; and in theſe two to ſay and do frankly, as I muſt, I never forbare yet: and in theſe two, Honeſty and Truth, I take ſuch pleaſure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no reſpect, for they will abide by a Man, and ſo will nothing elſe. No Man can take them away from me but my ſelf; and if my ſelf do them away from me, then my ſelf do undo my ſelf, and make my ſelf worthy to loſe my Biſhoprick, whereat, ſuch as gape, might take more ſport than they are like to have at my hands. What other Men have ſaid or done in the Homilies I cannot tell, and what Homilies or Injunctions ſhall be brought hither, I know not; ſuch as the Printers have ſold abroad, I have read and conſidered, and am therefore the better inſtructed how to uſe my ſelf to the Viſitors at their repair hither, to whom I will uſe no manner of Proteſtation but a plain Allegation, as the Matter ſerveth, and as Honeſty and Truth ſhall bind me to ſpeak; for I will never yield to do that ſhould not beſeem a Chriſtian. Biſhops ought never to loſe the Inheritance of the King's Laws due to every Engliſh Man for want of Petition. I will ſhew my ſelf a true Subject, humble and obedient, which repugneth not with the preſervation of my Duty to God, and my Right in the Realm, not to be enjoined againſt an Act of Parliament: which mine intent I have ſignified to the Council, with requeſt of redreſs in the Matter, and not to compel me to ſuch an Allegation, which, without I were a Beaſt, I cannot pretermit: and I were more than a Beaſt, if after I had ſignified to the Council Truth and Reaſon in words, I ſhould then ſeem in my Deeds not to care for it. My Lord Protector, in one of ſuch Letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him ſo well, and divers others of my Lords of the Council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their hands, in the allegation of God's Law and the King's, and I will never defame them ſo much to be ſeen to fear it. And of what ſtrength an Act of Parliament is, the Realm was taught in the caſe of her that we called Queen *Ann*, where all ſuch as ſpake againſt her in the Parliament-Houſe, although they did it by ſpecial Commandment of the King, and ſpake that was truth, yet they were fain to have a Pardon, becauſe that ſpeaking was againſt an Act of Parliament. Did you never know, or here tell of any Man, that for doing that the King our late Soveraign Lord willed, deviſed, and required to be done, He that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to ſue for his Pardon, and ſuch other alſo as were doers in it: and I could tell who it were. Sure there hath been ſuch a Caſe, and I have been preſent when it hath been reaſoned, That the doing againſt an Act of Parliament, excuſeth not a Man, even from the Caſe of Treaſon, although a Man did it by the King's Commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think further of it, and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be beſt content with your ſelf, I believe, to have adviſed me to enter the breach of an Act of Parliament, without ſurety of Pardon, although the King command it, and were ſuch indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I anſwer the Letters with worldly civil Reaſons, and take your Mind and Zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you ſee that the following of your Advice might make me loſe my Biſhoprick by mine own Act, which I am ſure you would I ſhould keep, and ſo would I, as might ſtand with my Truth and Honeſty, and none otherwiſe, as knoweth God, who ſend you heartily well to fare.

Number 14.

The Concluſion of Gardiner's *Letter to the Protector, againſt the lawfulneſs of the Injunctions.*

Cotton Libr. *Veſp.* D.18. WHether the King may command againſt the Common Law, or an Act of Parliament, there is never a Judg, or other Man in the Realm, ought to know more by experience, of that the Lawyers have ſaid, than I.

Firſt, My Lord Cardinal had obtained his Legacy by our late Soveraign Lord's Requeſt at *Rome*; yet being it was againſt the Laws of the Realm, the Judges cenſured the Offence of Premunire; which Matter I bore away, and take it for a Law of the Realm, becauſe the Lawyers ſaid ſo, but my Reaſon digeſted it not.

The Lawyers, for the confirmation of their Doings, brought in a Caſe of my Lord *Typteſt*, an Earl he was, and learned in Civil Laws; who being Chancellor, becauſe in execution of the King's Commiſſion he offended the Laws of the Realm, he ſuffered on *Tower-Hill*: they brought in the Examples of many Judges that had Fines ſet on their Heads in like caſe, for tranſgreſſion of the Laws by the King's Commandment; and this I learned in this Caſe.

Since that time being of the Council, when many Proclamations were deviſed againſt the Carriers out of Corn; when it came to puniſhing the Offenders, the Judges would anſwer, it might not be by the Laws, becauſe the Act of Parliament gave liberty, Wheat being under a price: Whereupon at the laſt followed the Act of Proclamations,

in

tion, in the paſſing whereof were many large words.

When the Biſhop of *Exeter* and his Chancellor were by one *Body* brought into a Premunire, I reaſoned with the Lord *Audley* then Chancellor ſo far, as he bad me hold my peace, for fear of entring a Premunire my ſelf: But I concluded, that although I muſt take it as of their Authority that it is Common Law, yet I could not ſee how a Man authoriſed by the King, as ſince the King's Majeſty hath taken upon him the Supremacy, every Biſhop is, that Man could fall in a Premunire.

I reaſoned once in the Parliament Houſe, where was free Speech without danger; and there the Lord *Audley* Chancellor, then to ſatiſfie me, becauſe I was in ſome ſecret eſtimation as he knew. Thou art a good Fellow, Biſhop, (quoth he) look the Act of the Supremacy, and there the King's doings be reſtrained to Spiritual Juriſdiction: And in an other Act, No Spiritual Law ſhall have place contrary to a Common Law, or an Act of Parliament. And if this were not (quoth he) the Biſhops would enter in with the King, and by means of his Supremacy order the Law as you liſted; but we will provide (quoth he) that the Premunire ſhall never go off your Heads. This I bare away there, and held my peace.

Since that time, in a Caſe of Jewels, I was fain, with the Emperor's Ambaſſador *Chapinius* when he was here, and in the Emperor's Court alſo, to defend and maintain by Commandment, that the King's Majeſty was not above his Laws, and therefore the Jeweller, although he had the King's Bill ſigned, yet it would not ſerve, becauſe it was not obtained after the Order of the Law, in which Matter I was very much troubled. Even this time twelve-month, when I was in Commiſſion with my Lord great Maſter, and the Earl of *Southampton*, for the altering of the Court of *Augmentations*, there was my Lord *Montague*, and other of the King's Learned Council, of whom I learned what the King might do againſt an Act of Parliament, and what danger it was to them that medled. It is freſh in my Memory, and they can tell whether I ſay true or no; and therefore being learned in ſo notable Cauſes, I wrote in your abſence therein, as I had learned by hearing the Common Lawyers ſpeak (whoſe Judgments rule theſe Matters) howſoever my reaſon can digeſt them. When I wrote thereof, the Matter was ſo reaſonable, as I have been learned by the Lawyers of the Realm, that I truſted my Lords would have ſtaied till your Grace's return.

Number 15.

A Letter from the Duke of Somerſet *to the Lady* Mary *in the beginning of King* Edward's *Reign.*

Madam, my humble Commendations to your Grace premiſed;

THeſe may be to ſignify unto the ſame, that I have received your Letters of the ſecond of this preſent, by *Jane* your Servant, reknowledging my ſelf thereby much bound unto your Grace; nevertheleſs I am very ſorry to perceive that your Grace ſhould have or *Cotton* Libr. *Fauſtin.*C.2.

conceive any ſiniſter or wrong Opinion in me and others, which were by the King, your late Father, and our moſt gracious Maſter, put in truſt as Executors of his Will, albeit the truth of our doings being known to your Grace, as it ſeemeth by your ſaid Letter not to be. I truſt there ſhall be no ſuch fault found in us, as in the ſame your Grace hath alleadged; and for my part, I know none of us that will willingly neglect the full execution of every Jot of his ſaid Will, as far as ſhall and may ſtand with the King our Maſter's Honour and Surety that now is: otherwiſe I am ſure that your Grace,nor none other his Faithful Subjects, would have it take place; not doubting but our Doings and Proceedings therein, and in all things committed to our Charge, ſhall be ſuch as ſhall be able to anſwer the whole World, both in honour and diſcharge of our Conſciences. And where your Grace writeth, that the moſt part of the Realm, through a naughty Liberty and Preſumption, are now brought into ſuch a Diviſion, as if we Executors go not about to bring them to that ſtay that our late Maſter left them; they will forſake all Obedience, unleſs they have their own Will and Phantaſies, and then it muſt follow that the King ſhall not be well ſerved, and that all other Realms ſhall have us in an Obloquy and Deriſion, and not without juſt cauſe. Madam, as theſe words written or ſpoken by you ſoundeth not well, ſo can I not perſwade my ſelf, that they have proceeded from the ſincere mind of ſo vertuous and ſo wiſe a Lady, but rather by the ſetting on and procurement of ſome uncharitable and malicious Perſons, of which ſort there are too many in theſe days, the more pity: but yet we muſt not be ſo ſimple ſo to weigh and regard the Sayings of ill-diſpoſed People, and the Doings of other Realms and Countries, as for that Report we ſhould neglect our Duty to God, and to our Soveraign Lord and Native Country, for then we might be juſtly called evil Servants and Maſters; and thanks be given unto the Lord, ſuch hath been the King's Majeſty's Proceedings, our young Noble Maſter that now is, that all his faithful Subjects have more cauſe to render their hearty thanks for the manifold Benefits ſhewed unto his Grace, and to his People and Realm, ſithence the firſt day of his Reign until this hour, than to be offended with it; and thereby rather to judg and think, that God who knoweth the Hearts of all Men, is contented and pleaſed with his Miniſters, who ſeek nothing but the true Glory of God, and the Surety of the King's Perſon, with the Quietneſs and Wealth of his Subjects. And where your Grace writeth alſo, That there was a Godly Order and Quietneſs left by the King our late Maſter, your Graces Father, in this Realm at the time of his Death; and that the Spiritualty and Temporalty of the whole Realm, did not only, without compulſion, fully aſſent to his Doings and Proceedings, ſpecially in Matters of Religion, but alſo in all kind of Talk, whereof, as your Grace wrote, ye can partly be witneſs your ſelf; at which your Graces Sayings I do ſomething marvel. For if it may pleaſe you to call to your remembrance what great Labours, Travels, and Pains, his Grace had, before he could reform ſome of thoſe ſtiff-necked Romaniſts or Papiſts: yea,and did not they cauſe his Subjects Riſe and Rebel againſt him, and conſtrained him to take the Sword in his hand, not without danger to his Perſon and Realm? Alas, why ſhould your Grace ſo ſhortly forget that great Outrage done by thoſe Generations of Vipers unto his Noble Perſon only for God's Cauſe? Did not ſome of the ſame ill kind alſo, I mean that Romaniſt Sect, as well within his own Realm as without, conſpire oftentimes his Death, which was manifeſtly and oftentimes proved, to the confuſion of ſome of their privy Aſſiſters. Then was it not that all the Spiritualty, nor yet the Temporalty, did ſo fully aſſent to his Godly Orders, as your Grace writeth of? Did not his Grace alſo depart from this Life before he had fully finiſhed ſuch Orders as he minded to have eſtabliſhed to all his People, if death had not prevented him? Is it not moſt true, that no kind of Religion was perfected at his Death, but left all uncertain, moſt like to have brought us in Parties and Diviſions, if God had not only helpt us? And doth your Grace think it convenient it ſhould ſo remain? God forbid. What regret and ſorrow our late Maſter had, the time he ſaw he muſt depart, for that he knew the Religion was not eſtabliſhed as he purpoſed to have done, I and others can be witneſs and teſtify; and what he would have done further in it, if he had lived, a great many know, and alſo I can teſtifie: And doth your Grace, who is learned, and ſhould know God's Word, eſteem true Religion, and the knowledg of the Scriptures, to be new-fangledneſs and fantaſie? For the Lord's ſake, turn the Leaf, and look the other while upon the other ſide, I mean, with another Judgment, which muſt paſs by an humble Spirit through the Peace of the Living God, who of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy grant unto your Grace plenty thereof, to the ſatisfying of your Soveraign, and your moſt noble Hearts continual deſire.

Number 16.

Certain Petitions and Requeſts made by the Clergie of the Lower Houſe of the Convocation, to the moſt Reverend Father in God the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury *his Grace, and the reſidue of the Prelats of the Higher Houſe, for the furtherance of certain Articles following.*

First; That Eccleſiaſtical Laws may be made and eſtabliſhed in this Realm by thirty two Perſons, or ſo many as ſhall pleaſe the King's Majeſty to name and appoint, according to the effect of a late Statute made in 35*th* Year of the moſt noble King, and of moſt famous Memory, King *Henry* the 8*th*. So that all Judges Eccleſiaſtical, proceeding after thoſe Laws, may be without danger and peril.

Ex M. S. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*

Alſo that according to the Ancient Cuſtom of this Realm, and the Tenour of the King's Writ for the ſummoning of the Parliament, which be now, and ever have been, directed to the Biſhops of every Dioceſs, the Clergy of the Lower Houſe of the Convocation may be adjoined, and aſſociate with the Lower Houſe of the Parliament; or elſe, That all ſuch Statutes and Ordinances as ſhall be made concerning all Matters of Religion and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, may not paſs without the ſight and aſſent of the ſaid Clergy.

Alſo that whereas by the Commandment of King *Henry* the 8*th*, certain Prelats and learned Men were appointed to alter the Service in the Church,and to deviſe other convenient and uniform Order therein; Who according to the ſame Appointment, did make certain Books, as they be informed; Their Requeſt is, That the ſaid Books may be ſeen and peruſed by them, for a better expedition of Divine Service to be ſet forth accordingly.

Alſo that Men being called to Spiritual Promotions, or Benefices, may have ſome Allowance for their neceſſary Living, and other Charges to be ſuſtained and born, concerning the ſame Benefices, in the firſt Year wherein they pay the firſt Fruits.

Whether the Clergy of the Convocation may liberally ſpeak their Minds without danger of Statute or Law?

Number 17.

A ſecond Petition to the ſame purpoſe.

Ex M.S. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*

WHere the Clergy, in this preſent Convocation aſſembled, have made humble ſuit unto the moſt Reverend Father in God, my Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the other Biſhops, That it may pleaſe them to be a Mean to the King's Majeſty, and Lord Protector's Grace, that the ſaid Clergy, according to the Tenour of the King's Writ, and the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of this Noble Realm, might have their Room and Place, and be aſſociated with the Commons in the Nether Houſe of this preſent Parliament, as Members of the Common-Wealth, and the King's moſt humble Subjects. And if this may not be permitted and granted unto them, that then no Statutes nor Laws concerning the Chriſtian Religion, or which ſhall concern eſpecially the Perſons, Poſſeſſions,Rooms,Livings,Juriſdictions,Goods or Chattels of the ſaid Clergy, may paſs nor be enacted, the ſaid Clergy not being made privy thereunto, and their Anſwers and Reaſons not heard. The ſaid Clergy do moſt humbly beſeech an Anſwer and Declaration to be made unto them, what the ſaid moſt Reverend Father in God, and all other the Biſhops, have done in this their humble Suit and Requeſt, to the end that the ſaid Clergy, if need be, may chuſe of themſelves ſuch able and diſcreet Perſons, which ſhall effectually follow the ſame Suit in the Name of them all.

And whereas in a Statute ordained and eſtabliſhed by Authority of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in the 25*th* Year of the Reign of the moſt excellent Prince King *Henry* the 8*th*; The Clergy of this Realm ſubmitting themſelves to the King's Highneſs, did knowledg and confeſs, according to the Truth, That the Convocations of the ſame Clergy have been, and ought to be aſſembled by the King's Writ, and did promiſe farther, *in Verbo Sacerdotii*, that they never from thenceforth would preſume to attempt, alledg, claim, or put in uſe, or enact, promulge, or execute any new Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinances, Provincials, or other, or by whatſoever other Name they ſhall be called in the Convocation, unleſs the King's moſt Royal Aſſent and Licenſe may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the ſame. And his Majeſty to give his moſt Royal Aſſent and Authority in that behalf, upon pain of every one of the Clergy doing the contrary, and being thereof Convict, to ſuffer Impriſonment, and make Fine at the King's Will. And that no Canons, Conſtitutions, or Ordinances ſhall be made or put in execution within this Realm, by Authority of the Convocation of the Clergy, which ſhall be repugnant to the King's Prerogative Royal, or the Cuſtoms, Laws, or Statutes of this Realm; which Statute is eft-ſoons renewed and eſtabliſhed in the 27*th* Year of the Reign of the moſt noble King, as by the Tenour of both Statutes more at large will appear. The ſaid Clergy being preſently aſſembled in Convocation, by Authority of the King's Writ, do deſire that the King's Majeſty's Licenſe in writing, may be for them obtained and granted, according to the effect of the ſaid Statutes authoriſing them to attempt, entreat, and commune of ſuch Matters, and therein freely to give their Conſents, which otherwiſe they may not do upon pain and peril premiſed.

Alſo the ſaid Clergy deſireth, that ſuch Matters as concerneth Religion, which be diſputable, may be quietly and in good order reaſoned and diſputed among them in this Houſe, whereby the Verities of ſuch Matters ſhall the better appear, and the Doubts being opened, and reſolutely diſcuſſed, Men may be fully perſwaded with the quietneſs of their Conſciences, and the time well ſpent.

Number 18.

A Paper offered to Q. *Elizabeth*, and afterwards to K. *James*, concerning the Inferior Clergies being brought to the Houſe of Commons.

Reaſons to induce her Majeſty, that Deans, Arch-Deacons, and ſome other of her grave and wiſe Clergie, may be admitted into the Lower Houſe of Parliament.

1. IN former Times, when Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical were either not at all, or elſe very rarely treated of in that Aſſembly, the Clergy were thought Men moſt meet to conſult and determine of the Civil Affairs of this Realm. Ex M.S. Dr. *Borlace.*

2. The Supream Authority in Church Cauſes, is not newly granted, but reunited and reſtored to the Crown; and an Order is by Law already eſtabliſhed, how all Abuſes in the Church are to be reformed: ſo as no cauſe concerning Religion may be handled in that Houſe, without her Majeſty's ſpecial leave, but with the manifeſt impeaching of her Prerogative Royal, and contempt of the ſaid Order.

3. If it ſhall pleaſe her Highneſs to give way to this Courſe, that Church-Matters be there debated, and in part concluded: How much more neceſſary is it now, than it was in former Times, that ſome of the Clergy ſhould be there preſent at the ſame?

4. *

4. *It doth not appear why they were excluded,but as it is thought either the King offended with ſome of them, did ſo grievouſly puniſh the whole Body, or elſe the Ambition of one of them meeting with the ſubtilty of an undermining Politick, did occaſion this cauſeleſs Separation.

* In the ſame Paper written over to be preſented to K. *James*, this Article is thus varied. *It is thought the Clergie falling into a Premunire, and ſo not in the King's Protection, it did afterwards pleaſe the King to pardon them, but not to reſtore them. So began this Separation, as far forth as can be collected; then the Wiſdom of a great Politician, meeting with the Ambition of as great a Prelat, wrought the continuance of the ſaid Separation; under this pretence, That it ſhould be moſt for the Honour of him and his Clergie, to be ſtill by themſelves in two Aſſemblies of Convocation, anſwerable in proportion to the two Houſes of Parliament.* There are many other inconſiderable Amendments made by Biſhop *Ravis*'s own hand.

5. They are yet to this day called by ſeveral Writs, directed into their ſeveral Dioceſſes under the Great Seal, to aſſiſt the Prince in that High Court of Parliament.

6. Though the Clergy and the Univerſities be not the worſt Members of this Common-Wealth, yet in that reſpect they are of all other in worſt condition; for in that Aſſembly every Shire hath their Knights, and every incorporate Town their Burgeſſes, only the Clergy and the Univerſities are excluded.

7. The Wiſdom and Juſtice of this Realm doth intend, That no Subject ſhould be bound to that Law, whereunto he himſelf (after a ſort) hath not yielded his Conſent; but the Clergy and the Univerſities may now be concluded by Law, without their Conſent, without their juſt Defence, without their Privity.

8. The many Motions made ſo prejudicial to the State and being of the Clergy and Univerſities, followed now with ſo great eagerneſs in that Houſe, would then be utterly ſilenced, or ſoon repreſſed, with the ſober and ſufficient Anſwers of the Clergy preſent.

9. It would much repair the Reputation and Credit of the Clergy, which now is expoſed to great contumely and contempt, as generally abroad in this Land, ſo particularly in that Houſe. And whoſo is religious and wiſe may obſerve, That the Contempt of the Clergy is the high way to Atheiſm and all Prophaneneſs. Men are Fleſh and not Spirit, led by ordinary outward Means, and not uſually overwrought by extraordinary Inſpirations; and therefore do eaſily deſpiſe their Doctrine, whoſe Perſons they have in contempt.

10. Look into the whole World, Chriſtian or Unchriſtian, and ſee if the Civil State in every Place be not ſupported and maintained by the Dignity and Authority of their Clergies, ſubordinate and ſubjected unto them: As on the contrary, where the Clergy is baſe and contemptible, there grows an Anarchy and Confuſion. It is Conſcience that works Obedience to the temporal Magiſtrate, not Conſtitutions, nor Conſtraint; the one may command it, the other may correct the breach of it, only Religion effects a peaceable Subjection.

11. It concerneth the Clergy moſt of all Men in *England*, that the preſent State be continued, as now it is happily eſtabliſhed without any alteration. Whereas ſome others in that Houſe may think it would be good for them to fiſh in troubled Waters, or that any change would be

better to them, than their preſent Eſtate wherein they live ſo Male-content, through their own unthriftineſs or malignity of Nature, or perverſeneſs of Opinion.

12. If hereafter God in juſtice ſhould plague us for our Sins, by taking away the joy of our Hearts, yet how greatly would it tend to his Glory, the Good of this Land, and the Honour of her bleſſed Memory; if it ſhall pleaſe her Majeſty, to leave a Portion of the Clergy intereſſed in that Houſe, where they may ſtand for the Godly Government eſtabliſhed in her days, againſt all Innovation of Popery or Puritaniſm?

13. In the mean time (which God in Mercy grant may be for many Generations) her Majeſty ſhall be ſure of a number more in that Aſſembly, that ever will be moſt ready to maintain her Prerogative, and to enact whatſoever may make moſt for her Highneſs ſafety and contentment, as the Men that next under God's Goodneſs do moſt depend upon her Princely Clemency and Protection.

14. It would much recover the ancient Eſtimation and Authority of that Aſſembly, if it might be encreaſed with Men of Religion, Learning, and Diſcretion; which now is ſomewhat imbaſed by Youths, Serving-men, and Out-Laws, that injuriouſly are crept into the Honourable Houſe.

15. And it is the more neceſſary that there were ſome more Men of Sobriety and Judgment in that Meeting, that might counterpoiſe the haſte and headineſs of others that have intruded themſelves, eſpecially conſidering that a Cipher is as ſufficient to promote a ſingle Figure of One into the place of Ten, as the beſt Man that giveth Voice in that Houſe, when they come to calculating.

Number 19.

A Letter of Martin Bucers *to* Gropper.

Gratiam & Pacem Doctiſſime & Amiciſſime Vir.

Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

QUod tam ſero reſpondeo ad tuas Literas, quanquam etiam occupationes Miniſterii mei, tamen id magis in cauſa fuit, quod non ſatis liqueret, quomodo reſpondere conveniret, ſimul meæ in te Charitati, meoq; Miniſterio, & præſenti temporis conditioni. Sed tamen quia Charitati Deus facile omnia ſecundat, & frugifera facit, hac incitatus nunc reſpondeo, & reſpondeo ex ejus dictatione.

Et primum de eo, quod te de meo adventu & Miniſterio non præmonuerim. Quod per totam Germaniam increbuerat, etiam anteaquam Ego certus de vocatione iſta eſſem, non putavi te latere poſſe. Mox etiam ut adveni & priuſquam aliquid Miniſterii iniviſſem, tuum colloquiuum expetii. Certe nihil maluiſſem quam a te ante omnia doceri & inſtitui. Novit Chriſtus quid tibi Tribuam.

Quod ſcribis te cupere meam conditionem ſic eſſe ut Clero & Populo Veſtræ Coloniæ Agrippinæ gratus eſſe & placere poſſem, nunc cum ſecus ſe res habeant, non eſſe quod tibi quid imputem. Tibi optime Groppere nihil hujus imputo, confido enim te,

me, quo ipſe loco habes, eo etiam ſtudere apud alios collocare.

Sed cogitemus juxta, cui, Ego Clero iſtic, cui populo & cur gratus minus ſim, & non placeam, Clerus & Populus Chriſti cum Domino ſuo, Perſonam nullam in invocantibus Chriſtum, in iis præſertim, quos aliqua Religionis Noſtræ opinio commendat,averſatur: quamvis deprehenſi in contumelia Chriſti, in deſertione verbi ejus, in Scandalo objecto Eccleſiæ ejus; Lex noſtra non Judicat quenquam niſi audierit prius ab eo, & cognoverit quid fecerit. Audiant, cognoſcant, tum Judicent: ſi audire & cognoſcere nolunt nec Judicare jure poſſunt. Vulgata eſt hæc Reſponſio, ſed noſti etiam Jure Divino, Naturæ, & ſcripto ab hominibus niti.

Sed O Clerum, O ſortem Domini, & habentes Chriſtum ſortem ſuam. Gratias ago Chriſto Domino noſtro quod in me nihil deprehendet veſter Clerus & Populus, cur me ullo Jure abjicere, nedum perſequi queant. Aſſumpſit me Dominus, Servorum non eſt rejicere: poſuit me in Miniſterium ſuum Chriſtus, depelli me eo nemo de Clero Chriſti poſtulabit. Agnoſcunt ſe invicem & amant, atq; in opere eodem promovent, quicunq; Chriſti Spiritu vivunt & aguntur, qui hunc non habent, Chriſti non ſunt, quicquid ipſi ſe, vel alii eos vocent.

Diſplicet in me quod videor aliquid Canonum, ſed humanitus tantum Conditorum, tranſgreſſus. Hoc ſi propter Eccleſiam Chriſti, vel ejus ædificationem vel ornatum diſpliceret, non tolerata fuiſſent tam diu, & hodie tolerarentur, tam horrendæ & Manifeſtæ Simoniæ, Sacrilegia, & vitæ totius tanta, adeoq; & Canonibus, & Divinis Legibus graviter damnata fœditas. Chriſti igitur veritas, & libertas in me iſtis diſplicet, non tranſgreſſio Canonum, quam in ſumma neceſſariis Sanctionibus penitus & tot jam ſæculis pro ridiculo habent.

Conſolabor itaq; me in Domino, Beati eſtis, cum vos odio habuerint homines, & a ſe excluſerint, atq; convitiis proſciderint & rejecerint nomen veſtrum tanquam nefandum, Cauſa filii hominis. Qui in Cœlis ſedet Pater ridet profecto hoſce conatus contra Regnum Filii ſui, & brevi loquetur illis in ira ſua. Avertat miſericordia ejus, quæ ſequuntur.

Deploranda profecto Cæcitas, non videre hanc Dei clariſſimam Lucem, infanda ſtupiditas, iſta Dei Judicia non ſentire. Quotidie enim vident & audiunt ut collidantur, qui impingunt in hanc pœnam Scandali, & ut commolat illa, in quos ipſa ceciderit, & tamen conantur adhuc rejicere hunc lapidem, quem Pater in Zion pro fundamento & angulo poſuit. Sed dolent hæc & tibi, ac mecum ea deploras, provides enim quid iſta malorum invehant, & adhuc invectura ſint.

Audio pleroſq; multo quam antea ſolitum fuit concionari purius, audivi etiam quoſdam ipſe, in quorum concionibus nihil reprehendendum audiebatur, at quam multa deſiderabantur. Nam pro Amplitudine Majeſtatis Chriſti, prædicanda Chriſti omnia ſunt: hoc eſt ſumma perſpicuitate, libertate & virtute, non enim ut multa præclara cogitemus, aut loquamur, ſed ut Domino magis magiſq; fidamus, nomen ejus celebremus: idq; verbis & factis omnibus, ſacræ Conciones habendæ ſunt. Quare etiam oppoſita juxta ſe ponenda ſunt ut magis illuceſcant, ſed ad ſingularia Sermo dimittendus eſt ut plus moneat.

In Templo D. Columbæ, aiunt Idolo ejus Imaginis parari veſtem majoris precii quam Centum Florenorum. Si jam Paſtor hujus Parochiæ

Chriſtum pure & ἐνεργῶς cum effectu prædicat, qui fert tam pudendam Idololatriam? Et ſi ornari ſtatuam poſſe aliquo colore dicere conetur, quare non eum cultum preſcribit, quem gratum Martyribus & S. Patres teſtantur, cultum qui Cruci Chriſti ſit conſentaneus: Sed ſicut ipſi verbis Chriſto omnia tribuunt, facto autem quærunt & proſequuntur tam multa contra Chriſtum,ita faciunt etiam populum delectari nonnihil Saniore Doctrina.Omni autem Vita & Religione permanere in omnibus Superſtitionibus & Vitæ impuritate in qua antea hærebat.

Jactatur magna populi devotio iſtis & erga Paſtores ſuos reverentia, hoc autem gravius peccatur,cum illis Chriſtus non quam ſimpliciſſime in omnibus etiam Ceremoniis prædicatur. Sed O ſpinas exiſtimationis & commoditas mundialis, O fundum tenuem, & humorem malignum, in quo æſtus Crucis enatum ſemen tam cito arefacit. Hæc de iis ſcribo ad quos pertinent.

De te non dubito Gloriam Chriſti & propugnationem Regni ejus tibi quoq; ut ſcribis, cordi eſſe: tamen te rogo per Chriſtum id quod ſubjicis diligenter & coram Chriſto Domino excutias.

Sed nolui tamen ſic urgere Cauſam Chriſti, ut dum promotam eam velim, magis remorer. Zelum oportet eſſe ſecundum ſcientiam, Recte hæc, ſi rite intelligantur. Sed ſcientia Spiritus, non Carnis, hic opus eſt. Cauſa Chriſti nec debet nec poteſt per ſe quidem urgeri niſi aſſiduis præcibus, & modeſta, leni, Religioſa, ſed libera, ſed clara, ſed integra confeſſione & prædicatione Chriſti, eaq; quæ non verbis tantum ſed etiam factis conſtet. Hoc ſi ſcimus & agimus,Zelum habemus ſecundum ſcientiam, & Cauſam Chriſti tantum promovere, & remorari non poſſumus. Nam Chriſto tradita eſt omnis poteſtas in Cœlo & in Terra, igitur nihil eſt Poteſtatis per ſe Pontifici, cucullatis & perſonatis, ac quibuſvis titulis titulatis hominibus, qui ſcilicet ægreferant liberam & puram Chriſti Prædicationem. Eſt quidem aliquando tacendum Evangelium Chriſti, ſed apud canes & porcos, imo nec apud hos tacendum eſt, cum Gloria Chriſti agitur: ſed animoſe confitendum eſt,quanquam non ſit illis late explicandum,id eſt, Sanctum hoc projiciendum & Margaritæ iſtæ ſpargendæ.

Sunt qui ferre nos Lutheranos non poſſunt, & tamen a Regno Chriſti non abhorrent? Ubi quæſo ſunt & qui? Qui enim aliquid Chriſti habent, ii neminem odiſſe & condemnare ſuſtinent, non auditum, non cognita cauſa; nam Filii Dei agnoſcunt loquelam Chriſti, oves ejus ſequuntur vocem ejus, per quemcunq; eam inſonari fecerit.

Si Reformatio Eccleſiæ per iſtos ulla quæritur, indubie id quærent, ut Membra Chriſti omnia ſub capite Chriſto recolligantur & reconcinnentur & cooptentur. Quare nemo horum, qui vero Reformationis veræ ſtudio tenetur, ullum hominem ſub ullo titulo, quamvis odioſum invidia Crucis Chriſti,cuiquam impoſuerit, ab hoc ſancto opere inſtaurandi Eccleſias rejiciat, præſertim cum luce meridiana conſtet clarius, Pontificios nihil prorſus paſſuros mutari. Quid ergo? non quæremus ut Patria noſtra tam pernitioſis deſidiis aliquando liberaretur; ut uno tandem ore Chriſtum glorificemus.

Ne reſecemus vites, & uvas queramus a Spinis. Valeat apud nos præjudicium Chriſti: quoſq; ille aſſumpſit; eos conſervi ne repudiemus. Quid cuiq; datum ſit facile videre eſt: arbor quælibet ut plantata eſt, ut ingenium habet, ita fert fructum. Ne fugiamus Scandalum

Crucis cum quo Chriſtus eſt. Et ſi Chriſti nos non pudet, nec ſervorum ejus nos pudeat. Paulus ſcribit Timotheo, ne pudet te Teſtimonii Domini Noſtri, neq; mei vincti ejus; ita dum nos negotia Domini agimus ſinceriter, nec noſtri quiſquam, quantumlibet nos Mundus inter damnatos numeret, qui Chriſti ſit, pudebit. Non eſt res ulla, ad quam quiſquis eam ſincere agit, magis expetat adjuvari ſe, etiamſi fieri poſſit ab omnibus Creaturis, atq; eſt negotium Reformationis Chriſtianæ.

Iraſcentur quidam, tumultuabuntur graviter credo, & impedient negotium Domini; hoc non credo, neq; enim poterunt. Et ut Dominus eis graviſſima contra Regnum ſuum facere concedat, tamen nobis Filiis Dei propterea nihil tacendum, nihil diſſimulandum, nihil remittendum eſt in hac Cauſa Chriſti.

Jubes me non ſuſpicari te ſic mundo ineſcatum, ut refugias Crucem Domini ferre, ſi ita res poſtulet, & fructum facturus videare: de te profecto hoc bonis apud quos convenit ſemper Teſtor, te mihi multo plura in Cauſa Chriſti hactenus ſemper reipſa præſtitiſſe, quam promiſiſſes aut etiam verbis præ te tuliſſes: apud me quidem, cum contrarium nunc accidat a quodam, niſi te Chriſti membrum & præclaris dotibus ornatum ſuſpicerem, crede, ita dedit mihi Dominus ſublimia Mundi non mirari, tuam amicitiam & familiaritatem tantopere non quæſiviſſem, nec tali ſtudio colerem: ſed valde oro Dominum det tibi videre ubi, quando & qua ratione fructum pro Regno facere poſſis; & animet te ac corroboret forti contemplatione Poteſtatis & Majeſtatis ſuæ, ut vere dicas, abſit mihi gloriari niſi in Cruce Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti per quem mihi Mundus Crucifixus eſt & ego mundo. Tantæ opes, honores, Curæ rerum ſæcularium, tamen ſpinæ ſunt, tamen onera ſunt. Preſbyter es Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, cujus præcipuum munus eſt prædicare Chriſtum. Clericum veteres Sancti non patiebantur, vel tutelam pupillorum, vel curam viduarum ſuſcipere, tam liberum volebant eſſe curis hujus Sæculi omnem Clericum: at quantis tu ac etiam privatis cauſis, nec tamen ſemper Pupillorum & Viduarum prægravaris, id dolet indubie & tibi ipſi. Acceptabile Tempus nunc eſt & Dies Salutis, ſed tempus breve, viſitationem Noſtram tempore agnoſcamus & ſequamur.

Hæc dum non datur commentari tecum coram, quia te vere diligo, quia colo ſinceriter, cum hunc certum haberem nuncium, ad te ſcribere volui.

Quod magnificum D. Cancellarium meis Verbis diligenter Salutaſti, gratias ago, utinam autem & reſalutare ille, vel hic cum fuit, quod uſq; ad eam Diem quo iterum abiit clam me fuit, admittere me ad pium colloquium dignatus eſſet. Tamen rogo ſalutes illum officioſe meis verbis.

Dominns Jeſus qui ſolus & efficit & largitur omne bonum, donet ut omnia in ipſo quæramus, & ab ipſo expectemus: Sic facile nos in ipſo agnoſcemus & complectemur, quicquid odioſorum Titulorum Diabolus & Membra ejus injiciant. In Chriſto enim nec Mas quidem & Fœmina, Judæus & Ethnicus, nedum Lutherani & Romani; ſed omnes unum ſunt. In hoc bene vale, & fac pro Chrſti Charitate ut tandem nos aliquando videamus, & Sancto Colloquio nos mutuo recreemus. Optime mi & colende atq; vere dilecte Cordi meo Groppere. Bonn pridie Calendas Februarii 1543.

Deditus Tibi in Domino,

M. Bucerus.

Præcipuum oblitus eram, te per Chriſtum rogo & obteſtor, mone ad huc me, verſantem in Negotio Chriſti. Debes hoc Chriſto; & apud me tuto depones omnia.nec unquam fruſtra monebis.

Number 20.

Queſtions and Anſwers concerning the Divorce of the Marqueſs of Northampton.

1. QUid dirimit Matrimonii Vinculum? Ex M.S. Dr. *Stilling-fleet.*
2. Quas ob cauſas dirimi poterit?
3. An dirimi poterit Conjugium a thoro, non a vinculo?
4. Quibus caſibus poſſit ſic dirimi?
5. An exceptio illa (*excepta Fornicationis cauſa*) etiam in Lucæ, Marci & Pauli locis, qui de his rebus tractant, eſt ſubaudienda?
6. An etiam Uxor, repudiata propter Adulterium, alteri poterit nubere?
7. An redire ad priorem maritum, repudiatæ Adulteræ liceat?
8. An Maritus, propter Adulterium, ab Uxore caſta poſſit repudiari?

Ad primam Reſpondemus; Ipſo Adulterii facto Matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin, ob ſolum Adulterium non liceret viro Uxorem repudiare: voluntas viri ſolicitat judices, Judices palam faciunt Eccleſiæ, virum licite talem repudiare Uxorem.

Ad ſecundam Reſp. Quod ob ſolam cauſam ſtupri dirimitur Matrimonii vinculum: cujus ipſo quidem facto, Conjugii diſſolvitur nodus, & loquimur his, qui Sacroſancti Matrimonii jus agnoſcunt.

Ad tertiam Reſp. Quod non; quia Mulier quamdiu vixerit, *alligata & viro*, Rom. 7. *item ne fraudetis vos invicem*, 1 Cor. 7. item in eodem loco Uxori Vir debitam benevolentiam reddat ſimpliciter, & Uxor viro, *item Vir non habeat poteſtatem ſui corporis*, ſed Uxor ſimiliter; *nec Uxor habeat poteſtatem ſui corporis, ſed Vir.*

Ad quartam patet in reſponſione ad tertiam.

Ad quintam Reſpondemus; quod exceptio iſta, viz. *Niſi cauſa ſtupri*; eſt ſubaudienda in Luca, Marco & Paulo: alioquin manifeſta erit repugnantia inter Matthæum & eos.

Ad ſextam reſpond. Quod repudiata propter Adulterium, quia Uxor repudiantis deſiit eſſe, ob idq; libera eſt ſicut aliæ omnes poſt obitum virorum poſſunt aliis nubere; æquo jure juxta illud *Pauli, ſi non contineant, contrahant Matrimonium*, 1 Cor. 7.

Ad ſeptimam reſpond. Quod non licet repudiatæ Adulteræ redire ad repudiantem, tanquam alligatæ ei Jugi vinculo Matrimonii.

Ultima Queſtio Nihil ad Nos.

Injunctions

Number 21.

Injunctions given by the King's Majeſty's Viſitors, to all and every the Clergie and Laity, now reſident within the Deanry of Duncaſtre.

Ex MS. Dr. *Johnſon.*

Item. YOu ſhall not hereafter, in the Pulpit or elſe-where, on the *Sunday*, or any other day, give knowledg to your Pariſhioners, when or what day in the Week any of the Abrogate Holy-days were ſolemnized or kept in the Church, but omit the ſame with ſilence as other Working-days, for the utter aboliſhing of the remembrance thereof.

Item. You ſhall teach your Pariſhioners, That Faſting in the *Lent*, and other days, is a meer Poſitive, that is to ſay, Man's Law; and by the Magiſtrates, upon conſiderations, may be altered, changed, and diſpenſed with: and that therefore all Perſons having juſt cauſe of Sickneſs, or other Neceſſity, or being licenſed thereto, may temperately eat all kinds of Meat, without ſcruple or grudge of Conſcience.

Item. You ſhall every day, that an High Maſs is ſaid or ſung at the High Altar, before the ſame Maſs, read openly in your Churches the Engliſh *Suffrages*, for the preſervation and ſafeguard of the King's Majeſty's People, and proſperous ſucceſs of his Affairs.

Item. You ſhall every *Sunday*, at the time of your going about the Church with Holy Water, into three or four places, where moſt audience and aſſembly of People is, for the declaration of the Ceremonies, ſay, diſtinctly and plainly, that your Pariſhioners may well hear and perceive the ſame, theſe words,

> *Remember Chriſt's Blood-ſhedding, by the which moſt holy ſprinkling, of all your Sins you have free pardon.*

And in like manner, before the dealing of the Holy Bread, theſe words,

> *Of Chriſt's Body this is a Token; which on the Croſs for our Sins was broken; wherefore of his Death if you will be partakers, of Vice and Sin you muſt be forſakers.*

And the Clarke in the like manner ſhall bring down the *Paxe*, and ſtanding without the Church Door, ſhall ſay loudly to the People theſe words;

> *This is a Token of joyful Peace, which is betwixt God and Mens Conſcience: Chriſt alone is the Peace-maker, which ſtraitly commands Peace between Brother and Brother.*

And ſo long as ye uſe theſe Ceremonies, ſo long ſhall ye uſe theſe Significations.

Item. The Church-Wardens of every Pariſh-Church ſhall, ſome one *Sunday*, or other Feſtival day, every Month, go about the Church, and make requeſt to every of the Pariſh for their charitable Contribution to the Poor; and the Sum ſo collected, ſhall be put in the Cheſt of Alms for that purpoſe provided. And foraſmuch as the Pariſh-Clark ſhall not hereafter go about the Pariſh with his Holy Water as hath been accuſtomed, he ſhall, inſtead of that labour, accompany the ſaid Church-Wardens, and in a Book Regiſter the Name and Sum of every Man that giveth any thing to the Poor, and the ſame ſhall intable; and againſt the next day of Collection, ſhall hang up ſome-where in the Church in open place, to the intent the Poor having knowledg thereby, by whoſe Charity and Alms they be relieved, may pray for the increaſe and proſperity of the ſame.

Item. The Church-Wardens, for the better relief of honeſt Poverty, ſhall, upon ſufficient Surety found for the repayment of the ſame, lend to ſome young married Couple, or ſome poor Inhabitants of their Pariſh, ſome part of the ſaid Alms, whereby they may buy ſome kind of Stuff: by the working, ſale, and gains whereof, they may repay the Sum borrowed,and alſo well relieve themſelves; or elſe the ſaid Church-Wardens to buy the Stuff themſelves, and pay the Poor for their working thereof; and after ſale of the ſame, to return the Sum, with the Gain, to the ſaid Cheſt, there to remain to ſuch-like uſe.

Item. Foraſmuch as heretofore you have not, by any means, diligence, or ſtudy, advanced your ſelves unto knowledg in God's Word, and his Scriptures, condignly, as appertaineth to Prieſts, and Diſpenſators of God's Teſtament; to the intent you may hereafter be of better ability to diſcharge your ſelves towards God, and your Offices to the World, you ſhall daily, for your own ſtudy and knowledg, read over diligently, and weigh with judgment, two Chapters of the New Teſtament, and one of the Old, in Engliſh, and the ſame ſhall put in ure and practice, as well in living as preaching, at times convenient, when occaſion is given.

Item. Foraſmuch as Drunkenneſs, Idleneſs, Brawls, Diſſention, and many other Inconveniences do chance between Neighbour and Neighbour, by the aſſembly of People together at Wakes, and on the Plough-*Mundays*; it is therefore ordered and enjoined, That hereafter the People ſhall uſe, make, or obſerve no more ſuch Wakes, Plough-*Mundays*, or drawing of the ſame, with any ſuch Aſſembly or Rout of People, or otherwiſe, as hath been accuſtomed, upon pain of forfeiting to the King's Highneſs 40 *s.* for every Default, to be paid by the Owner of the Plough and Houſholder, whereunto the ſaid Plough is drawn, or Wakes are kept.

The Names of the Viſitors.

Sir *John Markham.*	*Roger Tongue.*
John Hearn.	*William Moreton.*
Thomas Gragrave.	*Edmund Farley.*

Number 22.

A Proclamation againſt thoſe that do innovate, alter, or leave down any Rite or Ceremony in the Church of their private Authority; and againſt them which Preach without Licenſe. Set forth the *6th* day of *February*, in the Second Year of the King's Majeſty's moſt gracious Reign.

Ex Reg. Cranmer. Fol. 111.

The King's Majeſty, by the advice of his moſt entirely beloved Uncle, the Duke of Somerſet, Governor of his moſt Royal Perſon, and Protector of all his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and others of his Counſel; Conſidering nothing ſo much to tend to the diſquieting of this Realm, as diverſity of Opinions, and variety of Rites and Ceremonies concerning Religion, and worſhipping of Almighty God; and therefore ſtudying all the ways and means which can be to direct this Church, and the Cure committed to his Highneſs, in one and moſt true Doctrine, Rite, and Uſage, yet is advertiſed, That certain private Curats, Preachers, and other Lay-men, contrary to their bounden Duties of Obedience, do raſhly attempt, of their own and ſingular Wit and Mind, in ſome Pariſh-Churches, and otherwiſe, not only to perſwade the People from the old and accuſtomed Rites and Ceremonies, but alſo themſelves bringeth in new Orders every one in their Church, according to their Phantaſies; the which, as it is an evident token of Pride and Arrogance, ſo it tendeth both to Confuſion and Diſorder, and alſo to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God, who loveth nothing ſo much as Order and Obedience. Wherefore his Majeſty ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, That no manner of Perſon, of what Eſtate, Order, or Degree ſoever he be, of his private Mind, Will, or Phantaſie, do omit, leave done, change, alter, or innovate any Order, Rite, or Ceremony, commonly uſed and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left undone at any time in the Reign of Our late Soveraign Lord, his Highneſs Father, other than ſuch as his Highneſs, by the Advice aforeſaid by his Majeſty's Viſitors, Injunctions, Statutes, or Proclamations, hath already, or hereafter ſhall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed, but that they be obſerved after that ſort as before they were accuſtomed, or elſe now ſith preſcribed by the Authority of his Majeſty, or by the means aforeſaid: upon pain, That whoſoever ſhall offend contrary to this Proclamation, ſhall injure his Highneſs Indignation, and ſuffer Impriſonment, and other grievous Puniſhments, at his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure. Provided always, that for not bearing a Candle upon Candlemaſs-day; not taking Aſhes upon Aſh-wedneſday; not bearing Palm upon Palm-Sunday; not creeping to the Croſs; not taking Holy Bread, or Holy Water; or for omitting other ſuch Rites and Ceremonies concerning Religion, and the Uſe of the Church, which the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Arch Biſhop of Canterbury, by his Majeſty's Will and Commandment, with the Advice aforeſaid, hath declared, or hereafter ſhall declare to the other Biſhops, by his Writing under Seal, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed to be omitted or changed, no Man hereafter be impriſoned, nor otherwiſe puniſhed, but all ſuch things to be reputed for the obſervation and following of the ſame, as though they were commanded by his Majeſty's Injunctions. And to the intent that raſh and ſeditious Preachers ſhould not abuſe his Highneſs People, it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, That whoſoever ſhall take upon him to Preach openly in any Pariſh-Church, Chappel, or any other open place, other than thoſe which be licenſed by the King's Majeſty, or his Highneſs Viſitors; the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, or the Biſhops of the Dioceſs where he doth preach, except it be Biſhop, Parſon, Vicar, Dean, Warden, or Provoſt, in his or their own Cure, ſhall be forthwith, upon ſuch attempt and preaching, contrary to this Proclamation, be committed to Priſon, and there remain, until ſuch time as his Majeſty, by the advice aforeſaid, hath taken order for the further puniſhment of the ſame; and that the Premiſes ſhould be more ſpeedily and diligently done and performed, his Highneſs giveth ſtraitly in Commandment, to all Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Conſtables, Headboroughs, Church-wardens, and all other his Majeſty's Officers and Miniſters, and Rulers of Towns, Pariſhes, and Hamlets, that they be diligent and attendent to the true and faithful execution of this Proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the ſame. And that they of their proceedings herein, or if any Offender be, after they have committed the ſame to Priſon, do certifie his Highneſs, the Lord Protector, or his Majeſty's Council, with all ſpeed thereof accordingly, as they tender his Majeſty's Pleaſure, the Wealth of the Realm; and will anſwer to the contrary at their uttermoſt perils.

God ſave the King.

Number 23.

An Order of Council for the Removing of Images.

AFter our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, Regiſt.
where now of late, in the King's Majeſty's Viſitation, among *Cranmer.*
other Godly Injunctions commanded to be generally obſerved through- Fol. 32.
out all Parts of this his Highneſs Realm, one was ſet forth for the taking down all ſuch Images as had at any time been abuſed with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Cenſings. Albeit that this ſaid Injunction hath in many parts of the Realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much ſtrife and contention hath ariſen, and daily ariſeth, and more and more increaſeth, about the execution of the ſame: ſome Men being ſo ſuperſtitious, or rather willful, as they would by their good-wills, retain all ſuch Images ſtill, although they have been moſt manifeſtly abuſed; and in ſome places alſo the Images, which by the ſaid Injunctions were taken down, be now reſtored and ſet up

again; and almoſt in every place is contention for Images, whether they have been abuſed or not. And whiles theſe Men go about on both ſides contentiouſly to obtain their Minds, contending whether this or that Image hath been offered unto, kiſſed, cenſed, or otherwiſe abuſed, Parties have in ſome places been taken, in ſuch ſort, as further inconvenience is very like to enſue, if Remedy be not provided in time. Conſidering therefore that almoſt in no places of the Realm is any ſure quietneſs, but where all Images be wholly taken away and pulled down already; to the intent that all Contention in every part of the Realm for this Matter may be clearly taken away, and that the lively Images of Chriſt ſhould not contend for the dead Images, which be things not neceſſary, and without which the Churches of Chriſt continued moſt Godly many Years, We have thought good to ſignify unto you, That his Highneſs Pleaſure, with advice and conſent of us the Lord Protector, and the reſt of the Council, is, That immediately upon the ſight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you ſhall not only give order, that all the Images remaining in any Church or Chappel within your Dioceſs be removed and taken away, but alſo by your Letters ſignify unto the reſt of the Biſhops within your Province, this his Highneſs Pleaſure, for the like Order to be given by them, and every of them within their ſeveral Dioceſs; and in the execution hereof We require, both you and the reſt of the ſaid Biſhops, to uſe ſuch foreſight, as the ſame may be quietly done, with as good ſatisfaction of the People as may be. Thus fare your good Lordſhip well. From *Somerſet* Houſe, the 21 of *February*, 1547.

Your Lordſhips aſſured Friends,

E. *Somerſet.*	*T. Seymor.*
Jo. Ruſſel.	*Anthony Wingfield.*
Henricus Arundel.	*William Paget.*

Number 24.

The Copy of a Letter ſent to all thoſe Preachers which the King's Majeſty hath licenſed to Preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and other of the King's Majeſty's moſt honourable Council; the 13th day of May, *in the Second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, King* Edward *the Sixth.*

After our right hearty Commendations, as well for the Conſervation of the quietneſs and good order of the King's Majeſty's Subjects, as that they ſhould not, by evil and unlearned Preachers, be brought unto Superſtition, Error, or evil Doctrine, or otherwiſe, be made ſtubborn and diſobedient to the King's Majeſty's Godly Proceedings, his Highneſs, by our Advice, hath thought good to inhibit all manner of Preachers, who have not ſuch Licenſe, as in the ſame Proclamation is allowed, to preach, or ſtir the People, in open and common preachings of Sermons, by any means, that the devout and godly

Homilies, might the better, in the mean while, ſink into his Subjects Hearts, and be learned the ſooner, the People not being toſſed to and fro with ſeditious and contentious Preaching, while every Man, according to his Zeal, ſome better, ſome worſe, goeth about to ſet out his own Phantaſie, and to draw the People to his Opinion. Nevertheleſs it is not his Majeſty's Mind hereby clearly to extinct the lively Teaching of the Word of God, by Sermons made after ſuch ſort, as for the time the Holy Ghoſt ſhall put into the Preacher's Mind, but that raſh, contentious, hot, and undiſcreet Preachers, ſhould be ſtopped; and that they only which be choſen and elect, be diſcreet and ſober Men, ſhould occupy that place, which was made for Edification, and not for Deſtruction; for the Honour of God, and Peace and Quietneſs of Conſcience to be ſet forward, not for private Glory to be advanced; to appeaſe, to teach; to inſtruct the People with Humility and Patience, not to make them contentious and proud; to inſtil into them their Duty to their Heads and Rulers, Obedience to Laws and Orders, appointed by the Superiors who have Rule of God; not that every Man ſhould run before their Heads hath appointed them what to do, and that every Man ſhould chuſe his own way in Religion: The which thing yet being done of ſome Men, and they being rather provoked thereto by certain Preachers, than dehorted from it, it was neceſſary to ſet a ſtay therein: And yet foraſmuch as we have a great confidence and truſt in you, that you will not only Preach truly and ſincerely the Word of God, but alſo will uſe circumſpection and moderation in your Preaching, and ſuch Godly Wiſdom as ſhall be neceſſary and moſt convenient for the Time and Place. We have ſent unto you the King's Majeſty's Licenſe to Preach, but yet with this Exhortation and Admoniſhment, That in no wiſe you do ſtir and provoke the People to any Alteration or Innovation, other than is already ſet forth by the King's Majeſty's Injunctions, Homilies, and Proclamations; but contrariwiſe, That you do in all your Sermons exhort Men to that which is at this time more neceſſary; that is, to the emendation of their own Lives, to the obſervance of the Commandments of God, to Humility, Patience, and Obedience to their Heads and Rulers; comforting the Weak, and teaching them the right way, and to flee all old Erroneous Superſtitions, as the Confidence in Pardons, Pilgrimages, Beads, Religious Images, and other ſuch of the Biſhop of *Rome's* Traditions and Superſtitions, with his uſurped Power; the which things be here in this Realm moſt juſtly aboliſhed; and ſtraitly rebuking thoſe, who of an arrogancy and proud haſtineſs, will take upon them to run before they be ſent, to go before the Rulers, to alter and change things in Religion, without Authority, teaching them to expect and tarry the time which God hath ordained, to the revealing of all Truth, and not to ſeek ſo long blindly and hidlings after it, till they bring all Orders into contempt. It is not a private Man's Duty to alter Ceremonies, to innovate Orders in the Church; nor yet it is not a Preachers part to bring that into contempt and hatred, which the Prince doth either allow, or is content to ſuffer. The King's Highneſs, by our Advice, as a Prince moſt earneſtly given to the true knowledg of God, and to bring up his People therein, doth not ceaſe to labour and travel by all godly means, that his Realm might be brought and kept in a moſt Godly and Chriſtian Order, who only may and ought to do it. Why ſhould a private Man, or a Preacher, take this Royal and Kingly Office upon him; and not rather, as his Duty is, obediently follow himſelf, and teach likewiſe others to follow and obſerve that which is commanded. What is aboliſhed, taken away, reformed, and commanded, it is eaſy to ſee by the Acts of Parliament, the Injunctions, Proclamations, and Homilies: the which things moſt earneſtly it behoveth all Preachers in their Sermons to confirm and approve accordingly, in other things which be not yet touched, it behoveth him to think, that either the Prince doth allow them, or elſe ſuffer them; and in thoſe it is the part of a Godly Man, not to think himſelf wiſer than the King's Majeſty, and his Council: but patiently to expect and to conform himſelf thereto, and not to intermeddle further, to the diſturbance of a Realm, the diſquieting of the King's People, the troubling of Mens Conſciences, and diſorder of the King's Subjects.

Theſe things we have thought good to admoniſh you of at this time, becauſe we think you will ſet the ſame ſo forward in your preaching, and ſo inſtruct the King's Majeſty's People accordingly, to the moſt advancement of the Glory of God, and the King's Majeſty's moſt Godly Proceedings, that we do not doubt but much profit ſhall enſue thereby, and great conformity in the People the which you do inſtruct; and ſo we pray you not to fail to do: and having a ſpecial regard to the weakneſs of the People what they may bear, and what is moſt convenient for the time; in no caſe to intermeddle in your Sermons, or otherwiſe, with Matters in contention or controverſion, except it be to reduce the People in them alſo to Obedience, and following of ſuch Orders as the King's Majeſty hath already ſet forth, and no others, as the King's Majeſty and our Truſt is in you, and as you tender his Highneſs Will and Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the contrary at your Peril.

Fare you well.

Printed at *London, June* 1. 1548.

Number

Number 25.

Queries put concerning ſome Abuſes of the Maſs; with the Anſwers that were made by many Biſhops and Divines to them.

Queſt. 1.

Whether the Sacrament of the Altar was inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, or to be received of every Man for himſelf?

Ex M.S. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*

Anſwers.

THe Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, but to be received by every Man for himſelf.

Cantuarien.

The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for one other, but of every Man for himſelf.

Eboracen.

I think that the Sacrament of Thanks was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, but of every Man for himſelf.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven.

The Sacrament of the Altar was inſtituted, to be received of every Man by himſelf, to make him a Member of Chriſt's Myſtical Body, and to knit and unite him to Chriſt our Head; as St. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 10. *Unus Panis, & unum Corpus, multi ſumus omnes qui de uno pane participamus.*

Dunelm.

The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another Sacramentally, no more than one Man to be Chriſtened for another: notwithſtanding the Grace received by him that is Houſled, or Chriſtened, is profitable and available to the whole Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and therefore to every lively Member thereof.

Sarisburien.

The Sacrament (as they call it) of the Altar, was not inſtituted to be received of one for another, but of every Man for himſelf: For Chriſt, the Inſtitutor of this Sacrament, ſaith, with manifeſt words, *Take, eat,* &c. *Mat.* 26. And alſo, *John 6. Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you. Whoſo eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life.* Nor the receiving of one Man doth avail or profit any other; otherwiſe than by the way of Example, whereby the People preſent are provoked to the imitation of the thing that is good.

Lincoln.

The

Elien. The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, but of every Man for himſelf.

Covent. & Litchfield. I think and ſuppoſe, that the Sacrament of the Altar was inſtituted to be received of every Man for himſelf; for ſo are the words of Chriſt, *Comedite & bibite*, ſpeaking to them preſent, and to every one of them.

Carliolen. The Sacrament of the Altar was not ordained or inſtituted to be received of one Man alone, but of all, and for all, becauſe it is the General and continual Remedy, help, and ſuccour of all, which maketh no let or ſtop of themſelves, and their own unfaithful or ſinful Life.

Roffen. Of every Man for himſelf.

Briſtollen. The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another Sacramentally, no more than one Man to be Chriſtened for another, but every Man to receive it in Faith and cleanlineſs of Life for himſelf.

Meneven. The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt was not inſtituted, that one Man ſhould receive it for another, but every Man for himſelf. *Probet autem ſeipſum homo, & ſic de pane illo edat, & de poculo illo bibat.* Cor. 11.

Dr. *Cox.* The Sacrament of Thanks was inſtituted to be received of every Man for himſelf, and not of one for another.

Dr. *Tyler.* Of every Man for himſelf.

Queſt. 2.

Whether the Receiving of the ſaid Sacrament of one Man doth avail and profit any other?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. THe Receiving of the ſaid Sacrament by one Man, doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the ſame.

Eboracen. The Receiving of the Sacrament only availeth the Receivers thereof, except it be by reaſon of ſuch Communion as is among the Members of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I think that the Receiving of the ſaid Sacrament doth not avail or profit any other, but only as all other good Works done of any Member of Chriſt's Church, be available to the whole Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and to every lively Member of the ſame, by reaſon of mutual

Participation, and ſpiritual Communion between them. And alſo it may be profitable to others, as an Example whereby others may be ſtirred to Devotion, and to like Receiving of the ſame.

The Receiving of the Sacrament of one Man doth profit another, *Dunelmen.* as the health and good-liking of one Member, doth in part ſtrengthen the Body, and other Members of the ſame: for St. *Paul* ſaith, *Multi unum corpus ſumus in Chriſto, ſinguli autem alter alterius membra*, Rom. 12. *&* 1 Cor. 12. *Si gaudet unum membrum, cangaudent omnia membra.* And in a Myſtical Body, the good living of one Man, ſtirreth another to the ſame.

The Oblation made after the Conſecration in the Maſs, is the offering *Sarisburien.* unto the Father of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, by the Miniſter, with the Commemoration of the Paſſion, and with Thankſgiving for the ſame, and with the Prayers of the Miniſter and People, that it may be available to all Chriſtian People.

The Receiving thereof of one Man, doth not avail or profit any *Elien.* other, but as all good Deeds profit the Congregation; and as one Member healed or taking nouriſhment, profiteth another Member.

And I ſuppoſe alſo, that the Receiving of one Man doth not avail *Covent. & Litchfield.* or profit another; but as every good Act or Deed of one Member doth profit to the whole Body.

The Receiving of the Sacrament, as it noteth the Act of him who *Carliolen.* receiveth, it may be, that it neither availeth or profiteth him who receiveth, nor any other, but alſo hurts the Receiver, if he preſume to take it raſhly or unworthily. But as touching the thing which is Sacred, offered, and diſtributed by the Common Miniſter in the *Maſs*, repreſenting the Holy Church, or Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and is received both of him and other that will, whatſoever the Receiving or Receiver be, it availeth and profiteth all preſent, abſent, Living and Dead.

No, but as the receipt of wholſome Doctrine, the receipt of the *Roffen.* Fear of God, the receipt of any Godly Gift that is profitable to any one Member of Chriſt's myſtical Body, may be ſaid generally to profit the whole Body, becauſe there is a myſtical Communion, and a ſpiritual Participation amongſt all the Members of Chriſt in all Godlineſs; as there is in the natural Body a natural participation of all natural Affections both good and evil.

It appeareth, by the words of St. *Cyprian*, *Epiſt.* 6. *Lib.* 3. that it *Briſtollen.* ſhould be profitable and available to others, foraſmuch as he wrote theſe words of the faithful Chriſtians which departed this World in Priſon, and ſaid; *Quanquam fideliſſimus & devotiſſimus frater noſter, inter cætera ſolicitudinem & curam ſuam cum fratribus in omni obſequio operationis impertitur, qui nec illic curam corporum — ſcripſerit ac ſcribat ac ſignificat mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres noſtri ad immortalitatem*

litatem glorioſæ mortis exitu tranſeant & celebrentur, hic a nobis Oblationes & Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiſcum, domine proſperante, celebrabimus. Ita enim docuit Apoſtolus Chriſti unus Panis & unum 1 Cor. 1. *Corpus multi ſumus omnes, qui de uno Pane, & de uno Calice participamus. Nec loquitur de his ſolis qui eo tempore* Corinthi *conveniebant, & Sacramentum ab unius Sacerdotis manu recipiebant; Verum potius de ſeipſo tunc procul a* Corintho *agente, &* Corinthiis *ipſis omnibuſq; in Chriſtum credentibus ubi tandem conſtituti eſſent quos omnes ſignificat unum eſſe Corpus qui toto orbe de uno Pane communicantes participarent.*

Meneven. The Sacrament profiteth him only, that receiveth it worthily; likeas it damnifieth him only that receiveth it unworthily. *Nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium ſibi ipſi edit ac bibit,* 1 Cor. 11.

Dr. *Cox.* The Receiving of the ſaid Sacrament, doth avail and profit the Receiver only, and none other, but by occaſion to do the like.

Dr. *Tyler.* So much as the Chriſtening of Man profiteth another, which after my Opinion profiteth nothing.

Queſt. 3.

What is the Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the Maſs?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. THe Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs* is not ſo called, becauſe Chriſt indeed is there offered and ſacrificed by the Prieſt and the People, (for that was done but once by himſelf upon the Croſs) but it is ſo called, becauſe it is a Memory and Repreſentation of that very true Sacrifice and Immolation which before was made upon the Croſs.

Eboracen. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is the preſenting of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt to the Heavenly Father, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, conſecrated in the Remembrance of his Paſſion, with Prayer and Thankſgiving for the Univerſal Church.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I think it is the Preſentation of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt being really preſent in the Sacrament; which Preſentation the Prieſt maketh at the *Maſs*, in the Name of the Church, unto God the Father, in memory of Chriſt's Paſſion and Death upon the Croſs; with thankſgiving therefore, and devout Prayer, that all Chriſtian People, and namely they which ſpiritually join with the Prieſt in the ſaid Oblation, and of whom he maketh ſpecial remembrance, may attain the benefit of the ſaid Paſſion.

Dunelm. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is the preſenting of Chriſt by the Prieſt, in commemoration of his Paſſion, being our eternal and permanent Sacrifice, preſent in the Sacrament by his Omni-potent Word left to us, to have his Death and Paſſion in remembrance, with giving thanks for the ſame, and Prayer of the Miniſter, and them which be preſent, that the ſame may be available to the whole Church of Chriſt, both Quick and Dead in the Faith of Chriſt.

Sarisburie Which Oblation, commemoration of Chriſt's Paſſion, giving of Thanks and Prayer, taketh effect only in them which by their own proper Faith ſhall receive the ſame effect.

Lincoln. There is properly no Oblation nor Sacrifice, but a remembrance of the One Oblation of Chriſt upon the Croſs, made once for all; a giving of Thanks for the ſame, and the Prayer of the publick Miniſter for the whole Congregation; which Prayer only taketh effect in them, who by their own proper Faith receive the benefit of Chriſt: And where many of thoſe Authors do ſay there is an Oblation and Sacrifice, they ſpoke ſo, becauſe in this Sacrament we be admoniſhed of the Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt upon the Croſs.

Elien. If Oblation be taken *pro re Oblata*, then, as old Ancient Doctors write, it Is, *Corpus & Sanguis, ſcil. Verum, & Corpus, ſcil. Myſticum.* If ye take it *pro actu offerendi*, it is a Commemoration and Repreſentation of Chriſt's Death once ſuffered upon the Croſs, with Thankſgiving for the ſame.

Covent. & Litchfield. I ſuppoſe the very Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is this; That after the Benediction, that is to ſay, the words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, and the divine working of Chriſt preſently, by the which there is the very precious Body, and the precious Blood of Chriſt preſent to be ſo received; then the Prieſt offereth up the holy Memory of our Redemption to God the Father, moſt humbly praying, That as it was once offered up by Chriſt upon the Croſs, for the Redemption of Man-kind, ſo it may take effect now, and at all times, eſpecially in thoſe that with a true Faith, with a full Truſt and hope ſhall ſo worthily receive it.

Carliolen. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is, even the ſame which was offered by Chriſt on the Croſs, ever and every-where abiding and enduring of like ſtrength, virtue and power. The difference is, That on the Croſs Chriſt being there both Prieſt and Sacrifice, offered himſelf viſibly; and in the *Maſs*, being likewiſe both Prieſt and Sacrifice, offereth himſelf inviſibly, by the common Miniſter of the Church, who in the name and ſtead of the whole faithful Congregation offereth and preſenteth, as he bid and commanded by Chriſt.

Roffen. The Repreſentation and Commemoration of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion, ſaid and done in the *Maſs*, is called the Sacrifice, Oblation, or Immolation of Chriſt; *Non rei veritate*, (as learned Men do write) *ſed ſignificandi Myſterio.*

Briſtollen. It is in giving Thanks unto the Father, as Chriſt did himſelf at his Supper, taking the Bread and Wine into his hands, and with the words of Conſecration, conſecrating the ſame, and then making preſentation of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt unto God the Father, in the Name of the Church, in the memory of Chriſt's moſt painful Paſſion and Death, ſuffered upon the Croſs; and ſo worthily receiving the ſame, and with giving thanks again for the ſame at the latter end; as the Goſpel ſaith, *Hymno dicto*; but what this Hymn or Prayer was, I find no mention.

Meneven. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt mentioned in the *Maſs*, is a memorial of Chriſt's only Sacrifice upon the Croſs, once offered for ever; *Unica enim Oblatione, perfectos effecit in perpetuum eos qui ſanctificantur*, Heb. 10.

Dr. *Cox.* The Oblation of the Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is the Prayer, the Praiſe, the Thankſgiving, and the remembrance of Chriſt's Paſſion and Death.

Dr. *Tyler.* There is no Oblation, ſpeaking properly; but ſome Ancient Doctors, and the uſe of the Church, calleth the receiving of it, with the Circumſtances then done, an Oblation; that is to ſay, a Memorial and Remembrance of Chriſt's moſt precious Oblation upon the Croſs.

Queſt. 4.

Wherein conſiſteth the Maſs *by Chriſt's Inſtitution?*

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. THe *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts; *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Luke* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11.

Eboracen. The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in the Conſecration and Oblation of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, with Prayer, Thankſgiving, and Receiving of the ſame, as appeareth in the Evangeliſts, *Matth.* 26. 27. *Mark* 14. & 15. *Luke* 22. & 23. *John* 6. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11. *Acts* 2.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I think it conſiſteth principally, in the Conſecration, Oblation, and Receiving of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; with Prayers and Thankſgiving; but what the Prayers were, and what Rites Chriſt uſed or commanded at the firſt inſtitution of the *Maſs*, the Scripture declareth not.

Dunelm. The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth by the Evangeliſts, *Mat.* 26. *Mark* 19. *Luke* 22. and *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 10, 11, & 12. and *Acts* 2. with humble and contrite Confeſſion, the Oblation of Chriſt, as before: the Receiving of the Sacrament, giving of Thanks therefore, and Common Prayer for the Myſtical Body of Chriſt.

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Luke* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11. *Acts* 2, and 13. *Sarisburien.*

It conſiſteth in theſe things which be ſet forth *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 19. *Luke* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. *Acts* 2. *Lincoln.*

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, *Matth.* 26. *Luke* 22. and 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. and *Acts* 2. *Elien.*

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, only expreſſing the Form of Chriſt by the Scripture, conſiſteth in the taking of the Bread, and giving thanks to God the Father, in the Benediction and Conſecration, in the receiving or diſtribution, and receiving of them, to whom the diſtribution is made by the hands of the Prieſt: as the Eldeſt Authors affirme, in the renewing of the memory of our Redemption by an undoubted Faith, and for that to give moſt humble thanks; ſo calling to remembrance, as often as it is thus done, the ineſtimable benefit of our Redemption. What Thanks that Chriſt gave before this moſt holy Action, or what Thanks that he gave after it, by the general words of *Matthew*, *Hymno dicto*, are not expreſſed: So that there appeareth, both before this moſt Holy Action, and alſo after, to be a certain Ceremony appointed by Chriſt more than is expreſſed: Moreover, by the Doctrine of the Apoſtle, it behoveth every Man to be wiſe and circumſpect, that he receive not this moſt bleſſed Sacrament unworthily and unreverently, not making difference betwixt the receiving of the moſt bleſſed Body of Chriſt, and other Meats. *Covent. & Litchfield.* Chap. 24. 1 Cor. 11.

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in Conſecrating, Offering, Receiving, and Diſtributing of the bleſſed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, according to that he himſelf did, willed, and commanded to be done. This we have manifeſted by the Evangeliſts, St. *Paul*, and St. *Luke*, in the *Acts*. But becauſe Chriſt was, after his Reſurrection long with his Diſciples, communicating and treating of the Kingdom of God, what ſhould be done here to come thither, it may be well thought, that whatſoever he or his Holy Spirit left with the Apoſtles, and they with others, after which alſo the whole Univerſal Congregation of Chriſtian People uſeth and obſerveth, moſt ancient and holy Doctors in like form noteth, may likewiſe be ſaid and taken as of Chriſt's Inſtitution. *Carliolen.*

I am not able to ſay, that the *Maſs* conſiſteth by Chriſt's Inſtitution in other things, than in thoſe which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, in the *Acts*, and 1 *Cor.* 10. & 11. *Roffen.*

As I take it, the *Maſs* by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe Things and Rites, which be ſet forth unto us, in the 26*th* of St. *Matthew*, the 14*th* of St. *Mark*, and the 22 of St. *Luke*; and alſo as mention is made in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 10., *Briſtollen.*

and 11. and *Acts* 11. any other Inſtitution I read not of by Scripture.

Meneven. Chriſt's Inſtitution compriſeth no more in the *Maſs*, than the Communion of the Body and Blood to be miniſtred and received under both kinds, of Bread and Wine, according as is declared by the Evangeliſts, *Mat.*26. *Mark* 14. *Luke*, in the *Acts* 2.

Dr. *Cox.* The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in Thankſgiving to the Father, in diſtributing of the Body and Blood of Chriſt to the Congregation, to have the Death and Paſſion of Chriſt in remembrance, and in the end to laud and praiſe God.

Dr. *Tyler.* In giving of Thanks to God the Father, and bleſſing and breaking it, and reverently receiving the Holy Sacraments, with all ſuch Rites and Circumſtances as Chriſt did in both the kinds.

Queſt. 5.

What time the accuſtomed Order began firſt in the Church, that the Prieſt alone ſhould receive the Sacrament?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. I Think the uſe, that the Prieſt alone did receive the Sacrament without the People, began not within ſix or ſeven hundred Years after Chriſt.

Eboracen. The accuſtomed Order that the Prieſt alone ſhould receive the Sacrament, began about the time of *Zepherinus*; who when the common People had left their daily and frequent Communion, ordained that they ſhould communicate, at the leaſt once in the Year, that was at *Eaſter*; which Ordinance *Innocentius* the third confirmed.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norwich. Chicheſter. St. Aſaph. I know no further Order or Commandment of the Church, but what time the devotion of the People was ſo greatly decayed, that they would not come to receive the Sacrament, then the Prieſts were compelled to receive it alone.

Dunelm. The cuſtom began, that the Prieſt alone ſhould receive the Sacrament of neceſſity, when the People falling from Devotion would not come to the Communion, but cared more for their worldly Buſineſs, than for godly receiving the Sacrament: for in the beginning they received it daily by fervent Devotion; after, thrice a Week; after, on the *Sundays* only; after, thrice in the Year, at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſunday*; after, only once in the Year, at *Eaſter*, by coldneſs of Devotion.

The

Lincoln. The time certain is not known, moſt Men aſcribe it unto *Gregory*, who was more than 600 Years after Chriſt; for that every Biſhop of *Rome* bringing in his Portion, (ſome *Introitus*, ſome *Kyrie Eleiſon*, ſome *Graduale*); the *Maſs* in the ſaid *Gregory's* time, was grown to the full quantity it is now of, and Mens Inventions began to ſtep before, and get ground of Chriſt's Inſtitution; but from the beginning it was not ſo, for Chriſt did not eat and drink alone at his laſt Supper, but gave the Bread and Cup to all preſent. In the Primitive Church one did not eat alone, and the reſt look on, but they did eat together, and drink together, as it is to be ſeen *Acts* 2. 1 *Cor.* 11. And *Anacletus* writes thus, *Peracta Conſecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Eccleſiaſticis caveant liminibus. De Conſe. Diſt.* 1. *Cum Epiſcopus*, &c.

Eli. The very time I know not, but is to be ſuppoſed, that that cuſtom crept into the Church by negligence and ſlackneſs of the Lay-People, who would not ſo oft receive it as the Prieſt would; for in the beginning, the Communion with the Laity was *Quotidiane*, which the Prieſt obſerveth ſtill unto this day, and not the Laity; and there be Canons that bindeth the Prieſt to the receiving of it as oft as he doth Conſecrate; and the cauſe why the Prieſts did not receive it, after they had conſecrated, ſhould ſeem to be, that there was none to receive it with them, which was the occaſion of theſe making of thoſe Canons, as I ſuppoſe.

Roffen. Becauſe Scripture ſaith, *Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis eſt*, &c. Likewiſe *de Calice, cui benedicimus*; and alſo, *bibite ex eo omnes*. And the Canons ſaid to be of the Apoſtles, *Can.* 10. and 10. and of the *Antiochian* Council, *Can.* 2. *Anacletus* in an Epiſtle, commandeth the Sacrament to be received of more than of the Prieſt alone. *Dyoniſe* alſo declareth the ſame, and alſo long after, *Chryſ.* St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Auſtin*, both complain of the ſlackneſs of ſome, and earneſtly exhorteth the People to the receipt thereof. Therefore I ſuppoſe that cuſtom, that the Prieſt ſhould receive it alone, where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the Church of Chriſt by the ſpace of four or five hundred Years at leaſt after Chriſt.

Briſtol. I know no ſuch Order or Commandment of the Church, but what time the Devotion of the People began greatly to decay, and would not come to receive the Sacrament, then I think the Prieſts were compelled to receive it alone.

Dr. Cox. I ſuppoſe not long after the Apoſtles time, the godly Devotions of the People decaying, who at the beginning uſed to come daily, and after that weekly, after that thrice in the Year, and at laſt but once in the Year, the Prieſt was forced to receive the Sacrament alone.

Queſt. 6.

Whether it be convenient that the ſame Cuſtom continue ſtill within this Realm?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. I Think it more agreeable to the Scripture and Primitive Church, that the firſt uſage ſhould be reſtored again, that the People ſhould receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Siceſtren. Aſſaven. I would wiſh, that at every *Maſs*, there would be ſome to receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt: Nevertheleſs if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the Prieſts of this Realm of *England* may ſay *Maſs*, and receive the Sacrament alone.

Dunelm. It were much convenient that People were exhorted to come to it oftner, if they could be brought thereto. Nevertheleſs if none will communicate, it is not meet that the Prieſts ſtirred to communicate, or ſhould forbear for coldneſs or lack of other Mens Devotion.

Lincoln. Nothing can be better, or more wiſely deviſed than Chriſt did ordain, and the Apoſtles, according to his Ordinance, did uſe; we ought therefore to captivate our Senſes and Underſtandings to the Wiſdom of Chriſt; and think that moſt convenient, that to his Ordinance is moſt correſpondent: And as St. *Paul* notes, By eating all of one Bread, and drinking all of one Cup, we be put in remembrance, that we be all one Body in Chriſt, and have received all one Spirit. Nevertheleſs the ſlackneſs of ſome ought not to be prejudicial to the reſt, nor the refuſing of one to be impediment to another.

Elien. If the Lay-Men could be brought to it, it were better not to continue; but if they cannot, it is not convenient that Prieſts, who would communicate for their own comfort, ſhould be defrauded by other Mens ſlackneſs.

Roffen. I ſuppoſe it were beſt, that that Cuſtom ſhould be reformed unto the Rule of Scripture, and unto the Patern of the Primitive Church.

Briſtollen. I think it were good, that at every *Maſs* there were ſome to receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt; nevertheleſs, if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the Prieſt ſay *Maſs*, and receive the Sacrament alone, when he is diſpoſed, or by the Chriſtian Congregation deſired.

Dr. *Cox.* I think it not convenient that the ſaid Cuſtom ſhould continue, if by any godly Mean the People might be brought to receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt.

Queſt.

Queſt. 7.

Whether it be convenient that Maſſes Satisfactory ſhould continue, (that is to ſay) Prieſts hired to ſing for Souls departed?

Anſwers.

Cantab. I Think it not convenient that Satisfactory Maſſes ſhould continue.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norwich. Chicheſter. St. Aſaph. I think that ſuch of the School-men as do write of Maſſes Satisfactory, do define them otherwiſe than is declared in this Queſtion: Nevertheleſs I think, that it is not againſt the Word of God, but that Prieſts praying in the Maſs, both for the Quick and Dead, and doing other things in the Church about the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, may take a Living for the ſame.

Dunelmen. All Prieſts ſaying Maſs be bound in the ſame, to pray for the whole myſtical Body of Chriſt, Quick and Dead, though they be not hired thereto; and thoſe that be deputed thereto, if they ſay Maſs, muſt do the ſame though they were not hired: And yet, as St. *Paul* ſaith, Thoſe that be partakers of Spiritual Things with others, ought to miniſter unto them temporal Things in recompence, *Rom.* 15.

Lincoln. St. *Paul* ſaith, *Heb.* 10. That *we are made Holy by the Offering of the Body of Jeſus once for all*; and *Heb.* 9. That *Chriſt by his own Blood, entred in once to the holy place and found eternal Redemption*; which Redemption and Satisfaction, unleſs we think inſufficient, it were meet Maſſes Satisfactory to be taken away, and not to count Chriſt and his Apoſtles, either unlearned, or unloving Teachers; and who could not or would not teach a thing ſo neceſſary. *Nauclerus* does write, that *Gregory* the third gave commandment to Prieſts to pray and offer for the Dead. And though ancient Writers make oft mention of Prayer for the Dead, yet they never allow any Hireling to that purpoſe. *Lege Auguſt. ad Aurel. de coercenda temulentia.*

Eli. It is one thing to ſing Satisfactory, and another to be hired to ſing Maſs for the Souls departed: for the firſt importeth, that the Maſs ſhould be a Satisfaction for the ſins of the Soul departed; which is not ſo, but the ſecond, that is, to ſing or pray for the Souls departed, is a laudable cuſtom, and ſeemeth to have ſome ground in Scripture; which cuſtom hath been always continued from the Apoſtles time, and hath been uſed in the Maſs, as appeareth by Ancient Doctors, *Auſt. Amb. Chryſ.* and others; and therefore this to continue I think it meet. But to ſay Maſs for Mony, thinking it a Commutation or juſt Compenſation betwixt the Prayer and the Mony that he is hired for, I think it ſoundeth to Avarice and Simonie; and yet, *dignus eſt operarius mercede ſua.* Like-as, *Prædicans Evangelium ſine ſumptu debet ponere Evangelium,*

lium, & tamen Dominus ordinavit his qui Evangelium annunciant de Evangelio vivere.

Carlile. If by this be meant, that any Thing, or Action either of the Prieſt, ſhould be a full and perfect Satisfaction of Sins Venial and Mortal; I know we read not of any ſuch Satisfactory, neither would I ſay that Prieſts be hired after that common faſhion and contracts of the World, to ſing for Souls departed, but rather that they, as they be ordered to do, do ſay and ſing their Maſs, having in their remembrance, both generally and ſpecially, as ſhall moſt appertain both to the Living and the Dead; and then, as they be worthy, muſt have their Livings by the Altar which they ſerve, as St. *Paul* at large declareth. But as for the full and perfect Satisfaction of all manner of Sins, that is to be attributed only to Chriſt, his Paſſion and Juſtification; yet after the mind of St. *Auſtin*, St. *Jerom*, with others, *Pro non valde malis propitiationes fiant & de levioribus peccatis, cum quibus obligati defuncti ſunt, poſſunt poſt mortem abſolvi*, &c.

Roffen. That Maſſes Satisfactory ſhould continue to be ſung for Souls departed, by Prieſts hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.

Briſtol. I think that the Word of God, and St. *Paul* meant, that all Prieſts may offer Gifts and Sacrifices unto God for the Offences of the People, (as it is written in the 5*th* of the *Hebrews*) *Omnis Pontifex*, &c. and may receive and take (miniſtring the Sacrament and Sacramentals in the Church to the Congregation) a Living for the ſame.

Dr. Cox. Maſſes to be ſaid for ſatisfaction of Sin, (ſince Chriſt is the only Satisfaction for all Sin) is an Abuſe not to be continued: and Prieſts to be hired only to ſing for Souls departed, ſeemeth to be a ſuperfluous Function in Chriſt's Church.

Queſt. 8.

Whether the Goſpel ought to be taught, at the time of the Maſs, to the underſtanding of the People being preſent?

Anſwers.

Cantab. I Think it very convenient, that the Goſpel, concerning the Death of Chriſt, and our Redemption, ſhould be taught to the People in the Maſs.

York. It is expedient that the Goſpel be taught at the time of the Maſs, to the Underſtanding of the People being preſent.

London, &c. I think it not neceſſary to have a Sermon at every Maſs, but the oftner the ſame is done to the edifying of the People (ſo that the ſervice of their Vocation be not thereby defrauded) the more it is to be commended.

Dunelm. It is much convenient that the Goſpel be taught to the underſtanding of the People being preſent, when it may be. Howbeit, it is not ſo of the Subſtance of the Maſs, but the Maſs may be done without it, and it done at other times as well as at the Maſs.

Lincoln. Chriſt diſtributing the Sacrament to his Diſciples, does ſay, (as it is *Luke* 22.) *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem:* And if St. *Paul* doth thus write to the *Corinthians*, *Quotieſcunq; manducabitis panem hunc ac calicem bibitis, mortem domini annunciabitis donec veniet.* The glad Tydings therefore, the great Benefit that we receive by Chriſt's Death and Sufferings, (which we ſee as in a Glaſs, in this Holy Sacrament) ought to be ſet forth and preached to the People, ſo oft as they come to the Holy Communion.

Elien. That the Goſpel be read or taught at the time of the Maſs, that the People there preſent may underſtand; it is good and godly, and convenient it ſhould be ſo.

Carliolen. I think it convenient and neceſſary, that as the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, his moſt dear Uncle my Lord Protector's Grace, with the moſt honourable Council beſide, hath already appointed and enjoined to be done, that at all ſuch times as the People (as they ought) be moſt gathered together, in the Principal and High Maſs, the Goſpel be taught and declared to the beſt underſtanding of the People.

Roffen. The Annunciation of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion, and the Benefit of the ſame, that the forgiveneſs of Sins, to all the true and faithful Believers therein, ought evermore to be ſet forth in the Maſs to the edification of the People; which thing cannot be done, according to St. *Paul*'s mind and meaning, 1 *Cor.* 14. as I ſuppoſe, except it be ſet forth to the Peoples underſtanding.

Briſtolien. I think it is not againſt God's Word, but the oftner the ſame is done to the edifying of the People, received with Devotion, and intending redreſs of Life thereby, the more it is to be affected and uſed.

Dr. *Cox.* In the Maſs-time, it were convenient to have ſome Doctrines, after the Example of the Primitive Church, that at the Bleſſed Communion the people might be edified.

Queſt. 9.

Whether in the Maſs it were convenient to uſe ſuch Speech as the People may underſtand?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. I Think it convenient to uſe the Vulgar Tongue in the Maſs, except in certain ſecret Myſteries, whereof I doubt.

Eboracen. It were convenient to uſe ſuch Speech in the Maſs, as the People might underſtand.

London. Worceſter, Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. To have the whole Maſs in Engliſh, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient.

Dunelm. It is convenient that the common Latin Tongue to theſe Weſt parts of Chriſtendom, be uſed in the Maſs, being the Common-Prayer of the whole Church, namely, in the Myſteries thereof, leſt rude People ſhould vilely prophane the Holy Myſteries thereof by contempt. Nevertheleſs certain Prayers might be in the Mother Tongue, for the inſtruction and ſtirring of the Devotion of the People, as ſhall be thought convenient.

Lincoln. St. *Paul* would all things in the Congregation, and Publick Aſſembly, ſo to be ſpoken that they might edify; and in ſuch a Language, that the People preſent might ſay *Amen* to our Thankſgiving. And long after the Apoſtles times, all the People preſent did anſwer the Prieſt, (he ſpeaking in a Language that they did underſtand) like-as the Clark or Boy doth now anſwer (as he is taught) in a Language that he underſtands not. *Cypri. habet de Conſ. diſtinct. 1. Ca. Quando.*

Elien. It was ſo uſed in *Dalmatia* in St. *Hierom*'s time, and in *Sclavonia* in *Cyril*'s time, who making ſuit to the Court of *Rome* for the ſame; and the Matter being debated in the Conſiſtory, and having many Adverſaries, ſuddenly there was heard a Voice, as it were, from Heaven; *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis Lingua confiteatur ei.* Whereupon *Cyrillus* had his Petition granted him.

Elien. *Hæc jam mea eſt Opinio, ſed, ſic ut,*
auditis melioribus cedam.

Carliolen. This Queſtion was deeply ſearched and tried for, in the moſt excellent and of higheſt memory, King *Henry* the Eighth his time, by the beſt Clarks of his Realm, in his preſence; and then and there concluded, and upon that ſame by Proclamation commanded, That Holy Scripture ſhould not be evulgate in Engliſh. Yet after it was otherwiſe ſeen and provided for: Therefore therein I would wiſh, that were moſt to the quiet edification of Chriſtian People, and ſhall ſubmit my ſelf to my Superiors and Betters, ſubmitting mine Underſtanding to their Judgments.

I think it not only convenient that ſuch Speech ſhould be uſed in the Maſs, as the People might underſtand, but alſo to ſpeak it with ſuch an audible Voice, that the People might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their Own, which Saint *Paul* teacheth to belong to them; and alſo that they may anſwer, as *Cyprian* ſaith, the People did in his days, *Habemus ad Dominum.* Nevertheleſs, as concerning that part that pertaineth to the Conſecration, *Dioniſe* and *Baſil* moveth me to think it no inconvenience, that part ſhould be ſpoken in ſilence. *Roffen.*

If the Maſs ſhould be wholly in Engliſh, I think we ſhould differ from the Cuſtom and Manner of all other Regions: therefore if it may ſtand with the King's Majeſty's Pleaſure, I think it not good to be ſaid all in Engliſh. *Briſtollen.*

Per me Paulum *Epiſcopum* Briſtollenſem.

Queſt. 10.

When the Reſervation of the Sacrament, and the hanging up of the ſame firſt began?

Anſwers.

THe Reſervation of the Sacrament began, I think, ſix or ſeven hundred Years after Chriſt: The hanging up, I think, began of late time. *Cantuarien.*

Polidore Virgil doth write, that *Innocentius* the Third decreed the Sacrament to be kept, to be in a readineſs for the Sick. And *Honorius* the third confirmed the ſame; adding, that it ought to be reſerved *in loco ſingulari, mundo, & ſignato.* Commanding alſo the Prieſts that they ſhould often inſtruct the People reverently to bow down at the Elevation-Time, and when it is born to the ſick. As for the hanging up of the Sacrament over, or ſetting it upon the Altar, is of a later time, not yet received in divers places of Chriſtendom. *Lincoln.*

Some Queſtions, with Anſwers made to them by the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Hereford.*

The Queſtion.

What or wherein John's *Faſting, giving Alms, being Baptized, or Receiving the Sacrament of Thanks in* England, *doth profit and avail* Thomas *dwelling in* Italy, *and not knowing what* John *in* England *doth?*

The Anſwer.

Worceſter. *Chicheſter.* *Hereford.* THe diſtance of place doth not lett nor hinder the Spiritual Communion which is between one and another, ſo that *John* and *Thomas*, whereſoever they be, far and ſundry, or near together, being both lively Members of Chriſt, receive either of others Goodneſs ſome Commodity; although to limit what or wherein, is unſearchable, and only pertaineth to the Knowledg of God.

The Queſtion.

Whether the ſaid Acts in John *do profit them that be in Heaven, and wherein?*

The Anſwer.

Luc. 15. *Gaudium eſt in Cœlo ſuper uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente*, &c.

The Queſtion.

Whether it lieth in the ſaid John, *to defraud any Member of Chriſt's Body of the benefit of his Faſting, Alms-Deeds, Baptiſm, or Receiving of the Sacrament, and to apply the ſame benefit to one Perſon more than to another?*

The Anſwer.

Charity defraudeth no Man of any ſuch benefit that might come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the ſame, and not in any Man, otherwiſe than by deſire and prayer; but the better the Man is, the more available his Prayer is to them, for whom he eſpecially prayeth.

The Queſtion.

What thing is the Preſentation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Maſs, which you call the Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt? and wherein

wherein ſtandeth it, in Act, Geſture, or Words; and in what Act, Geſture, or Words?

The Anſwer.

The Preſentation, *&c.* ſtandeth in ſuch Words, Prayers, Supplications, and Actions, as the Prieſt uſeth at the Maſs, having the Body and Blood of Chriſt there preſent in the Sacrament.

The Queſtion.

Is there any Rite or Prayer not expreſſed in the Scripture, which Chriſt uſed or commanded at the firſt Inſtitution of the Maſs, which we be now bound to uſe; and what the ſame be?

The Anſwer.

That Chriſt uſed Rites and Prayers at the Inſtitution and Diſtribution of the Sacrament, the Scripture declareth: But what Rites and Prayers they were we know not; but I think we ought to uſe ſuch Rites and Prayers as the Catholick Church hath, and doth uniformly obſerve.

The Queſtion.

Whether in the Primitive Church there were any Prieſts that lived by ſaying of Maſs, Mattins, and Even-ſong, and praying for Souls only? And whether any ſuch ſtate of Prieſthood be allowed in the Scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?

The Anſwer.

There were Prieſts in the Primitive Church which preached not, but exerciſed themſelves in Prayer for the Quick and the Dead, and other Spiritual Miniſtrations in the Church; and accuſtomably uſed common Prayers both Morning and Evening; and ſuch ſtate of Prieſthood is not againſt the Scripture.

The Queſtion.

For what Cauſe it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole Maſs in Engliſh?

The Anſwer.

This Queſtion is anſwered by *Dyoniſe* and *Baſil, De Spiritu Sancto*; and alſo an uniformity of all Churches in that thing is to be kept.

Number 26.

A Collection of ſome of the Chief Indulgences then in the Engliſh Offices.

Horæ B. Mariæ Virg. ad uſum Sarum; Printed *at Paris*, 1526.

Folio 38.

TO all them that be in the State of Grace, that daily ſay devoutly this Prayer before our Bleſſed Lady of Pity, ſhe will ſhew them her bleſſed Viſage, and warn them the Day and the Hour of Death; and in their laſt End, the Angels of God ſhall yield their Souls to Heaven; and he ſhall obtain 500 Years, and ſo many *Lents* of Pardon, granted by five Holy Fathers, Popes of *Rome*.

Folio 42.

Our Holy Father *Sixtus* the 4*th*, Pope, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this Prayer before the Image of our Lady, the ſum of 11000 Years of Pardon.

Folio 44.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Sixtus*, hath granted, at the inſtance of the high-moſt and excellent Princeſs *Elizabeth*, late Queen of *England*, and Wife to our Soveraign Liege Lord King *Henry* the 7*th*, (God have mercy on her ſweet Soul, and all Chriſtian Souls) that every day in the Morning, after three tollings of the *Ave*-Bell, ſay three times the whole Salutation of our Lady, *Ave Maria Gratia*; that is to ſay, at ſix of the Clock in the Morning three *Ave Maries*; at twelve of the Clock at Noon, three *Ave Maries*; and at ſix of the Clock at Even; for every time ſo doing, is granted of the Spiritual Treaſure of Holy Church, 300 days of Pardon, *toties quoties*. And alſo our Holy Father, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*, with other nine Biſhops of this Realm, have granted, three times in the day, forty days of Pardon to all them that be in the ſtate of Grace, able to receive Pardon; the which began the 26*th* day of *March*, *Anno* 1492. *Anno Henrici* 7. and the ſum of the Indulgence and Pardon for every *Ave Maria*, 860 days, *toties quoties*. This Prayer ſhall be ſaid at the tolling of the *Ave*-Bell.

Folio 47.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Bonifacius*, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this lamentable contemplation of our Bleſſed Lady ſtanding under the Croſs weeping, and having compaſſion with her ſweet Son Jeſus, ſeven Years of Pardon, and forty *Lents*. And alſo Pope *John* the 22*d* hath granted 300 days of Pardon.

Folio 50.

Theſe be the fifteen **Oo's**, the which the Holy Virgin S. *Bridget* was wont to ſay daily before the Holy Rood in S. *Paul's* Church at *Rome*; whoſo ſays this a whole Year, ſhall deliver fifteen Souls out of Purgatory of his next Kindred, and convert other fifteen Sinners to good Life; and other fifteen Righteous Men of his kind ſhall perſevere in good Life; and what ye deſire of God ye ſhall have it, if it be to the Salvation of your Souls.

Folio 54.

To all them that before this Image of Pity devoutly ſay five *Pater Noſters*, and five *Ave Maries*, and a *Credo*, piteouſly beholding thoſe Arms of Chriſt's Paſſion, are granted 32755 Years of Pardon; and *Sixtus* the 4*th* Pope of *Rome*, hath made the fourth and the fifth Prayer, and hath doubled his foreſaid Pardon.

Folio 56.

This Epiſtle of our Saviour, ſendeth our Holy Father, Pope *Leo*, to the Emperor *Carolo Magno*; of the which we find written, Who that beareth this Bleſſing upon him, and ſaith it once a day, ſhall obtain forty Years of Pardon, and eighty Lentings, and he ſhall not periſh with ſudden Death.

Folio 57.

This Prayer made by S. *Auſtin*, affirming who that ſays it daily kneeling, ſhall not die in Sin; and after this Life ſhall go to the everlaſting Joy and Bliſs.

Folio 58.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *John 22d*, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this Prayer, after the Elevation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 3000 days of Pardon for deadly ſins.

Ibid.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Bonifacius* the Sixth, hath granted to all them that ſay devoutly this Prayer following, between the Elevation of our Lord, and the three *Agnus Dei*, 10000 Years of Pardon.

Folio 61.

Our Holy Father, *Sixtus* the 4*th*, hath granted to all them that be in the ſtate of Grace, ſaying this Prayer following immediately after the Elevation of the Body of our Lord, clean remiſſion of all their Sins perpetually enduring. And alſo *John* the Third, Pope of *Rome*, at the requeſt of the Queen of *England*, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this Prayer before the Image of our Lord Crucified, as many days of Pardon, as there were wounds in the Body of our Lord in the time of his bitter Paſſion, the which were 5465.

Folio 65.

Theſe five Petitions and Prayers made S. *Gregory*, and hath granted unto all them that devoutly ſay theſe five Prayers, with five *Pater Noſters*, five *Ave Maries*, and a *Credo*, 500 Years of Pardon.

Folio 66.

Theſe three Prayers be written in the Chappel of the Holy Croſs in *Rome*, otherwiſe called, *Sacellum Sanctæ Crucis ſeptem Romanorum*, who that devoutly ſay them, they ſhall obtain ten hundred thouſand Years of Pardon for deadly Sins, granted of our Holy Father *John*, 22*d* Pope of *Rome*.

Folio 68.

Who that devoutly beholdeth theſe Arms of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall obtain 6000 Years of Pardon of our Holy Father S. *Peter*, the firſt Pope of *Rome*, and of thirty other Popes of the Church of *Rome*, Succeſſors after him. And our Holy Father, Pope *John* the 22*d*, hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confeſſed, that ſay theſe devout Prayers following, in the commemoration of the bitter Paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 3000 Years of Pardon for deadly Sins, and other 3000 for venial Sins, and ſay firſt a *Pater Noſter* and *Ave Maria.*

Folio 71.

Our Holy Father, Pope *Innocentius* the Second, hath granted to all them that ſay this Prayer devoutly, in the worſhip of the Wound that our Lord had in his bleſſed Side, when he was dead, hanging in the Croſs, 4000 days of Pardon.

Folio 72.

This moſt devout Prayer, ſaid the Holy Father S. *Bernard*, daily kneeling in the worſhip of the moſt Holy Name Jeſus. And it is well to believe, that through the Invocation of the moſt excellent Name of *Jeſu*, S. *Bernard* obtained a ſingular Ward of perpetual Conſolation of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt. And theſe Prayers written in a Table that hanged at *Rome* in S. *Peter*'s Church, nigh to the High Altar there, as our Holy Father the Pope evely is wont to ſay the Office of the Maſs; and who that devoutly, with a contrite Heart, daily ſay this Oriſon, if he be that day in the ſtate of eternal Damnation, then his eternal Pain ſhall be changed him in temporal pain of Purgatory; then if he hath deſerved the pain of Purgatory, it ſhall be forgotten and forgiven, through the infinite Mercy of God.

Number 27.

Injunctions for a Viſitation of Chauntries.

To the Parſon, Vicar, Curat, Chaunter, Prieſts, Church-wardens, and two of the moſt honeſt Perſons of the Pariſh of
being no Founders, Patrons, Donors, Leſſees, nor Farmers of the Promotions or Corporations hereafter recited, nor of any part thereof, and to four of them at the leaſt.

Ex MS. Dr. *Johnſon.* FIrſt, Ye ſhall make diligent ſearch and inquiry, immediately upon the receit hereof, of the number; and how many Chauntries, Hoſpitals, Colleges, free Chappels, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Salaries, or Wages of Stipendiary Prieſts, being Perpetuities now charged, or that ought to be charged, or chargeable, to the paiment of the firſt Fruits and Tenths, and of all Colleges chargeable, and not chargeable to the ſaid paiment of Tenths and firſt Fruits, which be within your Church and Pariſh.

Alſo you ſhall enquire of the Orders, Ordinances, Kinds, Qualities, Degrees, Uſes and Abuſes, or Miſuſes, Conditions, Eſtates, and Neceſſities, of and concerning all and every the ſaid Chantries, Fraternities, Guilds, Stipends, or Wages, and other the Premiſes; and by what Names, Sir-names, Corporations, or Titles, they and every of them be taken or known; and to what intents, purpoſes, and deeds of Charity they and every of them were founded, ordained, and made; and ye ſhall take into your hands, and alſo bring with you, at the day of your Certificate, the Foundations, and all other Writings which you have or can attain, for the true declaration and proof of the ſame.

Alſo you ſhall enquire, how and what manner or ſort the Revenues and Profits of the Lands and Poſſeſſions of all the aforeſaid Promotions, and every of them, be uſed, expended, imploied, or beſtowed.

Alſo how many of the ſaid Promotions be Pariſh-Churches.

Alſo how far ſpace or diſtance the ſaid Chantries and Chappels be, and ſtand from the Pariſh-Churches, of the Pariſhes wherein they do ſtand.

Alſo ye ſhall enquire of all the Houſes, Lands, Tenths, Rents, Poſſeſſions and Revenues, united, annexed, or appertaining to the aforeſaid Chantries, Hoſpitals, Guilds, and other Promotions aboveſaid, and to every of them, and of the yearly value thereof, and ſhall make a true and perfect Rental or other Book thereof.

And ye ſhall enquire of all the Reſolutes, Deductions, and yearly paiments or charges going forth of the Premiſes, and of every part thereof, and ſhall certifie the ſame in writing; that is to ſay, for every Chantry, or other the aforeſaid Promotions ſeverally by it ſelf; and over this, to bring with you all ſuch Rentals of the ſame, and every of them, as ye have or may attain or come by.

Alſo ye ſhall enquire of all the Lands, Rents, Poſſeſſions, and Hereditaments, which were or be united, annexed, or pertaining to the aforeſaid Promotions or Corporations, or to any of them, which at any time ſince the fourth day of *February*, in the *27th* Year of the King's Majeſty's Reign, did appertain or belong to them, or any of them, and of the Goods, Jewels, and Ornaments, lately pertaining or belonging to the ſame.

Alſo ye ſhall enquire how many of the aforeſaid Chantries, Hoſpitals, Guilds, and other the aforeſaid Promotions and Corporations, and what Lands, Rents, or parcels thereof, ſithence the *4th* day of *February*, in the *27th* Year of the Reign of our aforeſaid Soveraign Lord, been or have been diſſolved, purchaſed, or by any other means or ways taken, entred unto, or obtained by any of the King's Majeſty's Subjects, by their own Authorities, without the King's Licenſe.

And ye ſhall enquire of the Lands, Tenths, Rents, and Hereditaments thereof, and of the yearly Value of the ſame, and of all the Goods and Ornaments of the ſame; and of the yearly Reſolutes, Deductions, and Paiments going forth of the ſame; and ſhall make a true Rental or Book thereof, and ſhall certify the ſame particularly.

Alſo ye ſhall enquire of all the Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels, meerly and truly pertaining or belonging to all the aforeſaid Promotions or Corporations, and to every of them ſeverally, and ſhall make one true Inventory thereof, with the Value of the ſame, and of every parcel thereof, that is to ſay, in true weight of all parcels of Plate, Chalices, and other; and the price or value of all other Ornaments, Goods, or Chattels, and in whoſe hands or poſſeſſion the ſame be or remain.

Alſo, finally, ye ſhall make ready and finiſh your Certificate in writing, before the of all and ſingular the Premiſes, and of every Article above-ſaid ſeverally, and not in groſs, or in one whole Article, as ye will anſwer and be ſworn to the ſame: And that you, and every of you, being reſident or remaining within the ſaid Pariſh, ſhall Sign and Seal the ſame; and ye ſhall ſend the ſame your Certificate ſealed unto us, at ſuch day and place as hereafter ſhall be aſſigned unto you, by one of the moſt honeſt of the aforeſaid Church-wardens, and by all the Incumbents of the Chantries, Chappels, Hoſpitals, Guilds and Promotions aforeſaid, if there be but one Incumbent in the ſaid Promotions, or any of them; And if there be more Incumbents than one in the ſaid Promotions, or any of them being of one Foundation, that then one of the ſaid Incumbents, together with the ſaid honeſt Church-warden, and other Incumbents, being but one of one Foundation, as is aforeſaid. Foreſeeing always, that your Proceedings and Certificate of the Premiſes, and every part thereof, be executed, ordered, and done, with all dilligence, ſubſtantially and truly, that the ſame may ſo appear unto us at our repair to view and ſurvey the Premiſes, as ye will then have condign thanks for the ſame, and avoiding your extream damage, which may enſue of the contrary.

Robert Arch-Biſhop.
Sir *Michael Stanhope.*
Sir *Leonard Bekworth.*
Mr. *Robert Henneage.*
Mr. ——*Babthorpe.*

Mr. *Wallay.*
Mr. *Norton.*
Mr. *Chaloner.*
Mr. *Gargrave.*
Mr.——*Auditor.*

Number 28.

The Protector's Letter to Gardiner, *concerning the Points he was to handle in his Sermon.*

Ex MS.Col. Cor.C.*Cant.* WE commend us unto you; We ſent to you yeſterday our Servant *William Cecil*, to ſignifie unto you our Pleaſure and Advice, That you ſhould, in this your next Sermon, forbear to intreat upon thoſe Principal Queſtions, which remain amongſt the number of learned Men in this Realm, as yet in controverſy, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Maſs; as well for that your private Argument or Determination therein might offend the People, naturally expecting deciſions of litigious Cauſes, and thereby Diſcord and Tumult ariſe; the occaſions whereof we muſt neceſſarily prevent and take away; as alſo for that the Queſtions and Controverſies reſt at this preſent in conſultation, and with the pleaſure of God, ſhall be, in ſmall time, by publick Doctrine and Authority, quietly and truly determined. This Meſſage we ſend to you, not thinking but your own Wiſdom had conſidered ſo much in an apparent Matter; or at the leaſt, upon our remembrance, ye would underſtand it and follow it with good will, conſulting thereby your own Quiet in avoiding Offence, as obſerving our Pleaſure in avoiding Contention. Your Anſwer thereunto, our ſaid Servant hath declared unto us in this manner: Ye can no wiſe forbear to ſpeak of the Sacrament, neither of the Maſs; this laſt being the chief Foundation, as ye ſay, of our Religion, and that without it we cannot know that Chriſt is our Sacrifice; the other being ſo ſpoken of by many, that if you ſhould not ſpeak your mind thereof what ye think, you know what other Men would think of you; in the end, concluding generally, that you will ſpeak the Truth, and that ye doubt not but that we ſhall be therewith content; adding alſo, as our ſaid Servant reporteth unto us, That you would not wiſh that we our ſelves ſhould meddle or have to do in theſe Matters of Religion, but that the care thereof were committed to you the Biſhops, unto whom the blame, if any ſhould be deſerved, might well be imputed.

To this your Anſwer, if ſo it be, we reply very ſhortly, ſignifying unto you our expreſs Pleaſure and Commandment, on our Soveraign Lord the King's Majeſty's behalf, charging you, by the Authority of the ſame, to abſtain in your ſaid Sermon from treating of any Matter in controverſy concerning the ſaid Sacrament and the Maſs, and only to beſtow your Speech in the expert explication of the Articles preſcribed unto you, and in other wholſome Matter, of Obedience of the People, and good Converſation and Living; the ſame Matters being both large enough for a long Sermon, and not unneceſſary for the time. And the treatie of other, which we forbid you not meet in your private Sermon to be had, but neceſſarily reſerved for a publick Conſultation, and at this preſent utterly to be forborn for the common Quiet.

This our expreſs Pleaſure, wherein we know how reaſonably we may command you, and you (we think) know how willingly ye ought to obey us. For our intermedling with theſe Cauſes of Religion, underſtand you, that we account it no ſmall part of our Charge, under the King's Majeſty, to bring his People from Ignorance to Knowledg, and from Superſtition to true Religion, eſteeming that the chief Foundation to build Obedience upon: and where there is a full conſent of others, the Biſhops and learned Men, in a Truth, not to ſuffer you, or a few other, with wilful headineſs, to diſſwade all the reſt. And although we preſume not to determine Articles of Religion by our Self, yet from God we knowledg it, we be deſirous to defend and advance the Truth, determined or revealed, and ſo conſequently we will not fail, but withſtand the Diſturbers thereof. So fare you well. From *Sion*, *June* 28. *Anno* 1548.

Your Loving Friend,

E. *Somerſet.*

Number 29.

Some of the Collects and Hymns to the Saints in the Hours ad uſum Sarum, *printed at* Paris, Anno 1520. *In which, immediate Adoration is offered to them, and thoſe things are asked of them, which God only gives.*

Folio 4. SAncta Dei Genetrix, quæ digne meruiſti concipere, quem totus orbis nequivit comprehendere; tuo pio interventu, culpas noſtras ablue, ut perennis ſedem gloriæ, per te redempti, valeamus ſcandere, ubi manes cum Filio tuo ſine tempore.

Fol. 11. *S. Pauthaleon.* Sancte Panthaleon Martyr Chriſti, militari ordine fuiſti, quo promeruiſti;—Demum heremiticam vitam acquiſiſti,—Tu vero hydropicum ſanum reddidiſti—Miſſus in equleo ungues perdidiſti—Coſtas cum lampadibus aduſtus fuiſti—Collum ſubdens gladio pronus pertuliſti—Fundens lac pro ſanguine vitam ſic finiſti—Cunctas febres dilue a plebe tam triſti—Qui Cœleſtis Gloriæ Regna meruiſti.

Fol. 12. *S.* Tho. *Cant.* Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quo Thomas aſcendit—*Verſicle* gloria & honore coronaſti, eum Domino: *Reſp.* & conſtituiſti, eum ſupra opera manuum tuarum.

Fol. 12. of Pope *Nicolaus*. And ſo in many other places. Ut ejus meritis & precibus a gehennæ incendiis liberemur.

Fol. 30. Sancta Maria ſuccurre miſeris, Juva puſillanimes, refove flebiles, ora pro populo: interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo ſexu.

Fol. 33. Virgo ſingularis, inter omnes mitis, nos culpis ſolutos, mites fac & caſtos: Vitam preſta puram, iter para tutum, ut videntes Jeſum, ſemper collætemur.

Fol. 44. *A Prayer to the Virgin, to the ſayers of which, Pope* Caleſtine *granted* 300 *days of Pardon; a part of which is.*

Conſolare peccatorem, & ne tuum des honorem, alieno vel crudeli; precor te Regina Cœli. Me habeto excuſatum, apud Chriſtum tuum natum, cujus iram expaveſco, & furorem pertimeſco, nam peccavi tibi ſoli. O *Maria* Virgo, noli eſſe mihi aliena, gratia Cœleſti plena; eſto cuſtos cordis mei, ſigna me timore Dei, confer vitæ ſanitatem, & da morum honeſtatem: Et da peccata me vitare, & quod juſtum eſt amare, O dulcedo Virginalis, nunquam fuit nec eſt talis, &c.

Fol. 77. *S.* George. Georgi Martyr inclite, te decet laus & gloria: prædotatum militia, per quem puella Regia, exiſtens in triſtitia, coram Dracone peſſimo, ſalvata eſt, & animo; te rogamus corde intimo, ut cum cunctis fidelibus, Cœli jungamur civibus, noſtris abluti ſordibus, ut ſimul cum lætitia, tecum ſimus in gloria, noſtraq; reddant labia laudes Chriſto cum gloria.

Martyr Chriſtophore, pro ſalvatoris honore, fac nos mente ſore, dignos deitatis amore, Promiſſo Chriſti, quia quod petis obtinuiſti, da populo triſti, bona quæ moriendo petiſti: confer ſolamen, & mentis tolle gravamen; judicis examen, fac mite ſit omnibus. Amen. *Ibid.* St. *Chriſtopher.*

O Willielme Paſtor bone, Cleri pater & patrone, munda nobis in agone, confer opem & depone, vitæ ſordes & Coronæ Cœleſtis da gaudia. *Fol.* 78.

O vos undena millia, puellæ glorioſæ, virginitatis lilia, Martyrii Roſæ, in vita me defendite, prebendo mihi juvamen, in morte vos oſtendite ſupremum ferendo ſolamen. *Fol.* 80. 11000 Virgins.

To St. Alban.

Te nunc petimus patrone, præco ſedule, qui es noſtra vera gloria, ſolve precum votis, ſervorum ſcelera.

To St. Peter *and St.* Paul.

Beate Petre qui Maxima reſeras, claudis verbo Cœli limina, ſume pius vota fidelia, peccati cuncta diſſolvendo vincula: Sacra Paule ingere dogmata, illuſtrans plebis pectora.

In die omnium Sanctorum.

Mariam primam vox ſonet noſtra, per quam nobis vitæ ſunt data præmia: Regina quæ es mater, & caſta, ſolve noſtra per filium peccamina: Angelorum concio ſacra, & Arch-Angelorum turma inclita, noſtra diluant jam peccata præſtando ſupernam Cœli gloriam.

Number 30.

Dr. Redmayn's *Opinion concerning the Marriage of the Clergie.*

An Original.

I Think that although the Word of God does exhort and counſel Prieſts to live in Chaſtity, out of the cumber of the Fleſh and of the World, that thereby they may wholly attend to their Calling; yet the Bond of continuing from Marriage, doth only lie upon Prieſts in this Realm, by reaſon of Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church, and not by any Precept of God's Word, as in that they ſhould be bound by any Vow: Which (in as far as my Conſcience is) Prieſts in this Church of *England* do not make. Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cant.*

I think that it ſtandeth well with God's Word, that a Man which hath been, or is but once married, being otherwiſe accordingly qualified, may be made a Prieſt.

And I do think, that for as much as Canons and Rules made in this behalf are neither Univerſal nor Everlaſting, but upon Conſiderations may be altered & changed; Therefore the King's Majeſty, and the higher

Powers of the Church, may, upon ſuch Reaſons as ſhall move them, take away the Clog of perpetual Continence from Prieſts, and grant that it may be lawful for ſuch as cannot, or will not contain, to marry a Wife; and if ſhe die, then the ſaid Prieſt to marry no more, remaining ſtill in the Miniſtration.

John Redmayn.

Number 31.

Articles of High Treaſon, and other Miſdemeanours againſt the King's Majeſty, and his Crown, objected to Sir Thomas Seymour *Kt. Lord* Seymour *of* Sudley, *and High Admiral of* England.

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 236.

1. WHereas the Duke of *Somerſet* was made Governor of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and Protector of all his Realms and Dominions, and Subjects; to the which you your ſelf did agree, and gave your conſent in writing; it is objected and laid unto your Charge, That this notwithſtanding you have attempted and gone about, by indirect means, to undoe this Order, and to get into your hands the Government of the King's Majeſty, to the great danger of his Highneſs Perſon, and the ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

2. It is objected, and laid to your Charge, that by corrupting with Gifts, and fair Promiſes, divers of the Privy Chamber, you went about to allure his Highneſs to condeſcend and agree to the ſame your moſt heinous and perilous purpoſes, to the great danger of his Highneſs Perſon, and of the ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

3. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, that you wrote a Letter with your own hand; which Letter the King's Majeſty ſhould have ſubſcribed, or written again after that Copy, to the Parliament Houſe; and that you delivered the ſame to his Highneſs for that intent: With the which ſo written by his Highneſs, or ſubſcribed, you had determined to have come into the Commons-Houſe your ſelf; and there, with your Fautors and Adherents before prepared, to have made a Broil, or Tumult, or Uproar, to the great danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and ſubverſion of the State of this Realm.

4. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you your ſelf ſpake to divers of the Council, and laboured with divers of the Nobility of the Realm, to ſtick and adhere unto you for the Alteration of the State, and Order of the Realm, and to attain your other Purpoſes, to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, now in his tender Years, and ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

5. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, that you did ſay openly and plainly, You would make the Blackeſt Parliament that ever was in *England.*

6. It is objected, and laid to your Charge, That being ſent for by the Authority, to anſwer to ſuch things as were thought meet to be reformed in you, you refuſed to come; to a very evil Example of Diſobedience, and danger thereby of the ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

7. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That ſith the laſt Seſſions of this Parliament, notwithſtanding much clemency ſhewed unto you, you have ſtill continued in your former miſchievous Purpoſes; and continually, by your ſelf and other, ſtudied and laboured to put into the King's Majeſty's Head and Mind, a miſliking of the Government of the Realm, and of the Lord Protector's doings, to the danger of his Perſon, and the great peril of the Realm.

8. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That the King's Majeſty being of thoſe tender Years, and as yet by Age unable to direct his own things, you have gone about to inſtill into his Grace's Head, and as much as lieth in you, perſwaded him to take upon himſelf the Government and managing of his own Affairs, to the danger of his Highneſs Perſon, and great peril of the whole Realm.

9. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you had fully intended and appointed, to have taken the King's Majeſty's Perſon into your own hands and cuſtody, to the danger of his Subjects, and peril of the Realm.

10. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have corrupted, with Mony, certain of the Privy-Chamber, to perſwade the King's Majeſty to have a credit towards you; and ſo to inſinuate you to his Grace, that when he lacked any thing, he ſhould have it of you and none other Body, to the intent he ſhould miſlike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you ſaw time, uſe his King's Highneſs for an Inſtrument to this purpoſe, to the danger of his Royal Perſon, and ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

11. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you promiſed the Marriage of the King's Majeſty at your Will and Pleaſure.

12. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have laboured, and gone about to combine and confederate your ſelf with ſome Perſons: and ſpecially moved thoſe Noble-men, whom you thought not to be contented, to depart into their Countries, and make themſelves ſtrong; and otherwiſe to allure them to ſerve your purpoſe by gentle Promiſes and Offers, to have a Party and Faction in readineſs to all your Purpoſes, to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and peril of the State of the Realm.

13. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have parted, as it were, in your imagination and intent the Realm, to ſet Noble-men to countervail ſuch other Noble-men as you thought would lett your deviliſh Purpoſes, and ſo laboured to be ſtrong to all your Devices; to the great danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and great peril of the State of the Realm.

14. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you had adviſed certain Men to entertain and win the favour and good-wills of the head Yeomen and Ringleaders of certain Countries, to the intent that they might bring the Multitude and Commons, when you ſhould think meet, to the furtherance of your Purpoſes.

15. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have not only ſtudied and imagined how to have the Rule of a number of Men in your hands, but that you have attempted to get, and alſo gotten, divers Stewardſhips of Noblemens Lands, & their Mannoreds, to make your Party ſtronger, for your Purpoſes aforeſaid; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and great peril of the State of the Realm.

16. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have retained young Gentlemen, and hired Yeomen, to a great multitude, and far above ſuch number as is permitted by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, or were otherwiſe neceſſary or convenient for your Service, Place, or Eſtate, to the fortifying of your ſelf towards all your evil Intents and Purpoſes; to the great danger of the King's Majeſty, and peril of the State of the Realm.

17. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you had ſo travailed in that Matter, that you had made your ſelf able to make, of your own Men, out of your Lands, and Rules, and other your Adherents, 10000 Men, beſides your Friends, to the advancement of all your Intents and Purpoſes; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and the great peril of the State of the Realm.

18. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you had conferred, caſt, and weighed ſo much Mony as would find the ſaid 10000 Men for a Month; and that you knew how and where to have the ſame Sum; and that you had given warning to have and prepare the ſaid Maſs of Mony in a readineſs; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and great peril to the State of the Realm.

19. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have not only, before you married the Queen, attempted and gone about to marry the King's Majeſty's Siſter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſecond Inheritor, in remainder to the Crown, but alſo being then let by the Lord Protector, and others of the Council, ſithence that time, both in the life of the Queen, continued your old labour and love; and after her death, by ſecret and crafty means, practiſed to atchieve the ſaid purpoſe of marrying the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and peril of the ſtate of the ſame.

20. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you married the late Queen ſo ſoon after the late King's Death, that if ſhe had conceived ſtreight after, it ſhould have been a great doubt whether the Child born, ſhould have been accounted the late King's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might, and was like to have enſued to the King's Majeſty's Succeſſion, and Quiet of the Realm.

21. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you firſt married the Queen privately, and did diſſemble and keep cloſe the ſame, inſomuch that a good ſpace after you had married her, you made labour to the King's Majeſty, and obtained a Letter of his Majeſty's Hand, to move and require the ſaid Queen to marry with you; and likewiſe procured the Lord Protector to ſpeak to the Queen to bear you her favour towards Marriage; by the which colouring, not only your evil and diſſembling Nature may be known, but alſo it is to be feared, that at this preſent you did intend to uſe the ſame practice in the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace.

22. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you not only, ſo much as lay in you, did ſtop and lett all ſuch things as, either by Parliament or otherwiſe, ſhould tend to the advancement of the King's Majeſty's Affairs, but did withdraw your ſelf from the King's Majeſty's Service; and being moved and ſpoken unto, for your own Honour, and for the Ability that was in you, to ſerve and aid the King's Majeſty's Affairs, and the Lord Protectors, you would

always draw back,and ſeign Excuſes,and declare plainly that you would not do it.

Wherefore upon the diſcourſe of all theſe foreſaid things, and of divers others, it muſt needs be intended, that all theſe Preparations of Men and Mony, the attempts and ſecret practices of the ſaid Marriage; the abuſing and perſwading of the King's Majeſty, to miſlike the Government, State, and Order of the Realm that now is, and to take the Government into his own hands; and to credit you, was to none other end and purpoſe, but after a Title gotten to the Crown, and your Party made ſtrong both by Sea and Land, with Furniture of Men and Mony ſufficient, to have aſpired to the Dignity Royal, by ſome hainous Enterprize againſt the King's Majeſty's Perſon; to the ſubverſion of the whole State of the Realm.

23. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you not only had gotten into your hands the ſtrong and dangerous Iſles of *Silly*, bought of divers Men; but that ſo much as lay in your power, you travailed alſo to have *Londay*; and under pretence to have victualled the Ships therewith, not only went about, but alſo moved the Lord Protector, and whole Council, that you might, by publick Authority, have that,which by private fraude and falſhood, and confederating with *Sharington*, you had gotten, that is, the *Mint* at *Briſtol*, to be yours wholly, and only to ſerve your Purpoſes, caſting, as may appear, that if theſe Traiterous Purpoſes had no good ſucceſs, yet you might thither conveigh a good Maſs of Mony; where being aided with Ships, and conſpiring at all evil Events with Pirats, you might at all times have a ſure and ſafe Refuge, if any thing for your demerits ſhould have been attempted againſt you.

24. It is alſo Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That having knowledg that Sir *William Sharington* Kt. had committed Treaſon, and otherwiſe wonderfully defrauded and deceived the King's Majeſty, nevertheleſs you both by your ſelf, and by ſeeking Council for him, and by all means you could, did aid, aſſiſt, and bear him, contrary to your Allegiance and Duty to the King's Majeſty, and the good Laws and Orders of the Realm.

25. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where you owed to Sir *William Sharington* Kt. a great ſum of Mony, yet to abet, bear, and cloak the great falſhood of the ſaid *Sharington*, and to defraud the King's Majeſty, you were not afraid to ſay and affirm, before the Lord Protector and the Council, that the ſame *Sharington* did owe unto you a great Sum of Mony; *viz.* 2800 *l.* and to conſpire with him in that falſhood, and take a Bill of that feigned Debt into your cuſtody.

26. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you by your ſelf and Miniſters have not only extorted and bribed great Sums of Mony of all ſuch Ships as ſhould go into *Iſland*, but alſo as ſhould go any other where in Merchandiſe, contrary to the Liberty of this Realm; and to the great diſcouragement and deſtruction of the Navy of the ſame; to the great danger of the King's Majeſty, and the State of the Realm.

27. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where divers Merchants, as well Strangers as Engliſhmen, have had their goods

piratouſly robbed and taken, you have had their Goods in your hands and cuſtody, daily ſeen in your Houſe, and diſtributed among your Servants and Friends, without any reſtitution to the Parties ſo injured and ſpoiled; ſo that thereby Forreign Princes have in a manner been weary of the King's Majeſty's Amity, and by their Ambaſſadors divers times complained; to the great ſlander of the King's Majeſty, and danger of the State of the Realm.

28. It is Onjected, and laid unto your Charge, That where certain Men have taken certain Pirats, you have not only taken from the Takers of the ſaid Pirats all the Goods and Ships ſo taken, without any reward, but have caſt the ſaid Takers, for their good Service done to the King's Majeſty, into Priſon; and there detained them a great time, ſome eight Weeks, ſome more, ſome leſs, to the diſcouraging of ſuch as truly ſhould ſerve the King's Majeſty againſt his Pirats and Enemies.

29. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That divers of the Head Pirats being brought unto you, you have let the ſame Pirats go again free unto the Seas; and taking away from the Takers of them, not only all their Commodity and Profit, but from the true Owners of the Ships and Goods, all ſuch as ever came into the Pirats hands, as though you were authoriſed to be the chief Pirat, and to have had all the Advantage they could bring unto you.

30. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where Order hath been taken, by the Lord Protector and the whole Council, that certain Goods, piratically taken upon the Seas, and otherwiſe known not to be Wreck nor Forfeited, ſhould be reſtored to the true Owners, and Letters thereupon written by the Lord Protector and the Council; to the which Letters, you your ſelf, among the other, did ſet to your Hand; Yet you, this notwithſtanding, have given commandment to your Officers, That no ſuch Letters ſhould be obeyed; and written your private Letters to the contrary, commanding the ſaid Goods not to be reſtored, but kept to your own uſe and profit, contrary to your own Hand before in the Council-Chamber written, and contrary to your Duty and Allegiance, and to the perilous Example of others, and great ſlander and danger of the Realm.

31. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where certain Strangers, which were Friends and Allies to the King's Majeſty, had their Ships, with Wind and Weather broken, and yet came unwrecked to the Shore; when the Lord Protector and the Council had written for the reſtitution of the ſaid Goods, and to the Country to aid and ſave ſo much of the Goods as might, you your ſelf ſubſcribing and conſenting thereto; yet this notwithſtanding, you have not only given contrary commandment to your Officers, but as a Pirat have written Letters to ſome of your Friends to help, that as much of theſe Goods as they could, ſhould be conveyed away ſecretly by Night further off, upon hope that if the ſame Goods were aſſured, the Owners would make no further labour for them, and then you might have enjoyed them; contrary to Juſtice and your Honour, and to the great ſlander of this Realm.

32. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have not only diſcloſed the King's Majeſty's Secret Council, but alſo where you

your ſelf, amongſt the reſt, have conſented and agreed to certain things for the advancement of the King's Affairs, you have ſpoken and laboured againſt the ſame.

33. It is further Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That your Deputy-Steward, and other your Miniſters of the *Holt*, in the County of *Denbigh*, have now, againſt *Chriſtmaſs* laſt paſt, at the ſaid *Holt*, made ſuch proviſion of Wheat, Malt, Beefs, and other ſuch things as be neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of a great number of Men; making alſo, by all the means poſſible, a great Maſs of Mony; inſomuch that all the Country doth greatly marvel at it, and the more, becauſe your Servants have ſpread Rumours abroad, that the King's Majeſty was dead; whereupon the Country is in a great maze, doubt, and expectation, looking for ſome Broil, and would have been more, if at this preſent, by your apprehenſion, it had not been ſtaied.

The Lord Admiral's Anſwer to three of the former Articles.

TO the firſt, he ſaith, That about *Eaſter-Tyde* was twelve-months, he ſaid to *Fowler*, as he ſuppoſeth it was, that if he might have the King in his cuſtody as Mr. *Page* had, he would be glad; and that he thought a Man might bring him through the Gallery to his Chamber, and ſo to his Houſe: But this he ſaid he ſpoke merrily, meaning no hurt. And that in the mean time after he heard, and upon that ſought out certain Precedents, that there was in *England* at one time, one Protector, and another Regent of *France*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Governors of the King's Perſon; Upon that he had thought to have made ſuit to the Parliament-Houſe for that purpoſe, and he had the names of all the Lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpoſe to labour them. But afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at *Ely*-place, being put in remembrance by him of his aſſenting and agreeing with own his Hand, that the Lord Protector ſhould be governor of the King's Perſon, he was aſhamed of his doings, and left off that ſuit and labour.

To the ſecond he ſaith, He gave Mony to two or three of them which were about the King. To *Mr. Cheek* he ſaith, he gave at *Chriſtmaſs*-tide was twelve-months, when the Queen was at *Enfield* 40 *l.* whereof to himſelf 20 *l.* the other for the King, to beſtow where it pleaſed his Grace amongſt his Servants. *Mr. Cheek* was very loath to take it, howbeit he would needs preſs that upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time as he remembreth, ſith the King's Majeſty was crowned.

To the Grooms of the Chamber he hath at *Newyears-tydes* given Mony, he doth not well remember what.

To *Fowler*, he ſaith, he gave Mony for the King, ſith the beginning of this Parliament now laſt at *London*, 20 *l.*

And divers times, he ſaith, the King hath ſent to him for mony, and he hath ſent it. And what time *Mr. Latimer* preached before the King, the King ſent to him to know what he ſhould give *Mr. Latimer*, and he ſent to him by *Fowler* 40 *l.* with this word, that 20 *l.* was a good reward for *Mr. Latimer*, and the other he might beſtow amongſt his

Servants; whether he hath given *Fowler* any mony for himſelf he doth not remember.

To the third, he ſaith, It is true, he drew ſuch a Bill indeed himſelf, and proffered it to the King, or elſe to *Mr. Cheek*, he cannot well tell; and before that, he ſaith, he cauſed the King to be moved by *Mr. Fowler*, whether he could be contented that he ſhould have the Governance of him as *Mr. Stanhope* had. He knoweth not what anſwer he had; but upon that he drew the ſaid Bill to that effect, that his Majeſty was content, but what anſwer he had to the Bill he cannot tell, *Mr. Cheek* can tell.

Number 32.

The Warrant for the Admiral's Execution.

March 17.

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 247.

THis day, the 17*th* of *March*, the Lord Chancellor, and the reſt of the King's Council, meeting in his Highneſs Palace of *Weſtminſter*, heard the Report of the Biſhop of *Ely*, who by the ſaid Lords, and others of the Council, was ſent to inſtruct and comfort the Lord Admiral; after the hearing whereof, conſulting and deliberating with themſelves of the time moſt convenient for the execution of the ſaid Lord Admiral, now attainted and condemned by the Parliament, They did condeſcend and agree, that the ſaid Lord Admiral ſhould be executed the *Wedneſday* next following, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, the ſame day, upon *Tower-Hill*. His Body and Head to be buried within the *Tower*. The King's Writ (as in ſuch Caſes as heretofore hath been accuſtomed) being firſt directed and ſent forth for that purpoſe and effect. Whereupon calling to the Council-Chamber the Biſhop of *Ely*, they willed him to declare this their Determination to the ſaid Lord Admiral; and to inſtruct and teach him, the beſt he could, to the quiet and patient ſuffering of Juſtice, and to prepare himſelf to Almighty God.

E. *Somerſet.*

T. Cantuarien.
R. Rich Cancel.
W. St. John.
J. Ruſſel.
J. Warwick.
F. Shrewsbury.
Thomas Southampton.

William Paget.
Anthony Wingfield.
William Petre.
A. Denny.
Edward North.
R. Sadler.

Number

Number 33.

Articles to be followed and obſerved, according to the King's Majeſty's Injunctions and Proceedings.

1. THat all Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, omit in the reading of the Injunctions, all ſuch as make mention of the Popiſh Maſs, of Chantries, of Candles upon the Altar, or any other ſuch-like thing. Ex MS. Dr. *Johnſon.*

2. *Item.* For an Uniformity, that no Miniſter do counterfeit the Popiſh Maſs, as to kiſs the Lord's Table; waſhing his Fingers at every time in the Communion; bleſſing his Eyes with the Paten or Sudary, or croſſing his Head with the Paten, ſhifting of the Book from one place to another, laying down and licking the Chalice of the Communion; holding up his Fingers, Hands, or Thumbs, joined towards his Temples, breathing upon the Bread or Chalice, ſhewing the Sacrament openly before the diſtribution of the Communion; ringing or ſacrying Bells, or ſetting any Light upon the Lord's Board at any time: And finally, to uſe no other Ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayers, or kneeling otherwiſe than is in the ſaid Book.

3. *Item.* That none buy or ſell the Holy Communion, as in Trentals and ſuch other.

4. *Item.* That none be ſuffered to pray upon Beads, and ſo the People to be diligently admoniſhed; and ſuch as will not be admoniſhed, to put from the Holy Communion.

5. *Item.* That after the Homily, every *Sunday*, the Miniſter exhort the People, eſpecially the Communicants, to remember the poor Mens Box with their Charity.

6. *Item.* To receive no Corpſe but at the Church-yard, without Bell or Croſs.

7. *Item.* That the Common-Prayer, upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, be diligently kept, according to the King's Ordinances, exhorting ſuch as may conveniently come, to be there.

8. *Item.* That the Curats, every ſixth Week at the leaſt, teach and declare diligently the Catechiſm, according to the Book of the ſame.

9. *Item.* That no Man maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the ſix Articles, Bedrolls, Images, Reliques, Lights, Holy Bells, Holy Beads, Holy Water, Palms, Aſhes, Candles, Sepulchres Paſchal, creeping to the Croſs, hallowing of the Font of the Popiſh manner, Oil, Chreſme, Altars, Beads, or any other ſuch Abuſes and Superſtitions, contrary to the King's Majeſty's Proceedings.

10. *Item.* That within any Church or Chappel, be not uſed any more than one Communion upon any day, except *Chriſtmaſs*-day and *Eaſter*-day.

11. *Item.* That none keep the Abrogate Holy-days, other than thoſe that have their proper and peculiar Service.

12. *Item.* That the Church-wardens ſuffer no buying nor ſelling, gaming, or unfitting Demeanour, in Church, or Church-yards, eſpecially during the Common-Prayer, the Sermon, and reading of the Homily.

13. *Item.* That going to the Sick with the Sacrament, the Miniſter have not with him either Light or Bells.

Number 34.

A Paper written by Luther *to* Bucer, *concerning a Reconciliation with the* Zuinglians.

An Original.

Ex M S. Col. C.Ch. *Cant.*

PRimo, Ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros ante Intellexerunt: Nam iſto Pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri: cum nec ipſi credamus utrimque hoc verum eſſe, & alii putabunt a nobis hoc fingi; ut ita magis ſuſpectam reddemus cauſam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus; cum ſit communis omnium, ut in tantis animorum turbis & ſcrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo, Cum hactenus diſſenſerimus, quod illi ſignum, nos Corpus Chriſti aſſeruerimus plane contrarii: Nihilominus mihi videtur utile, ut mediam, ut novam ſtatuamus ſententiam, qua & illi concedant Chriſtum adeſſe vere & nos concedamus panem ſolum manducari. Conſiderandum certe eſt, quantam hic feneſtram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi & Orientium hinc fontes queſtionum & opinionum * Ut tutius multo ſit illos ſimpliciter manere in ſuo ſigno, cum nec ipſi ſuam, nec nos noſtram partem, multo minus utriq; totum orbem pertrahemus in eam ſententiam; Sed potius irritabimus ad varias Cogitationes, ideo vellem potius ut ſopitum maneret diſſidium in duabus iſtis ſententiis, quam ut occaſio daretur infinitis queſtionibus ad Epicuriſmum profuturis.

* Here a word is wanting, it is like it ſhould be *Occludendi.*

Iſtis ſalvis, nihil eſt quod a me peti poſſit: nam ut ego hoc diſſidium vellem (teſtis eſt mihi Chriſtus meus) redemptum Corpore & Sanguine meo. Sed quid faciam? Ipſi forte Conſcientia bona ſunt in altera ſententia. Feramus igitur eos: ſi ſinceri ſunt, liberabit eos Chriſtus Dominus. Ego contra captus ſum bona mea Conſcientia, niſi ipſi mihi ſum ignotus, in meam ſententiam: ferant & me, ſi non poſſunt mihi accedere.

Number

Number 35.

The Sentence againſt Joan *of* Kent, *with the Certificate made upon it.*

Regiſt. Cran. Fol. 175.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas, permiſſione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ primas & Metrapolitanus, Thomas Smith Miles, Willielmus Cooke Decanus de Arcubus; Hugo Latimer Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſor, & Richardus Lyell Legum Doctor, illuſtriſſimi, invictiſſimi in Chriſto Principis & Domini noſtri Domini Edwardi ſexti, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. per Literas ſuas Regias Patentes, dat. duodecimo die menſis Aprilis, Anno Regni ſui tertio, contra te Joannam Bocher, alias nuncupatam Joannam de Kente, coram nobis ſuper hæretica pravitate, juxta & ſecundum Commiſſionem dicti Domini noſtri Regis detectam & declaratam, ac in ea parte apud bonos & graves Notorie & Publice, diffamatam, rite & legitime procedentes, auditis, viſis, intellectis, cognitis, rimatis, & matura deliberatione diſcuſſis & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis & circumſtantiis, ſervatiſq; in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de jure ſervandis in quomodolibet requiſitis: judicialiter & pro tribunali ſedentes, Chriſti nomine invocato ac ipſum ſolum Deum præ oculis noſtris habentes; Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confeſſata, ac per te ſæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, comperimus & clare invenimus te, tum per confeſſiones, tum per recognitiones tuas coram nobis judicialiter factas, nefandum & intollerabilem errorem, hæreſin damnatam & ſcandaloſam opinionem ſubſcriptam, juri Divino & Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam & repugnantem: viz. *That you believe, that the Word was made Fleſh in the Virgins Belly; but that Chriſt took Fleſh of the Virgin, you believe not; becauſe the Fleſh of the Virgin, being the outward Man, was ſinfully gotten and born in Sin; but the Word, by the conſent of the inward Man of the Virgin, was made Fleſh.* Quem quidem errorem, hæreſin damnatam & ſcandaloſam opinionem, juri divino & Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam & repugnantem, &c. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiep. &c. te Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kente prædictam, de meritis, culpis, obſtinaciis & contumaciis, &c. de & ſuper horrendo hæreticæ pravitatis reatu confeſſam, ad Eccleſiæ unitatem redire nolentem, hæreticam opinionem credentem, præmiſſorum prætextu fuiſſe & eſſe, cum animi dolore & cordis amaritudine Judicamus, teq; ex nunc tanquam pertinacem & obſtinatam hæreticam, judicio ſive curiæ ſeculari ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde ſequi debeat, aut poterit, relinquendam fore decernimus & declaramus, & ſic per præſentes de facto relinquimus; Teq; Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kent, memoratam hæreticam, pertinacem, in majoris Excommunicationis ſententiam occaſione præmiſſorum incidiſſe & incurriſſe, necnon excommunicatam fuiſſe & eſſe, etiam ſententialiter & definitive pronunciamus & declaramus, per hanc noſtram ſententiam definitivam, quam ferimus & promulgamus in his ſcriptis. Lecta fuit hæc ſententia per prænominatos, Reverendum, &c.

Sermo

Sermo factus Domino Regi contra Joannam Bocher, alias dictam, Joannam de Kent pro Brachio Seculari.

ILluſtriſſimo & Invictiſſimo in Chriſto Principi, Domino noſtro Edwardo ſexto, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Thomas Permiſſione Divina Cantuarien, &c. Thomas Smith & Commiſſarii prædicti & Inquiſitores veſtræ Celſitudinis, per Literas veſtras Regias Patentes, dat. 12 Aprilis, Anno Regni veſtri tertio, ſufficienter & legitime deputati honorem & perpetuam fœlicitatem in eo, per quam Reges regnant & Principes dominantur. Veſtræ Regiæ Celſitudini, Tenore præſentum ſignificamus, quod nos adverſus quandam, Joannam Bocher alias Joannam de Kent dictam, ſubditam veſtram de & ſuper nefando Crimine Hæreſeos ac deteſtanda Anabaptiſtarum Secta apud bonos & graves enormiter defamatam, & ſuper reatu earundem nobis detectam, delatam & denuntiatam, rite & legitime juxta literarum veſtrarum Regiarum Commiſſionalium exigentiam, & tenorem procedentes, eandem Joannam, per nos examinatam, comperimus & invenimus Errores, Hæreſes & damnatas Opiniones pertinaciter animo indurato ſæpenumero manutenuiſſe, defendiſſe & in eiſdem permanſiſſe, & ab eiſdem nullo modo reſipiſciſſe, nec reſipiſcere curaſſe; ſed ad Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ gremium redire penitus neglexiſſe: Ideo, cum animi amaritudine & cordis dolore, eandem Joannam, ſæpius monitam & per nos ad Eccleſiæ unitatem redire hortatam, ſalutaribus noſtris monitis parere omnino ſpernentem, de & cum conſenſu Collegarum noſtrorum, tanquam ovem morbidam a grege domini (ne alios viros ſubditos ſua contagione inficiat) ejiciendam & eliminandam fore decrevimus, ipſamq; Joannam occaſione iniquitatis ſuæ inveteratæ, hæreticam ac hæreticis Opinionibus credentem, mediante noſtra ſententia definitiva, pronunciavimus & decrevimus. Cum igitur Sancta Mater Eccleſia non habeat, quod ulterius facere & exequi debeat, in hac parte veſtræ Regiæ ſublimitati & brachio veſtro ſeculari dictam Hæreticam & relapſam relinquimus, condigna animadverſione plectendam. In cujus rei teſtimonium; Nos Thomas Archiep. &c. Commiſſarius veſter humillimus ſupradictus, de conſenſu Collegarum noſtrorum, hic ſe ſubſcribentium, Sigillum noſtrum Archiepiſcopale præſentibus apponi fecimus. Datum ultimo die menſis Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1549. & Regni veſtri fœliciſſimi Anno tertio.

Folio 178. After this followeth the Proceſs, and Sentence of Condemnation of one *George van Parre* a Dutch-man, for obſtinately maintaining the like Opinions; together with a Petition imploring the execution thereof, and the aſſiſtance of the Secular Power, conform to the Tenour of that above-written, bearing date the *6th* of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1551.

The Judges and Commiſſioners of this Proceſs, were *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *London*, *William May*, *Griffin Leyſon*, *John Oliver*, *Miles Coverdale*, *Richard Lyell*, *John Goſnold*, and *Chriſtopher Neviſon*.

His Hereſy that he believeth, is, That *God the Father is only God: and that Chriſt is not very God, is non-Hereſie.* And being askt, by an Interpreter, Whether he would abjure the ſaid Opinion? He anſwered; *No.*

Number 36.

A Letter from the Protector to Sir Philip Hobby, *concerning the Rebellions at Home.*

Cotton Libr. *Galba.*B.12.

KNowing that all ſuch as be Ambaſſadors abroad, are not only deſirous of News, for the love they bear to their own Country naturally, deſiring often to hear of the eſtate of it, but alſo to confirm and confute ſuch Rumors as be ſpread in the Parts where they lie, we have thought good to impart what ſith our laſt Letters hath chanced. The *Devonſhire* Men are well chaſtiſed and appeaſed; three other of their Captains have voluntarily come in, and ſimply ſubmitted themſelves to Sir *Thomas Pomery* Kt. *Wiſe* and *Harrice*, who before were fled, and could not be found; and the Country cometh in daily to my Lord Privy-Seal, by 100 and 1000, to crave their Pardon, and be put in ſome ſure hope of Grace. *Burry*, and ſome one or two more of their blind Guids, that eſcaped from the Sword, have attempted, in the mean Seaſon, to ſtir up *Somerſetſhire*, and have gotten them a Band or Camp; but they are ſent after, and we truſt by this, they have as they deſerve. The Earl of *Warwick* lieth near to the Rebels in *Norfolk*, which faint now, and would have Grace gladly, ſo that all might be pardoned, *Ket*, and the other Arch-Traitors. The number upon that is at a ſtay, and they daily ſhrink ſo faſt away, that there is great hope that they will leave their Captains deſtitute and alone, to receive their worthy Reward; the which is the thing we moſt deſire, to ſpare, as much as may be, the effuſion of Blood, and that namely of our own Nation. In *York-ſhire* a Commotion was attempted the Week laſt paſt; but the Gentlemen were ſo ſoon upon them, and ſo forwardly, that it was ſtreight ſuppreſſed; and with weeping Eyes, the reſt upon their Knees, they wholly together deſired the Gentlemen to obtain their Pardons; the which the King's Majeſty hath ſo granted unto them, as may ſtand with his Highneſs Honour: So that for the Inner Parts (thanks be to the Almighty God) the Caſe ſtandeth in good Points. The Cauſes and Pretences of theſe Uproars and Riſings, are divers and uncertain, and ſo full of variety almoſt in every Camp, (as they call them) that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know, is like to be of People without Head and Rule, and that would have that they wot not what: Some crieth, pluck down Incloſures and Parks, ſome for their Commons; others pretend the Religion; a number would Rule another while, and direct things as Gentlemen have done; and indeed all have conceived a wonderful hate againſt Gentlemen, and taketh them all as their Enemies. The Ruffians among them, and the Souldiers, which be the chief Doers, look for ſpoil. So that it ſeemeth no other thing but a Plague and a Fury amongſt the vileſt and worſt ſort of Men: for except only *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and they not paſt two or three, in all other Places not one Gentleman, or Man of Reputation was ever amongſt them, but againſt their Wills, and as Priſoners. In *Norfolk*, Gentlemen, and all Servingmen, for their ſakes, are as ill handled as may be; but this Broil is well aſſwaged,and in a manner at a point ſhortly to be fully ended, with the Grace of God.

On the other part of the Seas, we have not ſo good News; for the French King taking now his time, and occaſions of this Rebellion within the Realm, is come unto *Bullingnois*, with a great number of Horſemen and Foot-men, himſelf in Perſon: And as we are advertiſed, of the Letters of the 24*th* of this preſent, from *Ambletue* or *Newhaven*, the *Almain* Camp, or *Almain* Hill, a piece appertaining to the ſaid *Ambletue*, was that day delivered to the French, by traiterous conſent of the Camp; their variance falling out, or feigned, between the Captain and the Souldiers, ſo that they are now beſieged very near, and in a manner round. Howbeit they write, that they truſt the piece it ſelf of *Newhaven* will be well enough defended, God aſſiſting them, who be in as good and ſtout a courage as any Men may be, and as deſirous to win Honour, and give a good account of their Charge. Thus we bid you heartily farewel. *Auguſt* 24. 1549.

Number 37.

A Letter of *Bonner*'s after he was deprived.

An Original.

The firſt part of this Letter, is the recommending the Bearer, that they might find a good Marriage for him.

——The Pears were ſo well accepted in every place, where I had ſo many Thanks for my Diſtribution, that I intend, by God's Grace, to ſend down to you your Frail again, to have an eching, either of more Pears, or elſe of Puddings, *&c.* ye do know what, *&c.* doth mean, by that Italian Proverb, *Dio me guarda da furia di villani, da Conſcientia di preti, da chi odi due meſſe nel giorno, da quaſibuglie di medici da &c. di notarii, da chi jura per la Conſcientia mia.* I do not write to Sir *John Burne*, nor to my Lady, for any thing, their Conſcience is not over-large; and the like is in Mr. *Hornvale*, and alſo my old Acquaintance *John Badger.* But if amongſt you I have no Puddings, then muſt I ſay, as *Meſſer*, our Prieſt of the Hoſpital, ſaid to his mad Horſe, in our laſt journey to *Hoſtia*, *Al diavolo, al diavolo, ai tutti diavolli.* Our Lord preſerve you,and all yours, with deſire to be recommended to all. *Feſto omnium Sanctorum*, in the *Marſhalſea.*

To my dear beloved Friend, the Worſhipful Richard Lechmore.

Your loving and aſſured old Acquaintance,

Edmond Bonner.

Num-

Number 38.

Letters and Inſtructions touching Proceedings with the Emperor, to Sir William Paget, *Knight of the Order, ſent to the Emperor.* 1549.

FIrſt, He ſhall communicate his Inſtructions, and the cauſe of his coming with Sir *Philip Hobbey* Ambaſſador, Reſident with the Emperor, and accompanied with him at his acceſs to the ſaid Emperor, ſhall deliver his Letters of Credit; and for his Credit ſhall utter his Charge as followeth. *Cotton* Libr. *Galba*.B.12.

Firſt, He ſhall declare what good Will we have to the continuance of the Amity, and the encreaſe of the ſame, by ſuch means as may be deviſed on either Party; and how the Reciproque hath been promiſed on their behalf.

Item. To the intent they may as well perceive our forwardneſs therein, as alſo the World ſee the ſame take effect indeed, he is ſent to ſhew what We have thought upon for this purpoſe; and alſo if they be of a like forwardneſs, to hear again what they think meet in that behalf; and upon this Conference, either to conclude upon both Our Devices, or ſuch one of them as ſhall be thought beſt for both Parties.

Item. We think good, that the Treaty already made between the Emperor and the King's Majeſty of famous memory, deceaſed, be made perpetual, that is to ſay, confirmed by the Prince, and the Countries on both ſides, whoſe Commodity depend upon the ſame Treaty.

Item. Before the Confirmation, the Treaty to be reviſed by him; and the Ambaſſador, and certain other to be appointed by the Emperor, to the intent it may appear whether we have both one underſtanding of the words of the Treatiſe.

Item. Where the debating to and from of the Amity with his Ambaſſador here, occaſion hath riſen to talk of Marriage, between the Infant of *Portugal* and the Lady *Mary*; to which thing we perceive the Emperor hath ſithence been made privy; and that in caſe the Emperor mind to treat further of that Matter, he ſhall ſay he hath commiſſion to hear and conclude thereof.

Item. To declare the State of our Affairs in *Scotland* at this time; and foraſmuch as the Scots have been very much aided with Victuals, Ammunitions, and other Neceſſaries from his Dominions, by reaſon whereof they are more ſtiff and unwilling to come to Reaſon; the ſaid Comptroller declaring this Conſideration, ſhall do what he may to procure, that not only all ſafe Conducts granted by the Emperor, or the Regent may be caſſed; but alſo his conſent, that if any his Subjects traffique into *Scotland*, being common Enemies, if they be taken beyond *Barwick* thitherward, it may be lawful for our Men to take their Goods as forfeit.

Item. To declare our proceedings with *France* at this time, and of our ſending Commiſſioners upon the French Motion, who ſhall not conclude any thing prejudicial to the Amity or Treaties already paſſed, or now to be paſſed, between Us and the Emperor, but ſhall depend wholly upon his proceeding there; ſo as if the Emperor ſhall, upon conſultation of his Affairs, determine with us to do any thing to *France*, we will frame our Communications with the French thereafter: if otherwiſe, than the ſaid Commiſſioners now ſent to the French ſhall do accordingly.

Item. For making the Treaty perpetual, We think convenient, that the Prince of *Spain* do confirm and ſign the ſame, and the *Low-Countries* compriſed therein, do alſo in their General Parliaments or Aſſemblies make like Confirmation, and in their Courts to make Decrees thereof; and this, or ſuch form as hath been uſed in thoſe Parts heretofore in like Caſes, to be done for their part: And for our part, the King to Ratify it, the Parliament to Confirm it, and the Courts of *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, and *Common-Pleas*, to make Decrees thereof.

Item. In the reviſing of the Treaty, if any Doubt riſe for the underſtanding of it, which ſhall ſeem by his and the Ambaſſadors diſcretion to be for the King's Profit, to conclude upon it, if they will agree to the ſame; and if there ariſe doubt, which ſhall ſeem to their diſcretions againſt the King, then to advertiſe hither.

Item. For the caſe of the Marriage, to declare at the firſt what was left by the King's Majeſty deceaſed; and yet nevertheleſs afterward to offer 100000 Crowns, or the Revenue yearly which ſhe hath now upon convenable Dower. The ſaid 100000 Crowns, or Revenue, to be paid at *Calais*, if the Marriage take place; ſhe to be conveyed to *Calais* at the King's Charges; the Marriage to be made in the Emperor's Court, or elſe-where in the *Low-Country*, by his appointment; and for her Dowry to aſk by the Year to be paid in caſe of the Infant's Death, at *Calais* yearly, at the Feaſts of and the Feaſt of and She to return into *England* with Jewels, Plate, Houſhold-ſtuff, ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon. And thus far to enter for the firſt Degree; and in caſe of further Communication, to advertiſe and receive anſwer from hence.

Item. Touching our Proceeding with *France*, to declare how we have continued in War with them, and *Scotland* theſe four Years alone, without help; and that we think it expedient for us, upon this occaſion now miniſtred by *France*, to give ear; in the which hearing, we mind to attribute much to the Emperor's Friendſhip; for loath we are to let ſlip from the King any one jot of his Right, if the Emperor will aſſiſt; but otherwiſe we muſt make ſuch a Bargain for the King, as we may with regard to his Honour and Surety. And in this Point the Comptroller ſhall preſs the ſaid Emperor to enter with us, and to put him in a remembrance of his Quarrels, and all ſuch other things as he can deviſe for this purpoſe; and to put him in hope generally, that we will enter gallantly with him. And if he deſcend to Particulars for the form of the Entry, to hear his Opinion, and to advertiſe, and then proceed as anſwer cometh from hence; but ſpecially to remember to ſet forth the comprehenſion of *Bulloign* for defence, upon a like Reciproque, for ſo ſhall he be brought to think we mind not to conclude with *France*, and thereby ſtay ſuch practices, as upon occaſion of the ſaid Comptroller's going, either he with *France*, or *France* with him, might enter together. And ſo the Commiſſioners ſent to *France*, may make the better Bargain for the King. Marry, this Point is not to be opened throughly, till he hear ſome likelihood that our Commiſſioners in *France* break off without concluſion.

Item. The ſaid Comptroller ſhall eſſay, as of himſelf, whether they will accept *Bulloign* at the King's Majeſty's Hands, for ſome other reaſonable recompence.

Item. The ſaid Comptroller ſhall uſe his diſcretion, to open the Points aforeſaid to the Emperor, *Granvela*, or *D'arras*, either at one time, or ſeveral times, as to his diſcretion ſhall ſeem convenient; and ſhall addreſs his Pacquets to the Commiſſioners for *France* lying at *Calais*, to the end they may ſee his Proceedings, and ſend them over with ſpeed, directing their Charge the better hereafter.

Number 39.

An Account of a Conference the Engliſh Ambaſſadors had with the Emperor's Miniſters, in a Letter to the Protector.

Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.

IT may like your Grace to be advertiſed, that upon the 20*th* of this Preſent, came to the Lodging of me the Comptroller, *Monſieur d' Arras*, and in his company the two Preſidents of the Council, *St. Maurice* and *Viglius*; who after a few words of Office paſſed between them and us, entred the cauſe of their coming, ſaying, That the Emperor having been informed of ſuch Conference as was paſſed this other day between me and *Granvela*, hath to declare his readineſs to any thing that might ſatisfy his good Will and Affection to the intent of the King, ſent us here to reviſite the Treaties, and ſee how we do agree upon the underſtanding of the ſame. I the Comptroller anſwered, That it was not amiſs, howbeit I had not ſo opened the Matters, nor looked to have it paſſed in ſuch order. But firſt to know the Emperor's Reſolution, how he can be contented with the Confirmation of the Treaty, in the form that I had moved; and then that agreed upon, to proceed to the reviſitation of the ſame. In good Faith, quoth *d' Arras*, we did ſo underſtand it, and have ſo reported to the Emperor, and this Commiſſion hath he now given us. Well, quoth I, ſeeing you are now here, and have brought the Treaty with you for that purpoſe, we may do ſomewhat in it, and afterwards be adviſed further, requiring, that in caſe any thing ſhould be found in the paſſages of the Treaty meet to be conſidered, that we might, before further wading in the Matter, know the Emperor's Reſolution, touching as well the Confirmation of the Treaty, as in ſuch things as now might be moved: which they thought reaſonable. And ſo we began to read the Treaty; and when we came to the ſixth Article, wherein it is provided for the common Enmity in caſe of Invaſion, and by the Eſtabliſhment ſet forth, with what number the Invaſion muſt be made; and that both for the Invaſion, and the Number the Prince required to join, ſhall credit the Letters of the Prince requiring. I put this Caſe, quoth I, for the underſtanding of this Matter, that the King my Maſter will ſignify by his Letters to the Emperor, that ſuch a day the Scots, our common Enemies, to the number of 7000 Men, with the aid of the French King, affronted the Borders of *England*, comprehended in the Treaty, and ſet above 2000 Men into the Realm to invade: who did indeed invade, and ſpoil, and burn, and take Priſoners; and therefore would require the Emperor, according to the Treaty, to take the French King, who had aided his Enemies, for his Enemies; for ſo doth he, and ſo will uſe him for his Enemies. Is not the Emperor bound to do it? What ſay you, quoth I, how do you underſtand this Article? It ſhould ſeem yes, quoth *d' Arras*, but we will ſpeak with the Emperor in it, and bring you an anſwer. The words be plain, quoth I, and cannot be avoided.

Then in the ſeventh Article, where it is ſaid, That the Prince requiring for his Aid Mony inſtead of Men, muſt, if the Invaſion made by the Enemy ceaſe, reſtore the Mony again which remaineth. And afterwards ſays, That though the Invaſion ceaſe, yet if he will follow the Enemy, he may uſe the Aid for the time appointed in the Treaty; ſaying in generality, (*eo caſu ſubſidiis auxiliaribus, &c.*) I asked, Whether in thoſe general words, they mean not the Mony as well as the Men? Wherupon they ſeemed to doubt, and took a Note thereof, to know the Emperor's Pleaſure in the ſame.

In the ninth Article, where it is treated for redreſs of Injuries done by one Subject to the other, there we fell into a brawl of half an hour, upon a Queſtion that I moved, *viz.* When they took Juſtice to be denied? And their Anſwer was, That we uſed none at all. And here at length, I fell into their manner of Arreſting of one whole Nation upon a Knave Mariner's Complaint. And he, What Thieves our Nation was upon the Sea, and Lawleſs People, and that they never proceed to ſuch Extremities, but when their Subjects had been in *England* and Juſtice was denied. That hath never been ſeen, quoth I; but if any of your Subjects think himſelf grieved, ſtreight he runneth to *Monſieur le Protecteur*; and he, by and by, ſetting all the King's Affairs apart, muſt attend to the Affairs of *Monſieur lè Mariniure*, or elſe home runneth he with open cry, That he cannot have Juſtice in *England*, and you ſtreight believe; and thereupon cometh theſe often Bluſters. And do you think it reaſon, that *Monſieur G.* or you ſhould attend to every private Man's Complaint; you ſhould then have a goodly Office. No, you ſend them to the ordinary Juſtices, and ſo let that take place and way as it will; but you will never impeach your ſelf more with the Matter. And reaſon, quoth he, but the Cauſe is not alike with you in *England*, for there, quoth he, all things come to the Lord Protector's Hand, there is none other Judg or Juſtice uſed or cared for in the Realm; no, and his Letters ſometimes not eſteemed, and that our Subjects fear full often, and therefore of force they muſt reſort to *Monſieur Protecteur*. And this is not true, quoth I, and that *Monſieur Hobbey* knoweth, my Lord Protector, nor none of the Privy-Council, meddle with no private Matters whoſoever it be, but only meddle with Matters of State, leaving all other things to the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, except only many times to gratify your Ambaſſador, and to ſhew himſelf glad to nouriſh the Amity, he troubleth himſelf with the Complaints of your Subjects, which, by St. *Mary*, by my advice, he ſhall do no more, ſeeing it is ſo little conſidered, but ſhall refer them to the common Juſtice. Whither is that? (quoth he). To the Admiralty, quoth I. Marry, a goodly Juſtice, quoth he, for ſo ſhall the poor Man's Cauſe be tried before his Adverſary. And why not tried in our Admiralty (quoth I) as well as in yours. Nay, quoth he, both be naught indeed; they were very ordinary Courts at the beginning of the redreſs of Matters upon the Sea, but now they feel the ſweet of the Gain ſuch, as they care little for Juſtice. And here, as well for relief of poor Men ſpoiled and robbed upon the Seas, as to avoid Arreſts, and ſuch other troubleſome Proceedings on either ſide, we fell to deviſing, and came to this Point; If the Princes for their parts, upon their advertiſement to the Emperor, and we to your Grace, ſhall like it, that Commiſſion ſufficient be given by the Emperor to two of his Privy-Council, to hear and determine by their diſcretion, ſummary, *& de pleno*, all Complaints by the King's Subjects here for criminal Cauſes upon the Sea; and the King's Majeſty to do the like to two of his Privy-Council, for the Complaints in like caſe of the Emperor's Subjects.

And this was all was paſſed in open Conference, ſaying, That in the Diſcourſe for the Confirmation in the Treaty by the Prince and their Countries, as they ſeemed to ſhew the Emperor's readineſs, (but yet not ſo reſolved) that the Prince ſhould confirm the Treaty, and that further any other thing ſhould be done that he might reaſonably do, to declare his good Will to the entertainment and augmentation of his Amity and Affection to the King's Majeſty. So he alleaged divers Reaſons why the Emperor ſhould not ſeek to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties with Forreign Princes. We alleaged the Example of the King, and the French King in times paſt; and what was ſaid in that Caſe at *C.* in the preſence of himſelf *de C.* and *Chap.* Whereunto he anſwered, That the State of *France* was more reſtrained than the Emperor's; and that the French King could give no piece of his Patrimony, nor bind his Country, without the conſent of his Parliament at *Paris*, and the three Eſtates; but he thought the King of *England* to have a greater Prerogative, and the Emperor he was ſure had a greater Prerogative; and ſo had all his Anceſtors, and therefore would be loath now to put himſelf ſo far in their danger: They were, he ſaid, fifteen or ſixteen Parliaments, and if a thing ſhould be propoſed unto them, whereof they had never heard the like before, they would not only muſe much at the Matter, but they would have alſo the ſcanning of it; and what would come of it, the Emperor could not tell, peradventure daſh the Matter, and ſo prejudice his Prerogative with them. Yet now where he and his Anceſtors do, and have always paſſed Treaties with other Princes, and bind their Subjects thereby without making them privy thereto, it would by this means come to paſs, that from henceforth their Subjects would look to be privy to every Treaty, which were not convenient; marry, for the Prince which ſhall ſucceed to confirm the Treaty, he thought the Emperor could not take it but reaſonable, and doubted not to bring a good Anſwer in the ſame. So as we ſee for this Point, it will come to the confirmation of the King and the Prince, and upon any condition or interpretation of the Treaty to them alſo, wherein we intend to go forwards, for ſo our Inſtruction beareth us, unleſs that before the concluſion and ſhutting up of the Matter, we hear from your Grace to the contrary.

The things being thus far paſſed, and our open Talk at a Point, and they ready to depart, *Monſieur d' Arras* taking occaſion (as it ſeemed) to ſtay becauſe of the Rain, took me aſide, and asked me if I would command him any other Service. I anſwered, No Service, but Friendſhip, and the continuance of his good Will to the King's Majeſty's Affairs; whereunto he making large Offers, I began to enter with him, how much your Grace, and all the reſt, repoſed themſelves in the friendſhip of the Emperor, and the good Miniſtry of his Father and him, to the furtherance of the King's Majeſty's Affairs; to whom, as in that behalf, they ſhewed themſelves great Friends, ſo did they, like good Servants to their Maſter, for the proſperous ſucceſs of the Affairs of the one, ſerved the turn of the other, and the contrary. Whereupon I diſcourſed largely, as far as my poor Capacity would extend, how neceſſary it was for the Emperor to aid and aſſiſt us in all things, ſo as we are not oppreſſed by force, or driven, for want of Friendſhip, to take ſuch ways to keep us in quiet, as both we our ſelves would be loath, and our Friends ſhould afterwards have peradventure cauſe to forethink.

I repeated firſt how we entred the Wars for your ſake; for the King might have made his Bargain honourable with France, which no Man knew better than I: how long we have endured the War, and how long alone; how favourable they are to our common Enemies the Scots; how ungentle the French be to us, and by indirect means think to conſume us, to make the Emperor the weaker.

I recited the practices of the French with the Turk, with the Pope, with the Germans, with *Denmark*; his Aid of the Scots, and all upon intent to impeach the Emperor when he ſeeth time, or at the leaſt attending a good hour, upon hope of the Emperor's Death; the weaker that we be, the eaſilier ſhall he do it; if we forgoe any our Pieces on this ſide, we muſt needs be the weaker; and that ſo we had rather do, than alone to keep War againſt *Scotland* and *France.* Wherefore if they will both provide for their own Strength, and give us courage to keep ſtill that which we have, the Emperor muſt be content to take * 13 into defence, as well as other places comprehended in the Treaty; which, I ſaid, we meant not, but upon a reaſonable Reciproque. What Reciproqe (quoth he) roundly? Thereupon adviſe you reaſonably, quoth I. O, quoth he, I cannot ſee how the Emperor can honourably make a true Treaty for that Point, without offence of his Treaty with *France*; and we mean to proceed directly and plain with all Men, quoth he. Why, quoth I, we may bring you juſtly, by and by with us, if we will advertiſe you, as I did even now put my Caſe. Yea, if your Caſe be true, quoth he; but herein we will charge your Honours and Conſciences, whether the Fact be ſo or no? for your Grace ſhall underſtand, that I talked in the Matter ſo ſuſpiciouſly, as though ſuch an Invaſion had been made, and that you would require common Enmity.

* This is a Cipher, and ſtands, I ſuppoſe, for *Bulloign.*

In fine, Sir, after many Motions and Perſwaſions, and long Diſcourſes uſed on my behalf, to induce them to take 13 into defence. His refuge was only, That they would fain learn how they might honeſtly anſwer the French; albeit I ſhewed him ſome forms of Anſwers, which he ſeemed not to like; yet in the end I ſaid, He was a great Doctor, and as he had put the Doubt, ſo he was learned ſufficiently, if he liſted to aſſoil the ſame. He ſaid, he would open theſe Matters to the Emperor, and truſted to bring me ſuch an Anſwer as I ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied, and ſo departed; whereof, as ſoon as we have knowledg, your Grace ſhall be advertiſed accordingly. And thus we beſeech God, to ſend your Grace well to do all your Proceedings.

Number 40.

A Letter from Sir William Paget, *and Sir* Philip Hobbey, *concerning their Negotiation with the Emperor's Miniſters.*

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Galba*. B.12.

IT may like your Grace be advertiſed, That yeſterday at Afternoon, *Monſieur d' Arras*, accompanied with two Preſidents of the Council, St. *Maurice* and *Viglius*, came unto the Lodging of me the Comptroller; and after ſome words of Office paſſed on either part, *d' Arras* began to ſet forth the cauſe of their coming, ſaying, That the Emperor having at good length conſidered and debated the things proponed and communed of between us ſince my coming hither, had ſent them to report unto me his final Anſwer and Reſolution to the ſame.

And firſt (quoth he) to your Caſe, That at our being together for the reviſitation of the Treaty, ye put forth upon the ſixth Article for the common Enmity in caſe of Invaſion, his Majeſty muſeth much, what ye ſhould mean thereby, for ſeeing the Caſe is not in ure, he thinketh, that doubting of his Friendſhip, ye go about, by theſe means, to grope and feel his Mind; which ye need not do, he having hitherto ſhewed himſelf ready in all things to ſhew the King, his good Brother, pleaſure, and to obſerve the Treaty in all Points to the uttermoſt; and if this Caſe ſhould happen to come in ure, then will he not fail to do whatſoever the Treaty bindeth him unto, till when he can make no other anſwer therein.

As to your Queſtion, moved upon the ſixth Article of the Treaty, *viz.* Whether Mony be not meant as well as Men by theſe words, *Subſidiis Auxiliaribus*? His Majeſty taketh the words to be plain enough, and thinketh they cannot be otherwiſe interpreted, than to be meant, as well for Mony as Men, for ſo doth he underſtand them.

Unto the Order that was communed upon for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice on both ſides, for matter of Spoil or Piracy upon the Sea, his Majeſty having weighed what is beſt to be done therein further, he hath good cauſe firſt to complain of the over many Spoils that your Men have made on his poor Subjects, and the ſmall Juſtice that hath been hitherto miniſtred unto them herein, whereof he hath continual Complaints, and therefore he thinketh it were meeter, e're ever any further Order ſhall be concluded upon, that his Subjects were firſt recompenced of theſe wrongs they have ſuſtained,and the Matter brought to ſome equality, and his People put in as much good caſe as yours are; for I aſſure you (quoth he) the Wrongs our Men have ſuſtained are many; among the reſt a poor Jeweler, having gotten a ſafe conduct of the King that dead is, to bring into *England* certain Jewels, becauſe after he had the King's Hand and Seal to the Licenſe, he had not the ſame ſealed alſo with the Great Seal of *England*, his Jewels were taken from him; and he, being not preſent (although it were ſo named in the Sentence) condemned to loſe them by the order of your Law, contrary to all Equity and Juſtice: Which ſeemeth ſtrange,that the King's Hand and Seal ſhould appear to be ſufficient for a greater Matter than this. 'The Treaties alſo provide, That the Subjects of the one Prince may frankly, without impediment, traffique and occupy into the other Princes'Country; but to ſhadow the Matter with all, one, I cannot tell who, hath been agreed withal, and ſo the poor Man and his Heirs put from their Right, which his Majeſty wiſheth to be conſidered. And albeit he thinketh that the King your Maſter, being under Age, cannot himſelf, by the order of the Law, conclude upon any thing now in his Minority, that ſhall be of due force and ſtrength, able to bind him and his Country when he ſhall come to his perfect Age. Yet taking that his Tutors being authoriſed thereto, by the common Aſſent of your Parliament, may go through and conclude upon theſe, or like things in his Name, his Majeſty thinketh it will do well, when his Subjects ſhall be recompenced of the Wrongs they have hitherto ſuſtained, that ſome order be deviſed for the adminiſtration of Juſtice hereafter in like Caſes.

As touching the Confirmation of the Treaty, conſidering that the ſame was firſt made between the Emperor and King *Henry* the Eighth, and not ratified by the King your Maſter ſince his Father's Death, his Majeſty thinketh that he hath moſt cauſe to require the ſame: Wherefore becauſe (as I told you even now) he thinketh that theſe things, the King himſelf ſhould conclude upon during his Minority, cannot be of ſufficient force, if his Tutors ſhall be, by the Authority of your Parliament enabled thereto, his Majeſty is content the Treaty be confirmed by them in the King's Name, and by the Prince of *Spain*, in ſuch form as ſhall be thought beſt for both Parties.

As to the comprehenſion of *Bulloign*, ye muſt know, that we have a Treaty with *France* as well as with you, which the Emperor cannot, without ſome touch of his Honour, break, without juſt Grounds: And albeit his Majeſty would be loath to ſee the King, his good Brother, forgoe either that Peece, or any other Jot of his Right, yet can he not enter this Defence, unleſs he would break with *France* out of hand; which in reſpect of his other Affairs he cannot yet do, howbeit he will gladly aſſiſt his good Brother in any other thing the beſt he may, and will not fail to ſhew him all the Pleaſure he can with regard to his Honour; but with *Bulloign* he cannot meddle at this time. And here, he ſtaying; Is this the Emperor's reſolute and full Anſwer, *Monſieur d' Arras?* quoth I. Yea, (quoth he); wherewith he prayeth the

King, his good Brother, to reſt ſatisfied, and take it in good part. Albeit (quoth I) I have no Commiſſion to make any Reply thereto, becauſe it was not known to your Grace what the Emperor's Reſolution ſhould be, yet in the way of talk I will be bold to ſay my mind herein; We have, *Monſieur d' Arras* (quoth I) always eſteemed the Emperor's Friendſhip, and deſired the obſervation of the Treaties, and the entertainment of the Amity, as a thing neceſſary and common to both the Parties; for the better eſtabliſhment whereof, and that now and in this time ſome good Fruit, to the benefit of both, might appear to the World to follow of the ſame, I was ſent hither, which was the chiefeſt cauſe of my coming: And becauſe that the Amity between both Princes might be the firmer, and that all Doubts being taken away, no cauſe of Quarrel ſhall be left, we thought beſt to put you in mind of the Confirmation and Reviſitation of the Treaty, to the intent, that by the one, the World might ſee an eſtabliſhment of our Friendſhip by our deed; and that by the other, one of us might underſtand another, and conſider whether any thing were to be added for the Commodity of both Parties, which I ſuppoſe ſtandeth you as much upon to deſire, as it doth us. And whereas ye ſay that the King's Majeſty, becauſe he is under Age, cannot conclude or go through with any thing that ſhall be of ſufficient force, I muſt needs tell you plainly, That ye touch his Majeſty's Honour over-near herein, for we think that the Majeſty of a King is of ſuch efficacy, that he hath even the ſame Authority, and full Power, at the firſt hour of his Birth, that he hath thirty Years after. And what your Laws are, I know not, but ſure I am, that by our Laws, whatſoever is done by the King in his Minority, or by his Miniſters in his Name, is of no leſs force and ſtrength, than if it had been done in time of his full Age and Years, if once the Great Seal of his Realm have paſſed, there is no Remedy but needs muſt he ſtand thereto. Marry, let the Miniſters take heed what they do, and look that they may be able to diſcharge themſelves towards him of their Doings, if he ſhall require account of them when he cometh to Age, for it is they muſt anſwer him; but he muſt needs ſtand to whatſoever they have counſelled him to agree unto during his Minority. And to prove that our Laws giveth him the ſame Authority now, that he ſhall have when he cometh to his perfect Age; if any Man, either for inſtruction of Learning, or any other Cauſe, ſhould preſume to lay hands on, or touch his Majeſty in way of correction, he ſhould by Law be taken for a Traitor. And if the Matter were as ye take it, we ſhould then be in a ſtrange and evil caſe, for neither might we conclude Peace, League, or Treaty, nor make Laws or Statutes, during the King's Minority, that ſhould be of ſufficient force to bind him and his to the obſervation of the ſame. But ye miſtake the Matter much; and therefore if the Emperor mind to proceed to this Confirmation he may, or otherwiſe do as it ſhall pleaſe him.

And as touching my Caſe (quoth I) ye muſt underſtand, I did not move it without ſome juſt ground, for remembring that all your Commiſſioners, and all ours being together at *Utrecht* for the Eſclarciſement of the Treaty, although the words of the Treaty were plain enough, and could receive none other interpretation than was there plainly Written, yet would ye needs underſtand the Article for common Enmity,

mity, in caſe of Invaſion, after your own minds. And whereas, by the words of the Treaty, no mention is made of any number, and therefore with howſoever few in number the Invaſion be made, ought the Invaders to be taken for common Enemies? Your Commiſſioners did nevertheleſs interpret the Matter at their pleaſure, and would needs preſcribe a number of 8000 Men; under which number of Invaſion were made, the Treaties in this caſe ſhould not ſtand to any force. And like-as ye put a doubt here, where none was to be found, ſo thought I, ye might do in other things were they never ſo plain; and that moved me to put this caſe, to ſee whether ye underſtood this Point as ye ought to do, after the literal ſenſe; and partly to know your minds therein, becauſe perhaps the Matter hath been already in ure. This, I ſay, was the occaſion why I put further this Queſtion, and not for any miſtruſt of the Emperor's Friendſhip, whom I muſt confeſs we have always found our Well-willer, and ſo we doubt not he will continue; and therefore I need not grope his mind herein, neither did I mean any ſuch thing hereby.

As to your Anſwer to the order of Juſtice, I ſee not that the Emperor hath ſo much cauſe to complain of lack of Juſtice in his Subjects Caſes, as ye ſeem to ſet forth; for hitherto there hath not any Man complained in our Country, and required Juſtice, unto whom the ſame hath been denied. And although ſome Man abiding the order of our Law, or having had ſome Sentence that pleaſed him not, hath complained hither of delay or lack of Juſtice, ye muſt not therefore, by and by, judg that he ſaith true, or that there is not uprightneſs or equity uſed in our Country, for we have there, as ye have here, and elſe-where, Miniſters that are wiſe, and well-learned in our Law, and Men of honeſty and good Conſcience, who deal and proceed juſtly, as the order of the Law leadeth them, without reſpect to favour or friendſhip to any Man.

And as for the Jewellers Caſe that ye moved, ye muſt underſtand, that as ye have Laws here in your Country, for the direction of your Common-Wealth, ſo have we alſo in ours; whereby amongſt the reſt we do forbid, for good reſpect, the bringing in, or tranſporting forth of certain Things, without the King's ſafe conduct or Licenſe. And although, as ye alleadged before, the Treaty giveth liberty to the Subjects of either Prince to traffique into the others Country, it is not for all that meant hereby, that they ſhall not be bound to obſerve the Law and Order of the Country whereunto they Traffique: for this liberty is only granted for the ſecurity of their Perſons to go and come without impeachment, and maketh them not for all that Lawleſs. And whereas further it is provided by our Law, that in certain things to be granted by the King, the ſame Grant muſt paſs under the Great Seal; Then if any of thoſe things paſs under any other Seal, they be not of due force until they have alſo paſſed the Great Seal of *England*; wherefore if the Jeweller, either by negligence or covetouſneſs, of himſelf, or of thoſe he put in truſt, did not obſerve this Order; but thereto contrary, for ſparing a little Coſt, did preſume to bring in his Jewels before his Licenſe came to the Great Seal, me thinketh neither he, nor any other, can have juſt cauſe to ſay that he was wronged, if according to our Laws he were ſentenced to loſe the ſame: and yet, after he was thus condemned, more to gratify the Emperor, than for that I took it to be ſo reaſonable, I my ſelf was a Suitor to my Lord Protector's Grace, for ſome Recompence to be made to the Jeweller's Wife, whom we knew, and none other to be Party: for ſhe followed the Suit, ſhe preſented the Petitions, in her Name were they made; and finally ſhe, and none others, was by the Emperor's Ambaſſador commended unto us.

I have ſeen the Sentence (quoth he) and do miſlike nothing ſo much therein, as that the Man is condemned, and named to have been preſent, at the time of his Condemnation, when indeed he was dead a good while before.

He was preſent (quoth I) in the Perſon of his Wife, who was his Procurator, and repreſented himſelf; and I know, that thoſe before whom this Matter paſſed, are Men both Learned and of good Conſcience, and ſuch as would not have done herein any thing againſt Right and Order of Law.

The Sentences that are given in our Country by the Juſtices and Miniſters, they are juſt and true, and therefore neither can we, nor will we revoke them for any Man's pleaſure, after they have once paſſed the Higher Court, from whence there is no further appellation, no more than you will here call back ſuch final Order, as hath been in any caſe taken by your High Court of *Brabant.* And the cauſe why we for our part miſliked not this order of Juſtice, was for the better eſtabliſhment of the Amity, and to avoid the continual Arreſts that are made on our poor Men; to the end alſo that this ſort of Suiters might be the ſooner diſpatched, without troubling either my Lord Protector in *England*, or you here, when you are buſied in other Affairs of more importance.

And as concerning the Comprehenſion of *Bulloign*, in good Faith, becauſe we thought that if the ſame ſhould happen to be taken from the King's Majeſty by force, as I truſt it ſhall not, the loſs ſhould be common, and touch the Emperor almoſt as near as us; We thought good, for the better ſecurity thereof, to move this Comprehenſion, which we take to be as neceſſary for the Emperor as us. And though we are not ſo wiſe and well ſeen in your things as your ſelves are, yet do we look towards you, and gueſs of your Affairs afar off, and perhaps do ſomewhat underſtand the ſtate of the ſame, whereof I could ſay more than I now intend. But ye ſay this is the Emperor's Reſolution herein; We take it as an Anſwer, and ſhall do accordingly. Marry, whereas you ſtick ſo much upon your Honour in breaking your Treaties with the French, I remember *Monſieur Granvela* your Father, at my being with him, did not let to ſay, That he had his Sleeve full of Quarrels againſt the French, whenſoever the Emperor liſt to break with them.

Yea, ſo have we indeed (quoth he) but the time is not yet come: we muſt temporize our things in this caſe as the reſt of our Affairs lead us.

Ye ſay well (quoth I) ye have reaſon to regard chiefly the well-guiding of your own things, and yet me thinketh ſome reſpect ought to be given to Friends. But ſeeing this is your Anſwer, I will reply no more thereto.

Yet one thing, *Monſieur d' Arras*, (quoth I) I moved to your Father, which ye make no mention of, and I would gladly know your mind in, which is, the granting of ſafe Conducts to the common Enemy: which the Treaty, by plain and expreſs words, forbideth either Prince to do.

Indeed, *Monſieur Ambaſſadeur*, (quoth he) the words of the Treaty are as ye ſay, plain enough; and yet the Matter were very ſtrait, if it ſhould be taken in ſuch extremity; for hereafter, in time of War, ye might happen to have need of Wood, Canvas, or Wine, and we of the like, and other neceſſaries; and if in ſuch Caſes the Princes ſhould not have Prerogative to grant ſafe Conducts, it ſhall be a great inconvenience, and a thing not hereafter ſeen; howbeit the Emperor for his part will not, I think, ſtick much hereupon, but obſerve the plain meaning of the Treaty. Nevertheleſs I cannot ſay any thing expreſly on his behalf herein, becauſe *Monſieur Granvela* ſpake nothing thereof. And yet did we move him of it (quoth I) and he bad us grant none; and the Emperor for his part would not grant any. No more hath he done, quoth he, ſithence his coming into this Country, nor intendeth not hereafter. He needeth not, quoth I, for thoſe that have been given out before are ſufficient for a great while. Nay, that they are not, quoth he, for the longeſt was granted but for a Year, and now are they expired; and whereas a while ſithence, one preſuming upon his ſafe Conduct, came into this Country to Traffiqe, becauſe the time thereof was expired, he was taken and impriſoned.

The ſaid *d' Arras*, after this talk, touched further unto me two Points, which the Emperor, he ſaid, deſireth may be reformed; The firſt was, Our Merchants, contrary to our Entercourſe, do enhaunce the prices of their Woolls, and will not ſell at ſuch prices as they are bound by the Entercourſe; wherewith the Merchants here do find themſelves agrieved, and therefore the Emperor deſireth ſome order may be taken herein.

Whereunto I anſwered, that I underſtood not the Matters, and yet I ſuppoſed our Men did not this but upon ſome grounds and juſt occaſion, by reaſon of other breach of Order on their parts here. Howbeit I ſhewed him I would inform your Grace thereof, and doubted not, but if any thing were amiſs on our parts, it ſhall be reformed; accordingly looking for the ſemblable on their behalf.

The other, he ſaid, was, That our Men have of late begun to build a Bulwark, which ſtandeth half on the King's Majeſty's Ground, and half on the Emperor's Territory. And although *Monſieur de Rue* have viewed the ſame, and perceiving the Emperor to be wronged thereby, hath required our Folks to proceed no further therein; yet ceaſe they not to build ſtill, which the Emperor marvelleth much at, and thinks we would not take it well that he ſhould attempt the like Fortification upon the King's Territory; and therefore requireth that ſome Redreſs may be given in time therein.

I anſwered, That I knew not of this thing; howbeit, as I went homeward, I would inform my ſelf of the caſe, and make report thereof to your Grace, who I doubted not would take ſuch order therein, as ſhould ſtand with Reaſon.

And here *Monſieur d' Arras* ſetting forth with many good words the Emperor's Amity towards the King, and his readineſs to ſhew his Majeſty's Pleaſure in all things that he conveniently may; and that in caſe we proceed to any further Treaty with *France*; he doubted not but we would have regard to them, according to our Treaties: and that alſo, if we grew to any Peace with the Scots, ſeeing that his Majeſty is entred in Enmity chiefly for our ſake, whereby his Subjects have been ſundry ways endangered, he truſteth he will have conſideration to ſee that convenient Recompence be made to them by the Scots, e're ever we go through with any concluſion; the rather, becauſe the Scots have, and ceaſe not ſtill to offer, beſides a large Recompence, very great Conditions, if his Majeſty would fall to any Peace with them, which chiefly for our ſakes he hath, and will refuſe to do. We anſwered hereunto generally, That the King's Majeſty, in ſuch caſe, we doubted not, would have due reſpect to the Emperor's Amity, and proceed herein as appertaineth.

This was the ſubſtance of their cold Anſwer, as your Grace may ſee, of ſmall effect, although interlaced with plenty of good words, which we alſo thought beſt to uſe towards them, and requite them with the like. And thus, after I had required of *d' Arras* a time to take my leave of the Emperor, and his promiſe to procure the ſame, as ſhortly as he might, we departed. And thus we beſeech God to ſend your Grace as well to do as we do wiſh.

From *Bruges*, *July* 24. *William Paget.*

Philip Hobbey.

Number 41.

The Council's Letter to the King againſt the Protector.

An Original.

Moſt high and mighty Prince, our moſt gracious Soveraign Lord. It may pleaſe your Majeſty to be advertiſed, That having heard ſuch Meſſage as it pleaſed your Majeſty to ſend unto us by your Highneſs Secretary, Sir *William Petre*; like as it was much to our grief and diſcomfort to underſtand, that upon untrue Informations, your Majeſty ſeemed to have ſome doubt of our Fidelites; ſo do we, upon our knees, moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to think, that as we have always ſerved the King's Majeſty, your moſt noble Father, and your Highneſs likewiſe, faithfully and truly, ſo do we mind always to continue your Majeſty's true Servants, to the effuſion of our Blood, and loſs of our Lives. And for the ſecurity of your moſt Royal Perſon's ſafeguard, and preſervation of your Realms and Dominions, have at this time conſulted together, and for none other cauſe, we take God to witneſs. We have heretofore, by all good and gentle means, attempted to have had your Highneſs Uncle, the Duke of *Somerſet*, to have *Cotton* Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

have governed your Majeſty's Affairs, by the advice of us, and the reſt of your Councellors; but finding him ſo much given to his own Will, that he always refuſed to hear Reaſon; and therewith doing ſundry ſuch things as were, and be moſt dangerous, both to your moſt Royal Perſon, and to your whole Realm, we thought yet again to have gently and quietly ſpoke with him in theſe things, had he no gathered Force about him, in ſuch ſort, as we might eaſily perceive him earneſtly bent to the maintenance of his old wilful and troublous doings. For redreſs whereof, and none other cauſe, we do preſently remain here ready to live and die your true Servants. And the Aſſembly of almoſt all your Council being now here, we have, for the better Service of your Majeſty, cauſed your Secretary to remain here with us, moſt humbly beſeeching your Grace to think in your Heart, that the only preſervation of your Perſon, and your Eſtate, for the diſcharge of our Duties, enforceth us to deviſe how to deliver your Grace from the peril your Highneſs ſtandeth in, and no other reſpect; for whatſoever is, or ſhall be ſaid to your Higneſs, no earthly thing could have moved us to have ſeemed to ſtand as a Party, but your only preſervation, which your Majeſty ſhall hereafter perceive (and we doubt not) repute us for your moſt faithful Servants and Councellors, as our doings ſhall never deſerve the contrary; as God knoweth, to whom we ſhall daily pray for your Majeſty's preſervation; and with our Bodies, defend your Perſon and Eſtate as long as Life ſhall endure.

R. Rich Canc.
W. Saint John.
W. Northampton.
J. Warwick.
Arundel.
F. Shrewsbury.
Thomas Southampton.
T. Cheyne.

William Petre, Secretary.
Edward North.
John Gage.
R. Sadler.
Nicholas Wotton.
Edward Montague.
Richard Southwell.

Number 41.

Articles offered by me the Lord Protector, to the King's Majeſty, in the preſence of his Highneſs Council, and others his Majeſty's Lords and Gentlemen, at Windſor, *to be declared on my behalf, to the Lords, and the reſt of his Highneſs Council remaining at* London.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* B. 7 FIrſt, That I do not, nor did not mean to apprehend any of them, or otherwiſe to diſturb or moleſt them; but hearing tell of their ſuch Meetings and Aſſemblies, and gathering of Horſemen, and other Powers, out of ſeveral Countries, not being privy of the Cauſes thereof, to avoid further inconveniences and danger which might enſue to your Majeſty's Perſon; which by many Rumors, certain Intelligences, and ſundry Meſſages, was declared imminent unto your Highneſs, and to me the

Lord Protector, was forced to ſeek this Defence, as I at the firſt beginning declared unto your Highneſs.

Secondly, That this Force and Power which here is aſſembled about your Majeſty at this preſent, is to do none of them which be there at *London*, or elſe-where, either in Perſon or Goods, any damage or hurt, but to defend only, if any violence ſhould be attempted againſt your Highneſs.

As for any contention and ſtrife betwixt me the Lord Protector, and the Council there, I do not refuſe to come to any reaſonable end and concluſion, that ſhould be for the preſervation of your Majeſty, and tranquillity of the Realm, if they will ſend any two of them with Commiſſion on their behalfs, to conclude and make a good end betwixt us.

And I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to appoint any two of ſuch as be here about your Majeſty, to join with the ſame; and whatſoever thoſe four, or three of them ſhall determine, I do, and ſhall wholly and fully ſubmit my ſelf thereunto. And that for more confirmation, if it ſhall be ſo thought good to the ſaid Perſons, their Agreement and Concluſion to be eſtabliſhed and ratified by Parliament, or any other Order that ſhall be deviſed. And I beſeech your Majeſty, that at my humble ſuit, and by the advice of me, and other of your Council here, for the better proceedings herein, and to take away all Doubts and Fears that might ariſe, to grant to them four, or any ſuch two of them, which they ſhall ſend for the purpoſe above-ſaid, free paſſage for themſelves, and with each of them twenty of their Servants, to ſafely come, tarry here, and return at their pleaſure. And I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that this Bill, ſigned with your Majeſty's Hands, and ours, may be a ſufficient Warrant therefore. Given and exhibited at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, *Octob.* 8. 1549.

Number 43.

Letters ſent from the Lords at London, *to the King's Majeſty.*

Moſt high and mighty Prince, our moſt gracious Soveraign Lord, we have received, by Mr. *Hobbey*, your Majeſty's moſt gracious Letters, of the 8*th* of this Inſtant, and heard ſuch further Matter as it pleaſed your Majeſty to will to be declared by him. And ſorry we be, that your Majeſty ſhould have theſe occaſions to be troubled, eſpecially in this kind of Matter; the beginning and only occaſion whereof, as we be well able to prove to your Majeſty, hath proceeded of the Duke of *Somerſet*. It is much diſcomfort to us all, to underſtand that your Royal Perſon ſhould be touched with any care of Mind; and moſt of all it grieveth us, that it ſhould be perſwaded your Majeſty, that we have not that care that beſeemeth us of the pacifying of theſe Uproars, and conſervation of your Majeſty's Common-Wealth and State from Danger; wherein whatſoever is informed your Highneſs, we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to think, we be as careful as any Men living may be;

Ex Libro Concilii.

be; and do not, nor (we truſt) ſhall not forget the Benefits received of your Majeſty's moſt noble Father, nor any of our bounden Duties of Allegiance; the conſideration, and the ſpecial care whereof, forced us to conſult ſeriouſly, and to join in this ſort: which thing, if we had not preſently followed, not only your moſt Royal Perſon (whom Almighty God long preſerve) but this your whole Eſtate being already much touched, and in great towardneſs of ruin, was moſt like to come, in ſhort time, to moſt imminent danger and peril; the Cauſes whereof, as we do all well know, and can prove to have proceeded from the ſaid Duke. So if we ſhould not earneſtly provide for the ſame, we ſhould not be able to anſwer to your Majeſty hereafter for not doing our Duties therein; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your Majeſty, of your great clemency and good nature, will not think that all and every of us, being the whole ſtate of your Privy-Council, one or two excepted, ſhould be led in theſe things by private Affections, or would preſume to write to your Majeſty, that whereof we were not moſt aſſured; and much more, we truſt that your Highneſs, of your goodneſs, will, without any jealouſie or ſuſpition, think that moſt expedient, both for your own moſt Royal Perſon, and all your Subjects, that by the Body of your Council may be thought expedient; to whom, and to no one Man, your Highneſs moſt grave Father, appointed by his laſt Will and Teſtament, the Care of your Majeſty, and all your moſt weighty Affairs. We cannot therefore but think our ſelves much wronged, that your ſaid moſt Royal Perſon is in this ſort by the Duke only detained and ſhut up from us, to all our great heavineſs, and the great fear of all other your Majeſty's true Subjects, and wonder of all the World; ſooner may one Man intend ill, than a multitude of us, who we take God to witneſs to be a thouſand times more careful of Your Highneſs ſurety, than for all our own Lives. We truſt alſo, that of Your Majeſty's good Nature, You will not think that wilfulneſs, which Your whole Council doth, or ſhall agree upon, for Your Majeſty's Surety and Benefit; where the more agreeable we be, the better Opinion we truſt Your Majeſty will conceive of us and our doings. It comforteth us much to ſee the great appearance of Your Majeſty's natural clemency, even in theſe Your young Years; and the aſſured hope which we have thereof, encourageth us to be perſwaded, that You both do, and will conceive good Opinion of us and all our doings; and that Your Majeſty is, and ſo will continue, our gracious good Lord, with whom (as we truſt) we never deſerve willingly to be called in the ſtanding of any Judgment with Your Majeſty.

For the end of this Matter, touching the Duke of *Somerſet*, if he have that reſpect to Your Majeſty's Surety that he pretendeth; if he have that conſideration of his Duty to God that his Promiſe and Oath requireth; if he have that remembrance of the performance of Your Majeſty's Father's Will, that to the effect of a good Executor appertaineth; if he have the reverence to Your Law that a good Subject ought to have, Let him firſt quietly ſuffer us, Your Majeſty's moſt humble Servants, and true Counſellors, to be reſtored to Your Majeſty's preſence; let him, as becometh a true Subject, ſubmit himſelf to Your Majeſty's Council, and the order of Your Highneſs Laws; let the Forces aſſembled be ſent away, and then may we do our Duties, in giving our attendance upon Your Majeſty; and after conſult there with Your Majeſty more freely, for ſuch order as may be thought moſt meet for Your Grace's Surety: By theſe means Your Majeſty's Subjects may be at quiet, and all occaſions of ſtir taken away. And if the ſaid Duke refuſe to agree hereunto, we muſt think him to remain in his naughty and deteſtable determination. The Protectorſhip and Governance of your moſt Royal Perſon, was not granted him by your Father's Will, but only by agreement, firſt amongſt us the Executors, and after of others. Thoſe Titles and ſpecial Truſt was committed to him during Your Majeſty's Pleaſure; and upon condition he ſhould do all things by advice of Your Council. Which condition, becauſe he hath ſo many times broken, and notwithſtanding the often ſpeaking to, without all hope of amendment, we think him moſt unworthy thoſe Honours or Truſt. Other particular things, too many and too long to be written to Your Majeſty at this time, may at our next acceſs to Your Royal Preſence, be more particularly opened, conſulted upon, and moderated, for the conſervation of Your Majeſty's Honour, Surety, and good Quiet of Your Realms and Dominions, as may be thought moſt expedient.

Number 44.

Letters from the Lords at London, *to the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *and Sir* William Paget, *&c.*

Ex Libro Concilii.

MY Lords, after our moſt hearty Commendations, we have received your Letters by Mr. *Hobbey*, and heard ſuch Credence as he declared on the King's Majeſty's and your behalfs unto us. The Anſwers whereunto, becauſe they may at more length appear to you both, by our Letters to the King's Majeſty, and by report alſo of the ſaid *Mr. Hobbey*, we forbear to repeat here again; moſt heartily praying, and requiring your Lordſhips, and every of you; and nevertheleſs charging and commanding you, in the King's Majeſty's Name, to have a continual earneſt watch, reſpect and care, to the ſurety of the King's Majeſty, our natural and moſt gracious Soveraign Lord's Perſon; and that he be not removed from his Majeſty's Caſtle of *Windſor*, as you tender your Duties to Almighty God and his Majeſty, and as you will anſwer for the contrary at your uttermoſt perils. We are moved to call earneſtly upon you herein, not without great cauſe, and amongſt many others, we cannot but remember unto you, That it appeareth very ſtrange unto us, and a great wonder unto all true Subjects, that you will either aſſiſt or ſuffer his Majeſty's moſt Royal Perſon to remain in the Guard of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Men, ſequeſtred from his own old ſworn Servants. It ſeemeth ſtrange, that in his Majeſty's own Houſe, Strangers ſhould be armed with his Majeſty's own Armour, and be neareſt about his Highneſs Perſon; and thoſe to whom the ordinary Charge is committed, ſequeſtred away, ſo as they may not attend according to their ſworn Duties. If any ill come hereof, you can conſider to whom it muſt be imputed once; the Example is very ſtrange and perilous. And now, my Lords, if you tender the preſervation of his Majeſty, and the State, join with us to that end: we have written to the King's Majeſty, by which way things may ſoon be quietly and moderately compounded. In the doing whereof, we mind to do none otherwiſe than we would be done to, and that with as much moderation and favour as honourably we may. We truſt none of you have juſt cauſe to note any one of us, and much leſs all of ſuch cruelty, as you ſo many times make mention of. One thing in your Letters we marvel much at, which is that you write, that you know more than we know. If the Matters come to your knowledg, and hidden from us, be of ſuch weight as you ſeem to pretend; or if they touch, or may touch his Majeſty or the State, we think you do not as you ought, in that you have not diſcloſed the ſame unto us, being the whole State of the Council. And thus praying God to ſend you the Grace to do that may tend to the ſurety of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and tranquility of the Realm, we bid you heartily farewel, *&c.*

Number 45.

An Anſwer to the former Letter.

An Original.

Ex Libro Concilii.

IT may like your good Lordſhips, with our moſt hearty Commendations, to underſtand, That this morning Sir *Philip Hobbey* hath, according to the Charge given him by your Lordſhips, preſented your Letters to the King's Majeſty, in the preſence of us, and all the reſt of his Majeſty's good Servants here, which was there read openly, and alſo the others to them of the Chamber, and of the Houſhold, much to their Comforts, and ours alſo; and according to the Tenours of the ſame, we will not fail to endeavour our ſelves accordingly.

Now touching the marvel of your Lordſhips, both of that we would ſuffer the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Men to guard the King's Majeſty's Perſon; and alſo of our often repeating this word *Cruelty*; although we doubt not but that your Lordſhips have been throughly informed of our Eſtates here, and upon what occaſion the one hath been ſuffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together, (which may be when and where pleaſeth you) we will, and are able to make your Lordſhips ſuch an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be ſatisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for becauſe this Bearer, Maſter *Hobbey*, can particularly inform your Lordſhips of the whole diſcourſe of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, ſaving that we deſire to be advertiſed, with as much ſpeed as you ſhall think good, whether the King's Majeſty ſhall come forthwith thither, or remain ſtill here; and that ſome of your Lordſhips would take pains to come hither forthwith. For the which purpoſe, I the Comptroller, will cauſe three of the beſt Chambers in the great Court to be hanged and made ready. Thus thanking God that all things be ſo well acquieted, we commit your Lordſhips to his tuition.

From *Windſor*, the 10*th*
of *Octob.* 1549.

Your Lordſhips aſſured
loving Friends,

T. Cant. *William Paget.* *T. Smith.*

Number 46.

Articles objected to the Duke of *Somerſet*.

1. *THat he took upon him the Office of Protector, upon expreſs condition, That he ſhould do nothing in the King's Affairs, but by aſſent of the late King's Executors, or the greateſt part of them.*

That contrary to this condition, he did hinder Juſtice, and ſubvert Laws of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command.

3. *That he cauſed divers Perſons Arreſted and Impriſoned for Treaſon, Murder, Man-ſlaughter, and Felony, to be diſcharged; againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.*

4. *That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies, and other Officers for the weighty Affairs of the King, under his own Writing and Seal.*

5. *That he communed with Ambaſſadors of other Realms alone, of the weighty Matters of the Realm.*

6. *That he would taunt and reprove divers of the King's moſt honourable Councellors, for declaring their Advice in the King's weighty Affairs againſt his Opinion; ſometimes telling them that they were not worthy to ſit in Council; and ſometimes, that he need not to open weighty Matters to them; and that if they were not agreeable to his Opinion, he would diſcharge them.*

7. *That againſt Law he held a Court of Requeſt in his Houſe; and did enforce divers to anſwer there for their Freehold and Goods, and did determine of the ſame.*

8. *That being no Officer, without the advice of the Council, or moſt part of them, he did diſpoſe Offices of the King's Gift for Mony; grant Leaſes, and Wards, and Preſentations of Benefices pertaining to the King, gave Biſhopricks, and made ſales of the King's Lands.*

9. *That he commanded Alchimie, and Multiplication to be practiſed, thereby to abaſe the King's Coin.*

10. *That divers times he openly ſaid, That the Nobility and Gentry were the only cauſe of Dearth; whereupon the People roſe to reform Matters of themſelves.*

11. *That againſt the mind of the whole Council, he cauſed Proclamation to be made concernig Incloſures; whereupon the People made divers Inſurrections, and deſtroyed many of the King's Subjects.*

12. *That he ſent forth a Commiſſion, with Articles annexed, concerning Incloſures, Commons, High-ways, Cottages, and ſuch-like Matters, giving the Commiſſioners authority to hear and determine thoſe cauſes, whereby the*

the Laws and Statutes of the Realm were ſubverted, and much Rebellion raiſed.

13. *That he ſuffered Rebels to aſſemble and lie armed in Camp, againſt the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, without ſpeedy repreſſing of them.*

14. *That he did comfort and encourage divers Rebels, by giving them Mony, and by promiſing them Fees, Rewards, and Services.*

15. *That he cauſed a Proclamation to be made againſt Law, and in favour of the Rebels, that none of them ſhould be vexed or ſued by any, for their Offences in their Rebellion.*

16. *That in time of Rebellion, he ſaid, That he liked well the Actions of the Rebels; and that the Avarice of Gentlemen gave occaſion for the People to riſe; and that it was better for them to die, than to periſh for want.*

17. *That he ſaid, The Lords of the Parliament were loath to reform Incloſures, and other things, therefore the People had a good cauſe to reform them themſelves.*

18. *That after declaration of the Defaults of* Bulloign, *and the Pieces there, by ſuch as did ſurvey them, he would never amend the ſame.*

19. *That he would not ſuffer the King's Pieces of* Newhaven, *and* Blackneſs, *to be furniſhed with Men and Proviſion; albeit he was advertiſed of the Defaults, and adviſed thereto by the King's Council; whereby the French King was emboldned to attempt upon them.*

20. *That he would neither give Authority, nor ſuffer Noblemen and Gentlemen to ſuppreſs Rebels in time convenient; but wrote to them to ſpeak the Rebels fair, and uſe them gently.*

21. *That upon the 5th of* October *the preſent Year, at* Hampton-Court, *for defence of his own private Cauſes, he procured ſeditious Bills to be written in counterfeit Hands, and ſecretly to be diſperſed into divers parts of the Realm; beginning thus, Good People; intending thereby to raiſe the King's Subjects to Rebellion and open War.*

22. *That the King's Privy-Council did conſult at* London *to come to him, and move him to reform his Government; but he hearing of their Aſſembly, declared, by his Letters in divers places, that they were high Traitors to the King.*

23. *That he declared untruly, as well to the King as to other young Lords attending his Perſon, That the Lords at* London *intended to deſtroy the King; and deſired the King never to forget, but to revenge it; and deſired the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof; with intent to make Sedition and Diſcord between the King and his Nobles.*

24. *That at divers times and places, he ſaid, The Lords of the Council at* London *intended to kill me; but if I die, the King ſhall die; and if they famiſh me, they ſhall famiſh him.*

25. *That of his own head he removed the King ſo ſuddenly from* Hampton-Court *to* Windſor, *without any proviſion there made, that he was thereby not only in great fear, but caſt thereby into a dangerous Diſeaſe.*

26. *That by his Letters, he cauſed the King's People to aſſemble in great numbers in Armour, after the manner of War, to his Aid and Defence.*

27. *That he cauſed his Servants and Friends at* Hampton-Court *and* Windſor, *to be apparelled in the King's Armour, when the King's Servants and Guards went unarmed.*

28. *That he intended to fly to* Gernſey *or* Wales, *and laid Poſt-horſes and Men, and a Boat to that purpoſe.*

Number 47.

A Letter written by the Council to the Biſhops, to aſſure them, That the King intended to go forward in the Reformation.

By the KING.

Regiſt. Cran. *Fol.* 56.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the Book entituled, the Book of *Common Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the uſe of the Church of* England; was agreed upon, and ſet forth by Act of Parliament; and by the ſame Act commanded to be uſed of all Perſons within this our Realm. Yet nevertheleſs we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-diſpoſed Perſons, ſithence the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Somerſet*, have noiſed and bruited abroad, That they ſhould have again their old Latin Service, their Conjured Bread and Water, with ſuch-like vain and ſuperfluous Ceremonies, as though the ſetting forth of the ſaid Book had been the only Act of the ſaid Duke. We therefore, by the advice of the Body and State of our Privy-Council, not only conſidering the ſaid Book to be our *Act*, and the *Act* of the whole State of our Realm aſſembled together in Parliament, but alſo the ſame to be grounded upon the Holy Scripture, agreeable to the Order of the Primitive Church, and much to the re-edifying of our Subjects, to put away all ſuch vain expectation, of having the Publick Service, the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies again in the Latin Tongue, which were but a preferment of Ignorance to Knowledg, and Darkneſs to Light, and a preparation to bring in Papiſtry and Superſtition again; have thought good, by the advice aforeſaid, to require, and nevertheleſs ſtraitly do command and charge you, That immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the Dean and Prebendaries of your Cathedral Church; the Parſons, Vicar, or Curat, and Church-wardens of every Pariſh, within your Dioceſs, to bring and deliver unto you, or your Deputy, any of them for their Church or Pariſh, at ſuch convenient place as you ſhall appoint, all Antiphonals, Miſſals, Graylles, Proceſſionals, Manuels, Legends, Pies, Portaſies, Journals, and Ordinals, after the uſe of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, or any other private uſe: And all other Books of Service, the keeping whereof ſhould be a lett to the uſing of the ſaid Book of *Common Prayers*; and that you take the ſame Books into your hands, or into the hands of your Deputy, and them ſo to deface and aboliſh, that they never after may ſerve, either to any ſuch uſe as they were provided for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniform Order, which by a common Conſent is now ſet forth. And if you ſhall find any Perſon ſtubborn or diſobedient in not bringing in the ſaid Books, according to the tenour of theſe our Letters, that then ye commit the ſaid Perſon to Ward, unto ſuch time as you have certified us of his miſbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you alſo ſearch, or cauſe ſearch to be made, from time to time, whether any Book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenour of theſe our Letters, and the ſame Book to receive into your Hands, and to uſe all in theſe our Letters we have appointed. And further, whereas it is come unto our knowledg, that divers froward and obſtinate Perſons do refuſe to pay towards the finding of Bread and Wine for the Holy Communion, according to the Order preſcribed in the ſaid Book, by reaſon whereof the Holy Communion is many times omitted upon the *Sunday*. Theſe are to will and command you to convent ſuch obſtinate Perſons before you, and then to admoniſh and command to keep the Order preſcribed in the ſaid Book; and if any ſhall refuſe ſo to do, to puniſh them by Suſpenſion, Excommunication, or other Cenſures of the Church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our Diſpleaſure.

Weſtminſt. Decemb. 25. *Regni tertio.*

Thom. Cantuarien.	*J. Ruſſel.*
Rich. Chanc.	*H. Dorſet.*
Will. St. John.	*W. Northampton.*

Number 48.

Cardinal Woolſey's *Letters to* Rome, *for procuring the Popedom to himſelf, upon Pope* Adrian's *death.*

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.* MY Lord of *Bath*, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. *Hannibal*, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner; letting you wit, That by Letters lately ſent unto me from you my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, dated at *Rome* the 14*th* day of *September*. Which Letters I incontinently ſhewed unto the King's Grace his Highneſs. And I have been advertiſed, to our great diſcomfort, That the ſaid 14*th* day, it pleaſed Almighty God to call the Pope's Holineſs unto his Infinite Mercy, whoſe Soul *Jeſu* pardon. News certainly unto the King's Grace and to me right heavy, and for the univerſal weal or quiet of Chriſtendom, (whereunto his Holineſs, like a devout and virtuous Father of Holy Church was very ſtudious) much diſpleaſant and contrarious; Nevertheleſs, conforming our ſelves to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, to whoſe Calling we all muſt be obedient; the Mind and Intention of the King's Highneſs, and of me both, is to put ſome helps and furtherances, as much as conveniently may be, that ſuch a Succeſſor unto him may now, by the Holy College of Cardinals, be named and elected, as may, with God's Grace, perform, atchieve, and fulfil the good and vertuous Purpoſes and Intents, concerning the Pacification of Chriſtendom; whereunto our ſaid late Holy Father, as much as the brevity of the time did ſuffer, was, as it ſhould ſeem, minded and inclined; which thing, how neceſſary it is to the ſtate of Chriſts Religion, now daily more and more declining, it is facil and eaſie to be conſider'd; and ſurely amongſt other Chriſtian Princes, there is none which as ye heretofore have perfectly underſtood, that to this purpoſe more dedicated themſelves to give Furtherance, Advice, and Counſel, than the Emperor and the King's Grace, who as well before the time of the laſt Vacation, as ſithence, by Mouth and by Letters, with Report of Ambaſſadors and otherwiſe, had many ſundry Conferences, Communications, and Devices, in that behalf. In which it hath pleaſed them, far above my merits or deſerts, of their goodneſs, to think, judg, and eſteem me to be meet and able for to aſpire unto that Dignity; perſuading, exhorting, and deſiring me, that whenſoever opportunity ſhould be given, I ſhould hearken to their Advice, Counſel, and Opinion in that behalf; and offering unto me, to interpone their Authorities, Helps, and Furtherances therein to the uttermoſt. In comprobation whereof, albeit the Emperor, now being far diſtant from theſe Parts, could not, nor might in ſo brief time, give unto the King's Grace, new or freſh confirmation of his Purpoſe, Deſire, and Intent herein: Yet nevertheleſs my Lady *Margaret*, knowing the inclination of his mind in this ſame, hath, by a long diſcourſe made unto me ſemblable Exhortation; offering, as well on the Emperor's behalf, as on her own, that as much ſhall by them be done, to the furtherance thereof, as may be poſſible. Beſides this, both by your Letters, and alſo by particular moſt loving Letters of the Cardinal's *de Medicis, Sanctorum Quatuor & Campegius*, with credence ſhow'd unto me on their behalf, by their Folks here reſident, I perceive their good and faſt minds, which they, and divers other their Friends owe unto me in that matter. And finally, the King's Highneſs doth not ceaſe, by all the gracious and comfortable means poſſible to inſiſt, that I, for manifold, notable, urgent, and great reſpects, in any wiſe ſhall conſent that his Grace and the Emperor do ſet forth the thing with their beſt manner. The Circumſtances of whoſe moſt entire, and moſt firm mind thereunto, with their bounteous, godly, and beneficial Offers for the Weal of Chriſtendom, which his Grace maketh to me herein, is too long to rehearſe. For which Cauſes, albeit I know my ſelf far unmeet and unable to ſo high a Dignity, minding rather to live and die with his Grace in this his Realm, doing Honour, Service, Good or Pleaſure to the ſame, than now (mine old days approaching) to enter into new things; yet nevertheleſs, for the great zeal and perfect mind which I have to the exaltation of the Chriſtian Faith; the honour, weal, and ſurety of the King's Grace, and the Emperor, and to do my Duty both to Almighty God and to the World, I referring every thing to God's diſpoſition and pleaſure, ſhall not pretermit to declare unto you ſuch things, as the King's Highneſs hath ſpecially willed me to ſignify unto you, on his Grace's behalf, who moſt effectually willeth and deſireth you to ſet forth the ſame, omitting nothing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his ſpecial truſt is in you.

Firſt, Ye ſhall underſtand, that the mind, and entire deſire of his Highneſs, above all earthly things, is, That I ſhould attain to the ſaid Dignity, having his perfect and firm hope, that of the ſame ſhall enſue, and that in brief time, a general and univerſal Repoſe, Tranquillity,

and

and Quietneſs in Chriſtendom; and as great Renown, Honour, Profit, and Reputation to this Realm as ever was; beſides the ſingular comfort and rejoice that the King's Grace, with all his Friends and Subjects ſhould take thereof; who might be well aſſured thereby, to compone and order their great Cauſes and Affairs, to their high Benefit, Commodity, and moſt Advantage. For this, and other great and urgent Cauſes, the Pleaſure of his Highneſs is, That like-as ye my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, have right prudently and diſcreetly begun: ſo ye all, or as many of you as be preſent in the Court of *Rome*, and continue your Practices, Overtures, Motions and Labours, to bring and conduce this the King's inward Deſire to perfect end and effect.

And becauſe it is not to be doubted, but that before the receipt of theſe my Letters, ye having former Inſtructions, ſhall have far entred your Devices in this Matter, wherein the King's Grace truſteth ye do loſe no time or opportunity that poſſibly may be had; I ſhall therefore, briefly and compendiouſly touch ſuch this things,as the King's Highneſs would ye ſhould ſubſtantially note in this behalf.

One is, That albeit ye both before, and alſo now, know the King's mind and deſire herein, as is aforeſaid, taking that for your Foundation; yet nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as it appeareth by your ſaid Letters, and otherwiſe, that the *Cardinal de Medicis*, whoſe preferment (if this may not be had) both the King's Grace and I tendereth above all other, mindeth to experiment what may be done for himſelf, great policy and dexterity is in your Labours and Communications to be uſed, ſo that ye may firſt, by great enſearch and enquiry, perfectly underſtand, as nigh as may be, the Diſpoſition, Mind, Affection, and Inclination, as well of the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*, as of all the reſidue, if it be poſſible; which thing, well known, well ponder'd and conſider'd, ye ſhall thereby have a great light to the reſidue of your Buſineſs, wherein always ye muſt ſo order your ſelves, that the Matter appearing unto you much doubtful and uncertain, your particular practices (the deſired Intent peradventure failing) ſhall not be cauſe of diſpleaſure or unkindneſs to be noted by any that may be elected; and for your introduction herein, the King's Grace ſendeth unto you at this time two Commiſſions under his great Seal, the one couch'd under general words, without making mention of any particular Perſon; and in the other, his Highneſs hath made mention of me by ſpecial Name: Beſides that; ye ſhall receive herewith two Letters from his Grace to the College of Cardinals, with the Copies of the ſame; the one in ſpecial recommendation of me, and the other in favour of the *Cardinal de Medicis*; beſide ſuch other particular Letters in my recommendation to certain Cardinals, and other, as by the Copies of them herewith encloſed ye ſhall now perceive. After the receipt thereof, if the Cardinals before that time ſhall not be entred into the Conclave, ye taking your Commodity, as by your Wiſdom ſhall be thought moſt expedient, ſhall deliver unto the *Cardinal de Medicis*, the King's Letters, and mine to him addreſſed, ſhewing unto him, with as good words and manner as ye can, that for his great Virtue, Wiſdom, Experience, and other commendable Merits, with the entire love and favour which the King's Grace and I bear unto him, thinking and reputing him moſt meet and able to aſpire unto the Papal Dignity before all other,

other. Ye have Commandment, Commiſſion, and Inſtruction, ſpecially and moſt tenderly, to recommend him unto the whole College of Cardinals, having alſo the King's and my Letters to them in his favour; upon which Declaration ye ſhall perceive his Anſwer to be made unto you in that behalf; whereupon, and by knowledg of the Diſpoſition of the Reſidue, ye may perceive how to govern your ſelves in the delivery of the reſt of your ſaid Letters; for in caſe it may evidently appear unto you, that any of the Cardinals, to whom the King's Letters be directed, have firmly eſtabliſh'd their minds upon the ſaid *Cardinal de Medices*, the more circumſpection is to be uſed with any ſuch in the delivery to him of the King's Letters, and overture of the ſecretneſs of your minds touching me; conſidering, that if the King's Intent might in no wiſe take effect for me, his Grace would, before all other, advance and further the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*. Nevertheleſs, if either by his Anſwer to be made unto you, or by other good knowledg, ye ſhall perceive that he hath ſo many Enemies herein, that of likelihood he cannot attain the ſame, ye may be the more bold to feel his mind how he is inclin'd towards me; ſaying, as indeed the King's Grace hath written unto him, That in caſe he ſhould fail thereof, the King's Highneſs would inſiſt, as much as to his Grace were poſſible, for me; which ye may ſay were in manner one thing, conſidering that both the *Cardinal de Medices* and I bear one mind, zeal, and ſtudy, to the Weal and Quiet of Chriſtendom, the Increaſe and Surety of *Italy*, the Benefit and Advancement of the Emperor's and the King's Majeſty's Cauſes; and I being Pope, he in a manner (whom I above all Men love, truſt, and eſteem) were Pope, being ſure to have every thing according to his mind and deſire, and as much Honour to be put unto him, his Friends and Family, as might be deviſed in ſuch wiſe: That by theſe and other good words and demonſtrations, ye may make him ſure, as I think he be, that failing for himſelf, he with all his Friends do their beſt for me; and ſeeing no likelihood for him, ye may then right-well proceed to your particular labour and practices for me, delivering the King's Letters, both to the College of Cardinals, and to the other, apart, as ye ſhall ſee the caſe then to require; and ſolliciting them, by ſecret labours, alleadging and declaring unto them my poor Qualities, and how I having ſo great experience of the Cauſes of Chriſtendom, with the entire Favour which the Emperor and the King's Grace bear unto me; the knowledg alſo, and deep Acquaintance of other Princes, and of their great Affairs; the ſtudious mind that I have ever been in, both to the Surety and Weal of *Italy*, and alſo to the Quiet and Tranquility of Chriſtendom; not lacking, thanked be God, either Subſtance or Liberality to look largely upon my Friends; beſides the ſundry great Promotions, which by election of me ſhould be vacant, to be diſpoſed unto ſuch of the ſaid Cardinals, as by their true and faſt Friendſhip had deſerved the ſame; the loving Familiarity alſo which they ſhould find in me; and that of my Nature I am not in great diſpoſed to rigour or auſtereneſs, but can be contented, thanked be God, frankly, pleaſantly, and courteouſly, to participate, diſpoſe, and beſtow, ſuch things as I have, or ſhall come to my diſpoſition, not having any ſuch Faction, Family, or Kinſman, to whom I might ſhew any partiality in beſtowing the Promotions and Goods of the Church;

and which is higheſt to be regarded, that is likely and in manner ſure, that by my means, not only *Italy* ſhall be put in perfect ſurety for ever, but alſo a final reſt, peace, and quiet, now moſt neceſſary eſtabliſhed betwixt all Chriſtian Princes; whereupon the greateſt and moſt notable Expedition might be made againſt the Infidels that hath been heard of many Years. For the King's Highneſs in that caſe would be contented, and hath fully promiſed, God willing, to come in Perſon, when God ſhall ſend time, unto *Rome*; whither alſo I ſhould not doubt to bring many more of the Chriſtian Princes, being determined, if God ſhould ſend me ſuch Grace, to expone mine own Perſon in God's Quarrel; by mean of which my preſence many things ſhould be ſtated, that for Superiority and otherwiſe, in times paſt, hath been occaſion of diſagreement amongſt Princes; Albeit peradventure the greateſt reſpect ſhall not now be had hereunto, nor this be the beſt Elective to win the Cardinals Favour; wherein you muſt therefore uſe your ſelf by your wiſdoms, as you ſhall ſee the time, ſeaſon, and care to require; aſſuring them, for the removing of the doubt in changing of the See, or not ſpeedy repair thither; that after the Election once paſſed and notified to me, I would not fail, by God's Grace, within three months to be in *Rome*; there, and in the parts thereabout, to remain during my Life, whereof ye may make faithful aſſurance. By theſe, and other good means and promiſes on the King's behalf of large Rewards, which his Highneſs referreth to your diſcretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein; It is not to be doubted but that you ſhall obtain the Favours of many of them; ſo as if reſpect may be had to the Honour of the See Apoſtolic, and the Surety of *Italy*, the Tranquility of Chriſtendom, the Defence of the ſame againſt the Infidels, the Exaltation of the Faith, the Perſecution of Chriſt's Enemies, the Increaſe and Weal of the College of Cardinals, with their Advancement and Promotion; gentle, frank, and liberal entertainment of them, and generally to the benefit of all Holy Church. The King's Grace ſuppoſeth his mind and deſire herein, with your good means, diligence, and ſollicitations, is not unlike to take good effect; wherein, for the more authority, and better conducing of your purpoſe, the pleaſure of his Grace is, That you join with the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, as far as you may ſee and perceive them to favour this the King's Intent, likeas his Grace thinketh, that according to the often Conferences, Communications, Promiſes, and Exhortations made by the Emperor to me in this behalf, and according to my ſaid Lady *Margaret*'s deſire or offer, they have commandment to do. In the politick handling of all which Matters, the King's Highneſs putteth in you his ſpecial truſt and confidence, ſo to order your ſelf in the Premiſes, as you ſhall perceive to accord with the inward deſire of his Grace, and the ſtate and diſpoſition of the thing there; for which purpoſe his Grace hath furniſhed you at this time, jointly or ſeverally, with two ſundry Commiſſions, the one general for me, and in my favour, by the which you have ample Authority to bind and promiſe, on the King's behalf, as well gift of Promotions, as alſo as large ſums of Mony to as many, and ſuch as you ſhall think convenient; and as ſure ye may be, whatſoever ye ſhall promiſe, bind his Grace, and do in that behalf, his Highneſs will inviolably obſerve, keep and perform, the other ſpecial, as afore Letters to the College of two effects, the one for the *Cardinal de Medices*, and the other for me, with other particular Letters in my favour; all which his pleaſure is, That you ſhall uſe in manner and form aforeſaid; that is to ſay, If you ſhall perceive the Affair of the *Cardinal de Medicis* to be in ſuch perfect train, that he is like to have the ſame Dignity, ye then proceed to that which may be his furtherance, uſing nevertheleſs your particular labour for me, if you think it may do good, after ſuch ſort as ye ſhall not conceive any ingratitude or unkindneſs therein. And if you may ſee that the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis* be not in ſuch great likelihood thereof; then conſidering, that as the King's Grace, and I think verily he will do his beſt for me, ye ſhall effectually ſet forth your practices for attaining and winning as many Friends for me as poſſible may be, delivering your Letters for the Intent, as you ſhall ſee cauſe. Wherein you being now furniſhed for both Purpoſes, and alſo having one of the Commiſſions general and indifferent, without any Perſon therein ſpecially recommended, things be to be done or omitted, as you ſhall know to ſtand with the ſtate or commodity of the Affairs there, with the Ground of the King's Mind to you now declared, ſhall be your beſt and perfect Inſtruction; and as you ſhall do or know herein, ſo the King's Grace deſireth you often and ſpeedily to advertiſe me, by your Letters, having no doubt but that his Highneſs will ſee your travels, diligence, and pains in this behalf, ſo to be conſidered, as you ſhall have cauſe to think the ſame well employed and beſtowed.

And my Lord of *Bath*, as you do know well, becauſe Mr. *Pace*, at the time of the laſt Vacation, was ſent purpoſely from hence with Commiſſion and Inſtruction for that Matter; the King, and I, ſuppoſing that upon knowledg of this news, he being at *Milan*, would incontinently repair unto *Rome*; hath therefore made the foreſaid Commiſſions, and alſo this Letter to be directed unto you, jointly and ſeverally willing you, in ſuch ſubſtantial and diſcreet wiſe to proceed in that Matter, not forbearing any thing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his Grace, and my ſpecial Truſt, is in you: And thus moſt heartily fare you well. At my Mannor of *Hampton-Court*, the 4*th* day of *October*.

The reſt is the Cardinal's own Hand.

MY Lord of *Bath*, the King hath willed me to write unto you, That his Grace hath a marvellous Opinion of you; and you knowing his mind as you do, his Highneſs doubteth not but this Matter ſhall be by your Policy ſet forth in ſuch wiſe, as that the ſame may come to the deſired effect, not ſparing any reaſonable Offers, which is a thing, that amongſt ſo many needy Perſons is more regarded, than per-caſe the Qualities of the Perſon; ye be wiſe, and ye wot what I mean; truſt your ſelf beſt, and be not ſeduced by fair words, and ſpecially of thoſe which (ſay what they will) deſire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit, great dexterity is to be uſed; and the King thinketh that all the Imperials ſhall be clearly with you, if Faith be in the Emperor. The young Men, which for the moſt part being needy, will give good ears to fair Offers, which ſhall be undoubtedly performed; the King willeth you neither to ſpare his Authority, or his good Mony, or Subſtance. You may be aſſured, whatſoever you promiſe ſhall be performed; and our Lord ſend you good ſpeed.

Your loving Friend,

T. *Cardinalis Eborac.*

Number 49.

A Memorial given by the King's Majeſty, with the Advice of his Highneſs Council, to the Lord Ruſſel *Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord* Paget *of* Beaudeſert, *Sir* William Petre *Kt. and one of his Highneſs two Principal Secretaries, and Sir* John Maſon *Kt. his Majeſty's Secretary for the French Tongue; being ſent at this preſent in Commiſſion, to treat and conclude upon a Peace, with certain Commiſſioners ſent from the French King at this time for the ſame purpoſe.*

An Original.

EDWARD R.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* E. 1 FIrſt, As touching the Place of their Meeting, the ſame to be at *Calais* or *Bulloign*, if it may be ſo brought to paſs; otherwiſe to be at ſuch convenient Place, either within our Dominion, or the French; or ſometime in the one, and ſometime the other, as may be beſt agreed upon. In the appointing whereof, we would no Ceremony to be ſo much ſticked upon, as the ſame ſhould be any occaſion of hindrance to the good ſucceſs looked for at this meeting.

Secondly, If the French Commiſſioners ſhall require *Bulloign*, with the Members; and all ſuch Grounds and Lands as was of late conquered by our late Father, of moſt noble memory, to be reſtored to the French King, we be pleaſed our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall on our Name agree and aſſent thereunto; ſo as the ſaid French Commiſſioners do, and will likewiſe covenant and agree, in the Name of the ſaid French King, to any of our Requeſts hereafter enſuing.

Firſt, Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall demand, in recompence for *Bulloign*, and the Members and Grounds as aforeſaid, that the Treaties laſt made, between our ſaid Father of famous Memory, and the Realm of *Scotland*, may in all things be performed; and the Perſon of the Young *Scotch* Queen delivered to us, to the intent the Marriage between us and her may be performed. They ſhall alſo demand, that the Fortifications at *Newhaven* and *Blackneſs* may be utterly ruinated, and no Fortifications made from hence-forth at any of thoſe Places. They ſhall alſo require the continuance of paiment of our perpetual Penſion, and all the Debts due unto us, by force of any former Treaties, before the commencement of theſe laſt Wars. And this for the firſt degree, which if it may not be obtained, then for

The ſecond Degree, we be pleaſed to accept for a Recompence, if they will covenant for performance of the ſaid Treaties with *Scotland*, to deliver the Scotch Queen, and continue from henceforth the paiment of the perpetual Penſion.

But if that ſhall alſo be refuſed, then for the third Degree, our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall require the continuance of paiment of our Penſion, the Arrearages due by any former Treaties, between our ſaid Father and the late French King; and that the Forts of *Newhaven*, *Hambletue*, and *Blackneſs*, may be utterly ruinated, and no new Fortifications commenced at any of the ſaid Places hereafter.

And if this may not be obtained, then for the fourth and laſt Degree our Pleaſure is, That our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall require the continuance of paiment of our ſaid Penſion, and all ſuch Debts as were due unto our ſaid late Father before the commencement of his laſt Wars

In the debating and diſcourſing whereof, we will that our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall employ themſelves to their uttermoſt, to make as good and honourable a Bargain for us, and to attain all or as much of the Premiſes as they may; remembring unto the French Commiſſioners, our great Charges ſuſtained in theſe laſt Wars commenced by them, contrary to the former Treaties.

Touching the Place, Day, Time, and other Circumſtances to be uſed, as well in the delivery of *Bulloign*, the *Baſe Town*, the *Old Man*, the *Young Man*, with the Ground, Territories, and Members, to the ſaid Pieces, or any of them belonging; as alſo of paiment of ſuch Sums of Mony as ſhall be agreed upon for the ſame; Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall, by their good diſcretions, deviſe with the ſaid French Commiſſioners, all ſuch ways as they can or may think moſt for our Honour and Surety: And ſuch overtures or Diſcourſes as ſhall be made by the ſaid French Commiſſioners, touching the Premiſes, our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall advertiſe unto us or our Council.

And if any motion ſhall be made to have *Scotland* comprehended in this Peace, our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall ſay, That foraſmuch as the Scots be common Enemies to us and the Emperor, we may not aſſent to the comprehenſion of them, without the Emperor's conſent; or at the leaſt, without ſuch reſpect to our Treaties with the Emperor, and his Subjects, as the Amity between us requireth. And therefore if the Scots will covenant to ſtand to our Arbitrement and Judgment for all ſuch Matters as be in difference between the ſaid Emperor and them, we will be pleaſed that the Scots ſhall be comprehended; and one ſuch Article, or of like effect, made for comprehenſion of them, as was made at the concluſion of the leaſt Peace. And if the delivery, or razing of any Pieces, now by us poſſeſſed in *Scotland*, ſhall be required, we be pleaſed that our ſaid Commiſſioners travelling firſt by all ways and means they may, to induce the other Commiſſioners to aſſent, that all the ſaid Pieces, and the Lands by us now poſſeſſed, may remain to us, and our Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, ſhall nevertheleſs, if that may not be received, aſſent in the end, that *Borthwickcraig*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſs*, ſhall be reſtored upon a convenient Recompence in

Mony,

Money, ſo as the Forts of *Roxburgh* and *Haymouth*, with their Grounds adjoining, may be covenanted to remain to us and our Succeſſors for ever.

If the French Commiſſioners ſhall make any motion of Treaty for Marriage, between us and the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to the French King; our ſaid Commiſſioners excuſing the preſent talk thereof, in reſpect of our young Years, and for ſuch other Cauſes as they may think good, ſhall do all that they may to cut off that Talk: But if they ſhall be much preſſed therein, in reſpect of ſuch Overtures as have been made already, our Pleaſure is, that our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall, by general words, entertain the talk of that Matter; and thereof, and of ſuch other Matters as ſhall be proponed touching the ſame, advertiſe us or our Council.

In all the Treaty it muſt be remembred, to reſerve and have ſpecial regard to the preſervation of our Treaties with the Emperor, and other our Friends.

And if it ſhall ſeem expedient to our ſaid Commiſſioners, for the better expedition of our Affairs committed to their Charge, that a Surceance or Abſtinence of Wars be granted, as well on our behalf, as on the behalf of the French King, we be pleaſed that our Right truſty, and right well-beloved Couſin, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, our Lieutenant General of that ſide, ſhall, by the advice of our ſaid Commiſſioners, grant a Surceance or Abſtinence for ſuch time, and in ſuch manner and ſort, as by our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall be thought beſt, ſo as the like be alſo granted on the behalf of the ſaid French King.

Finally, Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall advertiſe us, our Council attendant about our Perſon, from time to time, of their Proceedings; and further do as we or our Council ſhall appoint them, either by our Letters, or the Letters of our ſaid Council accordingly.

T. Cant.
R. Rich Canc.
W. Saint John.
H. Dorſet.
W. Northampton.
J. Warwick.
Thomas Southampton.
Thom. Ely.
Cuth. Dureſm.
T. Cheyne.

T. Wentworth.
Anthony Wingfield.
W. Herbert.
T. Darcy.
N. Wotton.
J. Baker.
Edward North.
Edward Montague.
Richard Southwell.

Number

Number 50.

Articles deviſed by the King's Majeſty, with the Advice of his Highneſs Council, anſwering to certain Doubts moved in the Letters, bearing date the 27th of February *laſt paſt, ſent from his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, being on the other ſide the Seas, for the Treaty of Peace.*

An Original.

EDWARD, R.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* E. 1

FIrſt, If the French Deputies require to have *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to be rendred unto the Scots, we will that our Commiſſioners ſhall, by all the beſt means they can deviſe, induce them to agree, that the ſaid two places may and ſhall remain to Us: And in caſe the French will not ſo be perſuaded, but require ſtill to have them rendred, Our pleaſure is, That our Commiſſioners ſhall ſtand moſt ſtifly in the denial of it, ſo far forth, that they ſhall come to the breaking of that days talk, rather than to condeſcend unto it. And in caſe, that move not the French to relent of their Requeſt, our Commiſſioners ſhall afterwards ſend to the French Deputies to meet, or to talk again, and then they ſhall ſay, That rather than ſuch a good work of Peace ſhould fail, they will grant to the razing and abandoning of both the ſaid Pieces; with ſpecial Capitulation, that neither the Scots nor the French ſhall re-fortify, nor cauſe to be re-fortified, in neither of thoſe two Places; with the like Covenant for our part, if the French Deputies do require it.

Item. We are pleaſed, that the Reſervance of our Rights and Titles, mentioned in our former Articles ſent to our ſaid Commiſſioners, be in general words, ſo as ſeverally general reſervance be made, as well for our Rights and Titles as to *Scotland*, as for our Matters with *France*.

Item. We are pleaſed, that for ſuch Sums of Mony as ſhall be agreed upon to be paied unto Us for the delivery of *Bulloign*, Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall take Hoſtages of the French, according to Our former Articles ſent unto them in that behalf; the ſaid Hoſtages to remain there, till the whole and laſt Sum ſo agreed upon be fully anſwered unto Us. And likewiſe in caſe the French Deputies will ask Hoſtages for the ſure delivery of the Town of *Bulloign*, with the Members, Our ſaid Commiſſioners may agree to the aſſigning of ſuch Hoſtages as ſhall be thought ſufficient for the ſame; which Hoſtages nevertheleſs ſhall not be bound to remain or continue there any longer, than till the ſaid Town is delivered; but ſhall thereupon be ſuffered to return home at their Pleaſure.

Item. Upon the Concluſion between our Commiſſioners, and the French Deputies, for the delivery of *Bulloign*, our pleaſure is, That the term of the delivery of the ſame be appointed, as ſhort as may be conveniently, having conſiderance to a reaſonable reſpite for the removing and ſafe conveyance away of the Artillery, Munition, Armour, and Goods belonging to Us or our Subjects, either by Sea or by Land, as ſhall be thought moſt commodious: and that our Men, departing out of the Town in the Forenoon, the French ſhall abſtain from entry into it till at three or four hours after, for avoiding the inconveniences which may chance upon the coupling of our Men with the French.

Item. Foraſmuch as Our ſaid Commiſſioners being upon the Place, can better conſider any other thing not touched in the Premiſes, concerning the manner and faſhion of the delivery of *Bulloign*, or retire of our Men, Artillery, and other things, other than we can do here, we are pleaſed to remit that to their wiſdoms and diſcretions.

Item. As for *Alderney* and *Sark*, foraſmuch as both thoſe Places are Ours, reaſon would that the French ſhould raze their Fortifications at *Sark*, and the Fortifications at *Alderney*, being lawfully done by Us upon our own Ground, to remain at our Arbitrement. That in caſe the French Deputies ſhall make no mention, neither of the one, nor of the other, We are pleaſed that our Commiſſioners ſhall alſo paſs it over in ſilence; but if the French Deputies ſhall mention the ſame, and without the razing the Fortifications at *Alderney*, will not condeſcend to a Peace, We are pleaſed, our Commiſſioners ſhall conclude with them upon the razing and abandoning of the one and the other of the aforeſaid Fortifications; ſtanding firſt as much in denial of the French Deputies Demands herein, as they may.

T. Cant.
R. Rich, Chanc.
W. Wilts.
T. Wentworth.
A. Wingfield.
T. Darcy.
N. Wotton.
R. Sadler.

J. Warwick.
W. Northampton.
T. Ely.
T. Cheyne.
W. Herbert.
John Gage.
Edward North.

Number 51.

The King's Letters Patents to John a Laſco, *and the German Congregation.*

Rot.pat.4to Reg.part.5. EDwardus Sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, & in Terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ ſupremum ſub Chriſto Caput, omnibus ad quos preſentes literæ pervenerint ſalutem. Cum magnæ quædam & graves conſiderationes nos ad preſens ſpecialiter impulerunt, tum etiam cogitantes illud, quanto ſtudio & charitate Chriſtianos Principes in Sacroſanctum Dei Evangelium & Religionem Apoſtolicam ab ipſo Chriſto inchoatam, inſtitutam & traditam, animatos & propenſos eſſe conveniat, ſine qua haud dubie politia & civile Regnum nec conſiſtere diu, neq; nomen ſuum tueri poteſt,

niſi principes, cæteriq; præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad Regnorum gubernacula ſedere voluit, id in primis operam dent, ut per totum Reipub: Corpus, caſta ſinceraq; Religio diffundatur, & Eccleſia in vere Chriſtianis & Apoſtolicis opinionibus & ritibus inſtituta, atq; adulta per ſanctos ac carni & mundo mortuos miniſtros conſervetur: pro eo quod Chriſtiani Principis officium ſtatuimus, inter alias ſuas graviſſimas de Regno ſuo bene ſplendideq; adminiſtrando cogitationes, etiam Religioni & Religionis cauſa calamitate fractis & afflictis exulibus conſulere. Sciatis, quod non ſolum præmiſſa contemplantes & Eccleſiam a Papatus Tyrannide per nos vindicatam in priſtina libertate conſervare cupientes: verum etiam exulum ac peregrinorum conditionem miſerantes, qui jam bonis temporibus in Regno noſtro Angliæ commorati ſunt voluntario exilio, Religionis & Eccleſiæ cauſa mulctati: quia hoſpites & exteros homines propter Chriſti Evangelium ex Patria ſuâ profligatos & ejectos, & in Regnum noſtrum profugos, præſidiis ad vitam degendam neceſſariis in Regno noſtro egere, non dignum eſſe neq; Chriſtiano homine, neq; principis magnificentia duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum ſtatu reſtricta, clauſave eſſe debet. Ac quoniam multi Germanæ nationis homines, ac alii peregrini qui confluxerunt, & in dies ſingulos confluunt in Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, ex Germania & aliis remotioribus partibus, in quibus Papatus dominatur, Evangelii libertas labefactari & premi cæpta eſt, non habent certam ſedem & locum in Regno noſtro ubi conventus ſuos celebrare valeant, ubi inter ſuæ gentis & moderni idiomatis homines Religionis negotia & res Eccleſiaſticas pro Patriæ ritu & more intelligenter obire & tractare poſſint: idcirco de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, necnon de aviſamento Concilii noſtri volumus, concedimus & ordinamus quod de cætero ſit & erit unum templum, ſive ſacra ædes in Civitate noſtra Londinenſi, quod vel quæ vocabitur templum Domini Jeſu, ubi Congregatio & conventus Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum fieri & celebrari poſſit, ea intentione & propoſito, ut a Miniſtris Eccleſiæ Germanorum aliorumq; peregrinorum Sacroſancti Evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta Verbum Dei & Apoſtolicam obſervationem adminiſtratio fiat. Ac Templum illud, ſive Sacram ædem illam de uno Superintendente & quatuor verbi miniſtris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus & fundamus per præſentes. Et quod idem Superintendens & miniſtri in re & nomine ſint & erunt unum Corpus corporatum & politicum, de ſe per nomen Superintendentis & Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti in Civitate Londinenſi per præſentes incorporamus: ac corpus corporatum & politicum per idem nomen realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus & conſtituimus per præſentes: & quod ſucceſſionem habeant.

Et ulterius de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, necnon de aviſamento Concilii noſtri dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus & concedimus præfato Superintendenti & Miniſtris Eccleſiæ Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum in Civitate Londinenſi, totum illud templum ſive Eccleſiam nuperfratrum Auguſtinenſium in Civitate noſtra Londinenſi, ac totam terram, fundum & ſolum Eccleſiæ prædictæ, exceptis toto choro dictæ Eccleſiæ, terris fundo & ſolo ejuſdem habendum & gaudendum, dictum Templum ſive Eccleſiam ac cætera præmiſſa, exceptis præexceptis, præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris & Succeſſoribus ſuis, tenendum de nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris in puram & liberam elyemoſinam.

Damus ulterius de aviſamento prædicto, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris prædictis per præſentes concedimus, præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis plenam facultatem, poteſtatem & autoritatem ampliandi & majorem faciendi numerum miniſtrorum & nominandi & appunctuandi de tempore in tempus, tales & hujuſmodi ſubminiſtros, ad ſerviendum in Templo prædicto, quales præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris neceſſarium viſum fuerit. Et quidem hæc omnia juxta beneplacitum regium.

Volumus præterea quod Joannes a Laſco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem & innocentiam vitæ, ac morum & ſingularem eruditionem valde cælebris, ſit primus & modernus Superintendens dictæ Eccleſiæ, & quod Gualterus Deloenus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciſcus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, ſint quatuor primi & moderni Miniſtri. Damus præterea & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis facultatem, autoritatem & licentiam, poſt mortem vel vacationem alicujus Miniſtri prædictorum, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi & ſurrogandi alium, perſonam habilem & idoneam in locum ſuum; ita tamen quod perſona ſic nominatus & electus præſentetur & ſiſtatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel ſucceſſoribus noſtris, & per nos, hæredes vel ſucceſſores noſtros inſtituatur in Miniſterium prædictum.

Damus etiam & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis facultatem, autoritatem & licentiam, poſt mortem ſeu vacationem Superintendentis de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi & ſurrogandi alium, perſonam doctam & gravem in locum ſuum; ita tamen quod perſona ſic nominatus & electus præſentetur & ſiſtatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel ſucceſſoribus noſtris, & per nos, hæredes vel ſucceſſores noſtros inſtituatur in officium Superintendentis prædictum.

Mandamus & firmiter injungendum præcipimus, tam Majori, Vicecomitibus & Aldermanis Civitatis noſtræ Londinenſis & ſucceſſoribus ſuis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Juſticiariis, Officiariis & Miniſtris noſtris quibuſcunque, quod permittant præfatis, Superintendenti & Miniſtris, & ſua, ſuos libere & quiete frui, gaudere, uti, & exercere ritus & ceremonias ſuas proprias, & diſciplinam Eccleſiaſticam propriam & peculiarem, non obſtante quod non conveniant cum ritibus & cæremoniis in Regno noſtro uſitatis, abſq; impetitione, perturbatione, aut inquietatione eorum, vel eorum alicujus, aliquo ſtatuto, actu, proclamatione, injunctione, reſtrictione, ſeu uſu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis, ſeu promulgatis in contrarium non obſtantibus. Eo quod expreſſa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmiſſorum, ſive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis ſive conceſſionibus per nos præfatis Superintendenti, Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis ante hæc tempora factis, in præſentibus minime facta exiſtit, aut aliquo ſtatuto, actu, ordinatione, proviſione, ſive reſtrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis ſeu proviſis, aut aliqua alia re, cauſa vel materia quacunq; in aliquo non obſtante. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teſte

Meipſo, apud Leighes, viceſſimo quarto die Julii, Anno Regni noſtri, quarto, per Breve de privato Sigillo, & de datis prædicta Autoritate Parliamenti.

R. Southwell.

Un. Harrys.

Number 52.

Injunctions given in the Viſitation of the Reverend Father in God, Nicholas *Biſhop of* London, *for an Uniformity in his Dioceſs of* London, *in the 4th Year of our Soveraign Lord King* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of* England, *&c.*

London, *Anno Dom.* 1550.

First, That there be no reading of ſuch Injunctions as extolleth and ſetteth forth the Popiſh Maſs, Candles, Images, Chauntries; neither that there be uſed any Superaltaries, or Trentals of Communions. Reg. *Ridley.* Fol. 305.

Item. That no Miniſter do counterfeit the Popiſh Maſs, in kiſſing the Lord's Board; waſhing his Hands or Fingers after the Goſpel, or the receipt of the Holy Communion; ſhifting the Book from one place to another; laying down and licking the Chalice after the Communion; bleſſing his Eyes with the Sudarie thereof, or Patten, or croſſing his Head with the ſame, holding his Fore-fingers and Thumbs joined together toward the Temples of his Head, after the receiving of the Sacrament; breathing on the Bread, or Chalice; ſaying the *Agnus* before the Communion; ſhewing the Sacrament openly before the diſtribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the Sacrying Bell, or ſetting any Light upon the Lord's Board. And finally, That the Miniſter, in the time of the Holy Communion, do uſe only the Ceremonies and Geſtures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, ſo that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the Popiſh Maſs.

Item. That none be admitted to receive the Holy Communion, but ſuch as will, upon requeſt of the Curat, be ready, with meekneſs and reverence, to confeſs the Articles of the Creed.

Item. That none make a Mart of the Holy Communion, by buying and ſelling the Receipt thereof for Mony, as the Popiſh Maſs in times paſt was wont to be.

Item. Whereas in divers places, ſome uſe the Lord's Board after the form of a Table, and ſome of an Altar, whereby Diſſention is perceived to ariſe among the unlearned; therefore wiſhing a godly Unity to be obſerved in all our Dioceſs; and for that the form of a Table may more move and turn the ſimple from the old ſuperſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs, and to the right uſe of the Lord's Supper, We exhort the Curats, Church-wardens, and Queſtmen here preſent, to erect and ſet up the Lord's Board, after the form of an honeſt Table, decently covered, in ſuch place of the Quire or Chancel, as ſhall be thought moſt meet by their diſcretion and agreement, ſo that the Miniſters, with the Communicants, may have their place ſeparated from the reſt of the People: and to take down and aboliſh all other by-Altars or Tables.

Item. That the Miniſter, in the time of the Communion, immediately after the Offertory, ſhall moniſh the Communicants, ſaying theſe words, or ſuch-like, *Now is the time, if it pleaſe you to remember the poor Mens Cheſt with your charitable Almes.*

Item. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omiſſion of any part thereof.

Item. The Common Prayer be had in every Church upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, according to the King's Grace's Ordinance; and that all ſuch as conveniently may, ſhall diligently reſort to the ſame.

Item. That every Curat be diligent to teach the Catechiſm, whenſoever juſt occaſion is offered, upon the *Sunday* or Holy-day, and at leaſt every ſix weeks, once ſhall call upon his Pariſhioners, and preſent himſelf ready to inſtruct and examine the Youth of the ſame Pariſh, according to the Book of Service touching the ſame.

Item. That none maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the Six Articles, Bedrowls, Images, Reliques, Rubrick Primars, with Invocation of Saints, Juſtification of Man by his own Works, Holy Bread, Palms, Aſhes, Candles, Sepulchre Paſchal, creeping to the Croſs, hallowing of the Fire or Altar, or any other ſuch-like abuſes, and ſuperſtitions, now taken away by the King's Grace's moſt Godly Proceedings.

Item. That all Miniſters do move the People to often and worthy receiving of the Holy Communion.

Item. That every Miniſter do move his Pariſhioners to come diligently to the Church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the Sermon, Communion, or Divine Service-time, but rather at the ſame to behave themſelves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the Church; and that they alſo moniſh the Church-wardens to be diligent Overſeers in that behalf.

Item. That the Church-wardens do not permit any buying, ſelling, gaming, outragious noiſe or tumult, or any other idle occupying of Youth in the Church, Church-porch, or Church-yard, during the time of Common Prayer, Sermon, or reading of the Homily.

Item. That no Perſons uſe to miniſter the Sacraments, or in open audience of the Congregation, preſume to expound the Holy Scriptures, or to preach, before they be firſt lawfully called and authorized in that behalf.

God ſave the King.

Number 53.

Dr. Oglethorp's *Submiſſion and Profeſſion of his Faith.*

I Did never Preach or Teach openly any thing, contrary to the Doctrine and Religion ſet forth by the King's Majeſty, and authoriſed by his Grace's Laws, ſince the making and publiſhing of the ſame.

I ſuppoſe, and think his Grace's Proceedings (concerning Religion) to be good and godly, if they be uſed accordingly, as his Grace hath will'd they ſhould, by his Laws and Inſtructions.

And further, I ſuppoſe the Order and Form of Doctrine, and Religion, now ſet forth by his Grace, and uſed, in many things to be better and much nearer the uſage of the Apoſtolick and Primitive Church, than it was before-times: if it be uſed godly and reverently, accordingly as I think it to be meant by his Grace's Highneſs, and his moſt Honourable Council.

Namely, in theſe things, in prohibiting that none ſhould commune alone, in making the People whole Communers, or in ſuffering them to Commune under both kinds, in the Catechiſation of young Chaplains in the Rudiments of our Faith, in having the Common Prayer in Engliſh, in ſetting forth the Homilies, and many other things; which I think very good and Godly, if they be uſed as is aforeſaid.

The lately received Doctrine, concerning the Sacrament, and namely the Attribute of *Tranſubſtantiation,* I do not like, and I think it not conſonant to the Scriptures, and Ancient Writers; although I ſuppoſe that there is a certain and an ineffable preſence of Chriſt's Body there, which I can neither comprehend nor expreſs, becauſe it ſo far paſſes the compaſs and reach of my Wit and Reaſon; wherefore I think it ought to be both miniſtred and received with a godly and reverent fear, and not without great premeditation and examination aforeſaid, as well of the Miniſter, as of the Receiver. 1550.

Your Grace's poor well-willer, with his

Prayer and Service, as he is bound,

Owing Oglethorp.

Number

Number 54.

A Letter from Dr. Smith *to Arch-Biſhop* Cranmer.

An Original.

Right honourable, and my ſpecial good Lord.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.* I Commend me to your Grace moſt humbly, giving to the ſame thanks as I am bound, for your Grace's kindneſs toward my Sureties; for the which you have (and ſhall whiles I live) my good Word and Prayer. *Ignatii Epiſtolæ adhuc extant in Gymnaſio Magdalenæ.* If it might pleaſe your Lordſhip, I would very gladly ſee ſome part of your Collection againſt my Book, *De Cælibatu Sacerdotum*; which I wrote then to try the truth out, not to the intent it ſhould be printed, as it was, againſt my Will. Would God I had never made it, becauſe I took then for my chief Ground, That the Prieſts of *England* made a Vow when they were made, which now I perceive is not true.

My Lord, I received my *Cap-caſe*, &c. *Sed tribus nummorum meorum partibus ſublatis; Quod damnum æquo animo eſt ferendum, quod furti revinci non poſſit, qui abſtulit.* My Lord, I am glad that your Grace is reported both gentle and merciful, of all ſuch which have had to do with you for Religion of this Univerſity. For my part, if ever I may do your Graces baſeſt Servant any pleaſure, I will do it indeed. *Si aliter, atqui ſentio, loquor, diſpeream. Ignoſcat hæc Honoranda Dominatio tam diutinum ſilentium mihi, quippe quod crebrioribus literis poſthac penſabo. Deus optimus maximus tuam amplitudinem diu ſervet incolumem Chriſtianæ Pietati propagandæ ac provehendæ. Oxonii* 28.

Tibi addictiſſimus,

Richardus Smithæus.

Number 55.

Articles agreed upon by the Biſhops and other Learned Men, in the Convocation held at *London*, in the Year 1552. for the avoiding diverſities of Opinions, and ſtabliſhing Conſent touching true Religion.

Publiſhed by the King's Authority.

With Marginal Notes of the differences between theſe and thoſe ſet out by Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1562.

I. *Of Faith in the Holy Ghoſt.*

THere is but one living and true God everlaſting, without Body, Parts, or Paſſions; of infinite Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs; the Maker and Preſerver of all things both viſible and inviſible. And in the unity of this God-head, there are three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

II. *The Word of God made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin, of her Subſtance: So that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to ſay, the God-head and Manhood were join'd together in one Perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very Man; who truly ſuffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice, not only for Original Guilt, but alſo for Actual Sins of Men.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, *begotten from everlaſting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Subſtance with the Father:* took Man's Nature in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin, &c.

III. *Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.*

As Chriſt died for us, and was buried; ſo alſo is it to be believed that he went down into Hell: * *For his Body lay in the Grave till his Reſurrection, but his Soul being ſeparate from his Body, remained with the Spirits which were detained in Priſon, that is to ſay, in Hell, and there preached unto them*; as witneſſeth that place of *Peter.*

* Theſe words were left out.

IV. *The Reſurrection of Chriſt.*

Chriſt did truly riſe again from Death, and took again his Body, with Fleſh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth till he return to judg all Men at the laſt day.

Of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Subſtance, Majeſty, and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

V. *The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture is ſufficient to Salvation.*

Holy Scripture containeth all things neceſſary to Salvation, ſo that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man that it ſhould be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought neceſſary or requiſite to Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things neceſſary to Salvation; ſo that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *although ſometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful People as pious, and conducing unto order and decency*; yet is not to be required of any Man that it ſhould be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to Salvation.

In the name of the Holy Scripture we do underſtand thoſe Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament, of whoſe Authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to ſay, Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, 1*ſt of* Samuel, 2*d of* Samuel, &c. *And the other Books (as* Hierom *ſaith) the Church doth read for example of Life, and inſtruction of Manners, but yet doth it not apply them to eſtabliſh any Doctrine; ſuch are theſe following,* The 3d of *Eſdras*, the 4th of *Eſdras*, the Book of *Tobias*, the Book of *Judeth*, the reſt of the Book of *Heſter*, the Book of *Wiſdom*, &c. *All the Books of the New Teſtament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.*

VI. *The Old Teſtament is not to be rejected.*

The Old Teſtament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Foraſmuch as in the Old Teſtament as in the New, everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign, that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes.

Although the Law given from God by Moſes, *as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Common-wealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral.*

VII. *The three Creeds.*

The three Creeds, *Nice* Creed, *Athanaſius* Creed, and that which is commonly called the *Apoſtles* Creed, ought throughly to be received *; for they may be proved by moſt certain Warrants of the Holy Scripture.

*And believed.

VIII. *Original Sin.*

Original Sin ſtandeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk, * *and at this day is affirmed by the Anabaptiſts*) but it is the fault and corruption of every Man, that naturally is ingendred of the Off-ſpring of *Adam*, whereby Man is very far gone from

* Left out.

from Original Righteouſneſs, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; ſo that the Fleſh luſteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every Perſon born into this World it deſerveth God's Wrath and Damnation. And this Infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the luſt of the Fleſh, called in Greek φρόνημα σάρκος, which ſome do expound the Wiſdom, ſome Senſuality, ſome the Affection, ſome the deſire of the Fleſh, is not ſubject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apoſtle doth confeſs, that Concupiſcenſe and Luſt hath of it ſelf the nature of Sin.

IX. *Of Free-will.*

We have no power to do good Works pleaſant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us, when we have that good will.

The condition of Man after the Fall of Adam *is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf, by his own natural ſtrength and good Works, to Faith and calling upon God.* Wherefore we have no power to do good Works pleaſant and acceptable unto God, *&c.*

X. *Of Grace.*

The Grace of Chriſt, or the Holy Ghoſt which is given by him, doth take from Man the heart of Stone, and giveth him a heart of Fleſh. And though it rendereth us willing to do thoſe good Works, which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do thoſe evil Works, which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of Man; ſo that no Man when he hath ſinned can excuſe himſelf, as if he had ſinned againſt his will, or upon conſtraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accuſed or condemned upon that account.

XI. *Of the Juſtification of Man.*

Juſtification by Faith only in Jeſus Chriſt, in that ſenſe wherein it is ſet forth in the Homily of *Juſtification*, is the moſt certain and moſt wholeſome Doctrine for a Chriſtian Man.

We are accounted Righteous before God only, for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt by Faith, and not for our own Works or deſervings. Wherefore that we are juſtified by Faith, is a moſt wholeſome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expreſſed in the Homily of *Juſtification.*

XII. *Of Good Works.*

Albeit the Good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Juſtification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the ſeverity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleaſing and acceptable unto God in Chriſt, and do ſpring out neceſſarily of a true and lively Faith, inſomuch that by them, a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree diſcerned by the Fruit.

XII. *Works before Juſtification.*

Works done before the Grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſant to God, foraſmuch as they ſpring not of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt; neither do they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School Authors ſay) deſerve Grace of Congruity; yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of Sin.

XIII. *Works of Supererrogation.*

Voluntary Works beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of *Supererrogation*, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them Men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his ſake, than of bounden Duty is required; Whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, *When you have done all that are commanded to you, ſay, we are unprofitable Servants.*

XIV. *None but Chriſt without Sin.*

Chriſt in the truth of our Nature, was made like unto us in all things, (ſin only excepted) from which he was clearly void, both in his Fleſh and in his Spirit: He came to be a Lamb without ſpot, who by Sacrifice of himſelf once made, ſhould take away the Sins of the World; and Sin (as St. *John* ſaith) was not in him: But all we the reſt (although baptized and born in Chriſt) yet offend in many things; and if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the Truth is not in us.

XV. *Of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.*

Not every deadly Sin, willingly committed after Baptiſm, is Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denied to ſuch as fall into ſin after Baptiſm. After we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into ſin, and by the Grace of God (we may) ariſe again and amend our Lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which ſay, They can no more ſin as long as they live here, or deny *the* * *place of Penance* to ſuch as truly repent.

* Place of Forgiveneſs.

XVI. *The Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt.*

The Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt is then committed, when any Man, out of malice and hardneſs of heart, doth wilfully reproach and perſecute in an hoſtile manner, the Truth of God's Word, manifeſtly made known unto him. Which ſort of Men, being made obnoxious to the Curſe, ſubject themſelves to the moſt grievous of all wickedneſſes; from whence this kind of Sin is called unpardonable, and ſo affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

XVII. *Of Predeſtination and Election.*

Predeſtination unto Life, is the everlaſting Purpoſe of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret unto us, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen * out of Man-kind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting Salvation, as Veſſels made to Honour. Wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpoſe, by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon, they through Grace obey the Calling, they be juſtified freely, they are made Sons of † Adoption, they are made like the Image of || the only begotten Jeſus Chriſt; they walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length, by God's Mercy, they attain to everlaſting felicity.

* In Chriſt.
† God by.
|| *His.*

As the godly conſideration of Predeſtination and Election in Chriſt, is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable comfort to godly Perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the Works of the Fleſh, and their Earthly Members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly Things, as well becauſe it doth greatly eſtabliſh and confirm their Faith of eternal Salvation, to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So for curious and carnal Perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their eyes the ſentence of God's Predeſtination, is a moſt dangerous downfal, whereby the Devil doth thruſt them either into deſparation, or into wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living, no leſs perilous than deſparation.

Furthermore, * *though the Decrees of Predeſtination be unknown to us, yet* muſt we receive God's Promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

* Left out.

XVIII. *Everlaſting Salvation to be obtained only in the Name of Chriſt.*

They alſo are to be had accurſed, that preſume to ſay, That every Man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature: For Holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby Men muſt be ſaved.

XIX. *All Men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law.*

Although the Law given from God by *Moſes*, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Common-Wealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral. Wherefore they are not to be heard which teach, that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the *Weak*, and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend, that all whatſoever they preach is ſuggeſted to them, though manifeſtly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

XX. *Of the Church.*

The Viſible Church of Chriſt, is a Congregation of faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly miniſtred, according to Chriſt's Ordinance, in all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame.

As the Church of *Jeruſalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* have erred, ſo alſo the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their Livings, and manner of Ceremonies, but alſo in Matters of Faith.

XXI. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith. It is not lawful for the Church, *&c.*

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it ſo expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another; Wherefore although the Church be a Witneſs and Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſides the ſame ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed, for neceſſity of Salvation.

XXI. *Of the Authority of General Councils.*

General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes. And when they are gathered together, foraſmuch as they be an Aſſembly of Men, (whereof all be governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and ſometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them, as neceſſary to Salvation, have neither ſtrength nor authority, unleſs it may be declared, that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

XXIII. *Of Purgatory.*

The Doctrine of the School-men concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and alſo Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather *perniciouſly* repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIV. *No Man to miniſter in the Church except he be called.*

It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or miniſtring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and ſent to execute the ſame. And thoſe we ought to judg lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard.

XXV. *All things to be done in the Congregation in ſuch a Tongue as is underſtood by the People.*

It is moſt fit, *and moſt agreeable to the Word of God*, that nothing be read or rehearſed in the Congregation, in a Tongue not known unto the People; which *Paul* hath forbidden to be done, unleſs ſome be preſent to interpret.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the cuſtom of the *Primitive Church*, to have publick Prayers in the Church, or to miniſter the Sacraments in a Tongue not underſtood by the People.

XXVI. *Of the Sacraments.*

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt gathered his People into a Society, by Sacraments very few in number, moſt eaſie to be kept, and of moſt excellent ſignification; that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them: And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome effect or operation; not as ſome ſay, *Ex opere operato*, which terms, as they are ſtrange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, ſo do they yield a ſenſe which ſavoureth of little Piety, but of much Superſtition: but they that receive them unworthily, receive to themſelves damnation.

The Sacraments ordained by the word of God, be not only Badges or Tokens of Chriſtian Mens Profeſſion; but rather they be certain ſure Witneſſes, effectual ſigns of Grace, and God's good Will towards us, by the which he doth work inviſibly in us; and doth not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

Sacraments ordained of Chriſt, be not only Badges and Tokens of Chriſtian Mens Profeſſion, but rather they be certain ſure Witneſſes, and effectual ſigns of Grace, and God's good Will towards us, by the which he doth work inviſibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.

Thoſe five commonly called Sacraments, That is to ſay, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Orders*, *Matrimony*, and *Extream Unction*, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Goſpel, being ſuch as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apoſtles, partly are ſtates of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments, with Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchaſe to themſelves damnation, as St. *Paul* ſaith.

XXVII. *The Wickedneſs of the Miniſters takes not away the Efficacy of Divine Inſtitutions.*

Although in the Viſible Church, the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and ſometimes the Evil have chief Authority in the miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments; yet foraſmuch as they do not the ſame in their own Name, but in Chriſt's, and do miniſter by his Commiſſion and Authority, we may uſe their Miniſtry both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments: Neither is the effect of Chriſt's Ordinance taken away by their wickedneſs, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminiſhed from ſuch as by Faith rightly do receive the Sacrament, miniſtred unto them, which be effectual becauſe of Chriſt's Inſtitution and Promiſe, although they be miniſtred by evil Men.

* *Evil Miniſters.*

Nevertheleſs it appertaineth to the Diſcipline of the Church, that inquiry be made after * *them*, and that they be accuſed by thoſe that have knowledg of their Offences; and finally, being found guilty, by juſt judgment be depoſed.

XXVIII. *Of Baptiſm.*

Baptiſm is not only a ſign of Profeſſion, and mark of Difference, whereby Chriſtian Men are diſcerned from others that be not Chriſtned; but it is alſo a ſign of Regeneration, or New Birth, whereby, as by an Inſtrument, they that receive Baptiſm rightly, are grafted into the Church; the Promiſes of forgiveneſs of ſin, and of our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghoſt, are viſibly ſigned and ſealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increaſed, by virtue of Prayer unto God. * The Cuſtom of the Church for baptiſing young Children, is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the Church.

*—*The Baptiſm of young Children is in any wiſe to be retained in the Church, as moſt agreeable to the Inſtitution of Chriſt.*

XXIX. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

The Supper of the Lord, is not only a ſign of the Love that Chriſtians ought to have amongſt themſelves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Chriſt's Death: Inſomuch that to ſuch as rightly, worthily, and with Faith receive the ſame, the Bread which we break. is a partaking of the Body of Chriſt, and likewiſe the Cup of Bleſſing, is a partaking of the Blood of Chriſt.

Tranſubſtantiation (or the change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; * but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occaſion to many Superſtitions.

*——but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, *overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament*, and hath given occaſion to many Superſtitions.

The Body of Chriſt is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an Heavenly and Spiritual Manner, And the mean whereby the Body of Chriſt is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

Since the very Being of humane Nature doth require, that the Body of one and the ſame Man, cannot be at one and the ſame time in many places, but of neceſſity muſt be in ſome certain and determinate place; therefore the Body of Chriſt cannot be preſent in many different places at the ſame time. And ſince (as the Holy Scriptures teſtify) Chriſt hath been taken up into Heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the World; it becometh not any of the Faithful to believe or profeſs, that there is a Real or Corporeal preſence (as they phraſe it) of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Holy Euchariſt.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was not by Chriſt's Ordinance reſerved, carried about, lifted up, or worſhipped.

XXIX. *Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Chriſt in the Lord's Supper.*

The wicked, and ſuch as be void of a lively Faith, altho they do carnally and viſibly preſs with their Teeth (as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; yet in no wiſe are they partakers of Chriſt, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of ſo great a thing.

XXX. *Of both Kinds.*] The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: For both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament (by Chriſt's Ordinance and Commandment) ought not to be miniſtred to all Chriſtian People alike.

XXX. *Of the one Oblation of Chriſt finiſhed upon the Croſs.*

The Offering of Chriſt once made, is a perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for Sin but that alone: Wherefore the Sacrifices of Maſſes, in which it was commonly ſaid, That the Prieſts did offer Chriſt for the Quick and the Dead, to have remiſſion of Pain or Guilt, were * Fables, and dangerous Deceits.

**blaſphemous*

XXXI. *A ſingle Life is impoſed on none by the Word of God.*

Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the eſtate of a ſingle Life, or to abſtain from Marriage.

Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Chriſtian Men, to Marry at their own diſcretion, as they ſhall judg the ſame to ſerve better to Godlineſs.

XXXII. *Excommunicated Perſons are to be avoided.*

That Perſon which by open Denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and Excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and received into the Church, by a Judg that hath Authority thereunto.

XXXIII. *Of the Tradition of the Church.*

It is not neceſſary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diverſities of Countries, Times, and Mens Manners, ſo that nothing be ordained againſt God's Word. Whoſoever through his private judgment willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and reproved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth againſt the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and woundeth the Conſciences of the weak Brethren.

Every Particular or National Church hath Authority to ordain, change or aboliſh Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained onely by Man's Authority, ſo that all things be done to edifying.

XXXIV. *Of the Homilies.*

The *Homilies lately delivered* and commended to the Church of *England* by the King's Injunctions, do contain a godly and wholſome Doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all Men; and for that cauſe they are diligently, plainly, and diſtinctly to be read to the People.

The ſecond Book of Homilies, the ſeveral Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for the Times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were ſet forth in the time of *Edward* the *6th:* and therefore we judg them to be read in Churches by the Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the People.

The Names of the Homilies.

Of the Right Uſe of the Church. Of Repairing Churches. Againſt the Peril of Idolatry. Of Good Works, *&c.*

XXXV. *Of the Book of Common Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England.

The Book lately delivered to the Church of *England* by *the Authority of the King and Parliament*, containing the manner and form of publick Prayer, and the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, in the ſaid Church of *England*; as alſo the Book publiſhed by the ſame Authority for ordering Miniſters in the Church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of Doctrine, in nothing contrary, but agreeable to the wholſome Doctrine of the Goſpel, which they do very much promote and illuſtrate. And for that cauſe they are by all faithful Members of the Church of *England*, but chiefly of the Miniſters of the Word, with all thankfulneſs and readineſs of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the People of God.

The Book of Conſecration of Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, and ordering of Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, and confirmed at the ſame time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all things neceſſary to ſuch Conſecration and Ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of it ſelf is ſuperſtitious and ungodly; And therefore whoſoever are Conſecrated and Ordered according to the Rites of that Book, ſince the ſecond Year of the afore-named King *Edward*, unto this time, or hereafter ſhall be Conſecrated or Ordered, according to the ſame Rites, we decree all ſuch to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully Conſecrated and Ordered.

XXXVI. *Of the Civil Magiſtrates.*

The King of England *is after Chriſt*, the Supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England* and *Ireland.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England.*

The Civil Magiſtrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore is to be obeyed, not only for fear of Wrath, but for Conſcience-ſake.

Civil or Temporal Laws may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Chriſtian Men, at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to wear Weapons, and to ſerve in the Wars.

The Queens Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Caſes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any Forreign Juriſdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majeſty the chief Government by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous Folks to be offended: We give not to our Princeſs the Miniſtry, either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions lately ſet forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtifie; but that only Prerogative, which we ſee to have been given always to all godly Princes, in holy Scriptures by God himſelf; that is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates committed to their charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evil Doers.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England.*

The Laws *of this Realm* may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death, *&c.*

XXXVII. *The Goods of Chriſtians are not common.*

The Riches and Goods of Chriſtians are not common, as touching the Right, Title, and Poſſeſſion of the ſame, as certain *Anabaptiſts* do falſly boaſt. Notwithſtanding every Man ought, of ſuch things as he poſſeſſeth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor, according to his Ability.

XXXVIII. *It is lawful for a Chriſtian to take an Oath.*

As we confeſs that vain and raſh Swearing is forbidden Chriſtian Men, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and *James* his Apoſtle; ſo we judg that Chriſtian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a Man may ſwear when the Magiſtrate requireth, in a Cauſe of Faith and Charity, ſo it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in Juſtice, Judgment, and Truth.

These Articles were left out in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time.

XXXIX. *The Reſurrection of the Dead is not paſt already.*

The Reſurrection of the Dead is not paſt already, as if it belonged only to the Soul, which by the Grace of Chriſt is raiſed from the Death of Sin, but is to be expected by all Men in the laſt Day: for at that time (as the Scripture doth moſt apparently teſtify) the Dead ſhall be reſtored to their own Bodies, Fleſh and Bones, to the end that Man, according as either righteouſly or wickedly he hath paſſed this Life, may, according to his Works, receive Rewards or Puniſhments.

XL. *The Souls of Men deceaſed, do neither periſh with their Bodies.*

They who maintain that the Souls of Men deceaſed, do either ſleep, without any manner of ſenſe, to the Day of Judgment, or affirm that they die together with the Body, and ſhall be raiſed therewith at the laſt Day, do wholly differ from the Right Faith, and Orthodox Belief, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI. *Of the Millenarians.*

They who endeavour to revive the Fable of the *Millenarians*, are therein contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and caſt themſelves down headlong into Jewiſh Dotages.

XLII. *All Men not to be ſaved at laſt.*

They alſo deſerve to be condemned, who endeavour to reſtore that pernicious Opinion, That all Men (though never ſo ungodly) ſhall at laſt be ſaved; when for a certain time, appointed by the Divine Juſtice, they have endured puniſhment for their Sins committed.

Number 56.

Inſtructions given by the King's Highneſs, to his right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Francis *Earl of* Salop, *and Lord Preſident of his Grace's Council, reſident in the North Parts; and to all others hereafter named and appointed by his Highneſs to be of his ſaid Council, to be obſerved by the ſaid Counſellors, and every of them, according as the ſame hereafter is declared.*

Ex MS. Dr. *Johnſon.*

FIrſt, His Majeſty much deſiring the Quietneſs and good Governance of the People and Inhabitants in the North Parts of this Realm of *England*, and for the good, ſpeedy, and indifferent adminiſtration of Juſtice to be there had, betwixt Party and Party, intendeth to continue in the ſame North Parts, his Right Honourable Council, called, *The King's Majeſty's Council in the North Parts.* And his Highneſs knowing the approved Wiſdom and Experience of his ſaid Couſin, with his aſſured diſcretion and dexterity in the Execution of Juſtice, hath appointed him to be Lord Preſident of the ſaid Council; and by theſe Preſents doth give unto him the Name of Lord Preſident of the ſaid Council, with Power and Authority to call together all ſuch as be, or hereafter ſhall be, named and appointed to be of the ſaid Council at all times, when he ſhall think expedient: And otherwiſe by his Letters, to appoint them, and every of them, to do ſuch things for the Advancement of Juſtice, and for the repreſſion and puniſhment of Malefactors, as by the Advice of ſuch of the ſaid Council as then ſhall be preſent with him, he ſhall think meet, for the furtherance of his Grace's Affairs, and for the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice between his Highneſs Subjects.

And further, his Majeſty giveth unto the ſaid Lord Preſident, by theſe Preſents, a Voice Negative in all Councils, where things ſhall be debated at length for the bringing forth of a moſt perfect Truth or Sentence, which his Highneſs would have obſerved in all Caſes that may abide Adviſement and Conſultation, to the intent that doubtful Matters ſhould as well be maturely conſulted upon, as alſo that the ſame ſhould not paſs without the conſent and order of the ſaid Lord Preſident.

And his Highneſs willeth and commandeth, that all and every of the ſaid Councellors, named and to be named hereafter, ſhall exhibit and uſe to the ſaid Lord Preſident, all ſuch Honour, Reverend Behaviour, and Obedience, as to their Duty appertaineth; and ſhall receive and execute in like ſort, all the Precepts and Commandments to them, or any of them, for any Matter touching his Majeſty, to be addreſſed, or any Proceſs to be done or ſerved in his Grace's Name.

And his Highneſs Pleaſure is, That the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall have the keeping of his Graces Signet, therewith to Seal Letters, Proceſſes, and all ſuch other things as ſhall be thought convenient by the ſaid

Lord Preſident, or by two of the Council, being bound by thoſe Articles, to daily attendance upon the ſaid Lord Preſident, with his aſſent thereunto.

And to the intent the ſaid Lord Preſident thus eſtabliſhed, for the above-ſaid Purpoſes, may be furniſhed with ſuch Numbers and Aſſiſtants, as be of Wiſdom, Experience, Gravity, and Truth, meet to have the Name of his Grace's Councellors; his Majeſty, upon good adviſement and deliberation, hath elected thoſe Perſons, whoſe Names enſue hereafter, to be his Counſellors, joined in the ſaid Council in the North Parts, with the ſaid Lord Preſident; that is to ſay, The right Truſty and well-beloved Couſins, *Henry* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*; his right Truſty and well-beloved *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſme*; *William* Lord *Dacres* of the North; *John* Lord *Conyers*; *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*; *John Hind* Kt. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Common-Pleas; *Edmond Moleneux* Kt. Serjeant at Law; *Henry Savel* Kt. *Robert Bowes* Kt. *Nicholas Fairfax* Kt. *George Conyers* Kt. *Leonard Becquith* Kt. *William Babthorp* Kt. *Anthony Nevill* Kt. *Thomas Gargrave* Kt. *Robert Mennel* Serjeant at Law; *Anthony Bellaſis* Eſquire; *John Rockely* Doctor of Law; *Robert Chaloner*, *Richard Morton*, and *Thomas Eymis*, Eſquires.

And his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, doth appoint the ſaid *Thomas Eymis* to be Secretary to the ſaid Council, diligently and obediently to exerciſe the ſame Room as he ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Lord Preſident, or by two of the Council, whereof the one to be of the *Quorum*, with the aſſent of the Lord Preſident. And his Highneſs Pleaſure is, That the ſaid Lord Preſident, and two others of the ſaid Council, being of the *Quorum*, ſhall be ſworn Maſters of the *Chancery*, to the intent that every of them may take recogniſance in ſuch Caſes, as by the ſaid Lord Preſident, or by two of the ſaid Council, being of the *Quorum*, ſhall be thought convenient, and the Caſe ſo requiring. All which number of Councellors before ſpecified, as his Majeſty doubteth not but that they, and every of them, according to his Grace's expectation and truſt repoſed in them, will be, at all times, diligent and willing towards, and ready to do unto his Grace ſuch Service as they can deviſe or imagine may be beſt to his contentation, and to the diſcharge of their Duties towards his Highneſs, leaving apart all Reſpects and Affections in all Matters that may touch their nigheſt Kinſman, Friend, Servant, Tenant, or others, when the ſame ſhall come in queſtion before the ſame Lord Preſident and Council. So his Grace truſteth that every of the ſame will have ſuch regard to Malefactors as appertaineth, and to bring all ſuch unto the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, when they ſhall be thereunto appointed, or may otherwiſe do it of themſelves; informing the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council of their Offences, as the ſame ſhall happen, in place where they have Rule and Authority, within the limits of their Commiſſion.

And forſomuch as it ſhould be very chargeable to many of the ſaid Councellors, if they ſhould continually attend upon the ſaid Lord Preſident & Council, threfore his Highneſs, of his Grace's Goodneſs, minding to eaſe that Charge, and to inſtruct every of the ſaid Councellors how to demean themſelves for their Attendance; that is to wit, who ſhall be bound to continual Attendance upon the ſame Council, and who ſhall attend but at times moſt requiſite, at their pleaſures, unleſs the ſame Lord Preſident ſhall require them to remain for a time, for ſome weighty Affairs or Purpoſes; the which Requeſts in ſuch Caſes, every of them ſhall accompliſh. His Majeſty therefore ordaineth that his Couſins, the Earls of *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*; the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Conyers*, the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *John Hinde*, Sir *Edmond Molineux*, Sir *Henry Savell*, Sir *Nicholas Fairfax*, *George Conyers*, *Anthony Nevil*, Knights; *Robert Mennel* Serjeant at Law; *Anthony Bellaſis*, *John Rockbey* Doctor of Law, and *Richard Norton*, ſhall not be bound to continual Attendance, but to go and come at their pleaſures, unleſs they be required by the ſaid Lord Preſident to remain with him for a time, for ſome weighty and great Cauſes which then they ſhall accompliſh.

And further, his Grace's Pleaſure is, that they ſhall be preſent at ſuch of the general Sittings as ſhall be kept near unto their dwelling Places, and at other Sittings and Places, where they ſhall be commanded by the ſaid L. Preſident, all Excuſes ſet apart as appertaineth. And becauſe it ſhall be convenient that a Number ſhall be continually abiding with the ſaid L. Preſident, with whom he may conſult and commit the Charge and Hearing of ſuch Matters as ſhall be exhibited unto him for the more expedition of the ſame, his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, doth ordain, that Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir *William Babthorp*, Sir *Leonard Becquith*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Knights; *Robert Chaloner*, and *Thomas Eymis* Secretary, Eſquires, ſhall give their continual attendance on the ſaid Lord Preſident, or at the leaſt two of them; and that none of them, appointed to continual Attendance on the ſaid Lord Preſident, ſhall depart at any time from him, without his ſpecial Licenſe, and the ſame not to exceed above ſix weeks at one ſeaſon.

And his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, for the better entertainment of the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council of both ſorts, when they are, or any of them ſhall be preſent, doth give a yearly Stipend of 1000 *l.* by the Year to the ſaid Lord Preſident, towards the Furniture of the Diet of himſelf and the reſt of the ſaid Councellors, with ſuch number of Servants as hereafter ſhall be appointed and allowed to every of them; that is to wit, every Knight, being bound to continual Attendance, four Servants; and every Eſquire, being bound to like Attendance, three Servants. And his Highneſs ordaineth every of the ſaid Councellors, to ſit with the ſaid Lord Preſident at his Table, or in ſome other place in his Houſe, to be by him conveniently prepared for their Degrees and Behaviours; and their Servants allowed, as is before-ſaid, to have Sitting and Diet in the ſaid Lord Preſident's Hall, or in ſome other convenient place in his Houſe.

And further, his Highneſs, of his meer Goodneſs, and great Benignity, for the better entreatment, as well of ſuch of the ſaid Council as be not well able to forbear their own Affairs, and attend upon the ſaid Council, without further help for the charge of the Houſe-meat and Lodgings, when they ſhall attend in Council to ſerve his Highneſs. As for ſuch others that might better themſelves with their Learning and Policies, if they were not detained there about his Grace's Affairs, doth by theſe Preſents limit and appoint, to divers of the aforeſaid Councellors hereafter named, certain particular Fees, as enſueth; that is to ſay, To Sir *Robert Bowes* Kt. in reſpect of his Attendance, and towards his Horſe-meat and other Charges, an hundred Merks yearly; to Sir *William Babthorp* Kt. for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to Sir *Leonard Becquith*, for the like cauſes, an 100 Merks yearly; to Sir *Thomas Gargrave* Kt. for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to *Robert Chaloner* Eſquire, for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to *Richard Norton* Eſq; for his Fee, 40 *l.* to *Thomas Eymis* Secretary, for the like yearly Fee, 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And further, his Grace doth appoint one Meſſenger to ſerve the ſaid Council, who ſhall give continual attendance upon the ſaid Lord Preſident, and have his Meat, Drink, and Lodging, in the ſaid Lord Preſidents Houſe, and to have yearly for his Fee, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* And further, his Grace's pleaſure is, That the ſaid 1000 *l.* for the Lord Preſident, and all the ſaid other Fees, ſhall be paid yearly at the Feaſts of the Annunciation of our *Lady*, and St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, by even Portions, of the Revenues of his Graces Lands in thoſe parts; and that for that purpoſe an Aſſignment and Warrant to be made to the Receiver General of his Grace's Revenues there.

And to furniſh the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council in all things with Authority ſufficient to execute Juſtice, as well in Cauſes Criminal, as in Matters of Controverſy between Party and Party, his Majeſty hath commanded and appointed two Commiſſions to be made out, under his Grace's Great Seal of *England*, by virtue whereof they ſhall have full Power and Authority in either Caſe, to proceed as the Matter occurrent ſhall require.

And for the more ſpeedy expedition to be uſed in all cauſes of Juſtice, his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, ſhall cauſe every Complainant and Defendant that ſhall have to do before them, to put and declare their whole Matter in their Bill of Complaint and Anſwer, without Replication, Rejoinder, or other Plea or Delay to be had or uſed therein; which Order the ſaid L. Preſident and Council ſhall manifeſt unto all ſuch as ſhall be Councellors in any Matter to be intreated and defined before them; charging and commanding the ſaid Councellors and Pleaders to obſerve this Order upon ſuch Penalties as they ſhall think convenient, as they will eſchew the danger of the ſame; and not in any ways to break it, without the ſpecial Licenſe of the ſaid Lord Preſident, and that only in ſome ſpecial Cauſes.

And further, his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, doth give full Power and Authority to the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, as well to puniſh ſuch Perſons as in any thing ſhall neglect, contemn, or diſobey their Commandments, or the Proceſs of the Council, as all other that ſhall ſpeak ſeditious Words, invent Rumors, or commit ſuch-like Offences, (not being Treaſon) whereof any Inconvenience might grow, by Pillory, cutting their Ears, wearing of Papers, Impriſonment, or otherwiſe at their Diſcretions. And the ſaid L. Preſident and Council, at their diſcretions, ſhall appoint Counſellors, and other Requiſites, to poor Suitors having no Mony, without paying Fees or other things for the ſame. And his Highneſs giveth full Power and Authority to the ſaid L. Preſident & Council being with him, or four of them at the leaſt; whereof the ſaid L. Preſident, Sir *John Hind*, Sir *Edmond Molineux*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir *Leonard Becquith*, Sir *Anthony Nevill*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Knights; *Robert Mennell*, and *Robert Chaloner*, to be two with the Lord Preſident, to aſſeſs Fines of all Perſons that ſhall be convict or indicted of any Riot, how many ſoever they be in number, unleſs the Matter of ſuch Riot ſhall be thought unto them of ſuch importance, as the ſame ſhall be meet to be ſignified unto his Majeſty, to be puniſhed in ſuch ſort, by the Order of his Council attending upon his Grace's Perſon, as the ſame may be noted for an Example to others. And his Grace giveth full Power and Authority to the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, or four of them at the leaſt, whereof the Lord Preſident and two others bound to continual Attendance; to be three to Award and Aſſeſs Coſts and Dammages, as well to the Plaintiffs as to the Defendants, by their diſcretions, and to award execution of their Decrees and Orders; and to puniſh the breakers of the ſame, being Parties thereunto, by their diſcretions: All which Decrees and Orders, the Secretary ſhall be bound incontinently, upon the promulgation of the ſame, to write, or cauſe to be written, in one fair Book, which ſhall remain in the hands and cuſtody of the ſaid Lord Preſident.

And to the intent it may appear to all Perſons there, what Fees ſhall be paid and taken for all Proceſſes and Writings to be uſed by the ſaid Council, his Majeſty therefore appointeth, that there ſhall be a Table affixed in every place where the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall ſit, at any Seſſions; and a like Table to hang openly, that all Men may ſee it, in the Office where the ſaid Secretary and the Clerks ſhall commonly ſit and expedite the ſaid Writings; wherein ſhall be declared what ſhall be paid for the ſame. That is to ſay, For every Recogniſance, wherein one alone or more ſtandeth bounden: 12 *d.* For the cancelling of every like Recogniſance, 12 *d.* For the entring of every Decree, 6 *d.* for the Copy of the ſame if it be asked, 6 *d.* For every Letter, Commiſſion, Attachment, or other Precept or Proceſs ſent to any Perſon, 4 *d.* For every Diſmiſſion before the ſaid Council (if it be asked) 4 *d.* For the Copies of Bills, and Anſwers, and other Pleas, for every ten lines, reaſonably writ, 1 *d.* for the Examination of every Witneſs, 4 *d.* And his Grace's Pleaſure is, That the Examination of Witneſſes, produced in Matters before the ſaid Council, ſhall be examined by ſuch diſcreet Perſon and Perſons, as ſhall be thought convenient and meet by the ſaid Lord Preſident, and two of the ſaid Council, bound to continual Attendance; and that the ſaid Lord Preſident, with ſuch-like two of the ſaid Council, ſhall reform, appoint, and allow ſuch Perſons to write Bills, Anſwers, Copies, or other Proceſs in that Court, as they ſhall think convenient, over and beſide the ſaid Secretary and his two Clerks; which Clerks alſo, the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall reform and correct, as they ſhall have cauſe and occaſion. In which Reformation and Appointments, the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall have a Voice Negative.

And for the more certain and brief determination of Matters in thoſe parts, his Majeſty, by theſe Preſents, ordaineth, that the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall keep four general Sittings or Seſſions in the Year, every of them to continue by the ſpace of one whole Month; whereof one to be at *York*; another at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*; one at *New-Caſtle*; and another at *Dureſme*; within the limits whereof, the Matters riſing there ſhall be ordered and decreed, if they conveniently ſo may be. And they ſhall, in every of the ſame Places, keep one Goal Delivery; before their departure from thence, his Grace nevertheleſs referring it to their Diſcretions, to take and appoint ſuch other Place and Places for their ſaid four general Sittings, as they, or the ſaid Lord Preſident, with three of the Council, bounden to continual Attendance, ſhall think moſt convenient for the time and purpoſe; ſo that they keep the full term of one Month in every ſuch place, if they may in any wiſe conveniently ſo do.

And forſomuch as a great number of his Majeſty's Tenants and Farmers have been heretofore retained, with ſundry Perſons by Wages, Livery, Badg, or Connyſance; by reaſon whereof, when his Grace ſhould have had ſervice of them, they were rather at Commandment of other Men, than (according to their Duties of Allegiance) of his Highneſs of whom they have their Livings; his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and expreſs Commandment is, That none of his ſaid Council, nor others, ſhall by any means retain or entertain any of his Graces Tenants, or Farmers in ſuch ſort, as they, or any of them, ſhould account themſelves bounden to do him or them any other Service, than as to his Highneſs Officers, having Office, or being appointed in Service there: unleſs the ſame Farmers and Tenants be continually attendant in the Houſe of him that ſhall retain them. And the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, ſhall, in every their General Sittings, give ſpecial notice and charge, That no Nobleman, nor other, ſhall retain any of the ſaid Tenants and Farmers, otherwiſe than is aforeſaid. Charging alſo the ſaid Farmers and Tenants, upon pain of the forfeiture of their Farms and Holds, and incurring of his Majeſty's further Diſpleaſure and Indignation, in no wiſe to agree to any ſuch Retainers, other than is beforeſaid, but wholly to depend upon his Highneſs, and upon ſuch as his Highneſs hath, or ſhall appoint to be Officers, Rulers, or Directors over them.

And his Grace's Pleaſure further is, That in every ſuch Sitting, and in all other Places where the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall have any notable Aſſemblies before them, they ſhall give ſtrait Charge and Commandment to the People, to conform themſelves in all things to the obſervation of ſuch Laws, Ordinances, and Determinations, as be made, paſſed, and agreed upon by his Grace's Parliament touching Religion, and the moſt Godly Service, ſet forth in their own Mother Tongue, for their Comforts: And likewiſe to the Laws touching the aboliſhing of the uſurped and pretended Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe Abuſes they ſhall ſo beat into their Heads, by continual inculcation, as they may ſmell and underſtand the ſame; and may perceive the ſame to be declared with their Hearts, and not with their Tongues only for a form.

And likewiſe they ſhall declare the Order and Determination taken and agreed upon, for the Abrogation of certain vain Holy Days, being appointed by the Biſhop of *Rome* to blind the World; and to perſuade the ſame, that they might make Saints at their pleaſures; and thereby, through idleneſs, do give occaſion of the increaſe of many and great Vices and Inconveniences: which Points his Majeſty doth earneſtly require, and ſtraitly commmand, the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, to ſet forth with all dexterity, and to puniſh extreamly, for example, all Offenders in the ſame.

And his Majeſty willeth the ſaid Council, as he doubteth not but they will moſt earneſtly ſet forth all ſuch other Things and Matters, as for the confirmation of the People in thoſe Matters, and other the King's Majeſty's Proceedings, and things convenient to be remembred, be, or ſhall be ſet forth or deviſed, and ſent unto them for that purpoſe.

Further, his Highneſs Pleaſure is, That the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall, from time to time, make diligent inquiſition of the wrongful taking in and incloſing of Commons, and other Grounds, and who be extream therein; and in taking and exacting of unreaſonable Fines and Greſſomes, and overing or raiſing of Rents; and to call the Parties that have ſo evil uſed themſelves therein before them; and leaving all Reſpects and Affections apart, they ſhall take ſuch order for the Redreſſes of Enormities uſed in the ſame, as the poor People be not oppreſſed; but that they may live after their Sorts and Qualities.

And if it ſhall chance that the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall vary in Opinion, either in the Law, or for any Order to be taken in any Matter or Fact before them, if the caſe be of very great Weight and Importance, then the Opinion of the greater, or more part of the number of Counſellors appointed to give continual attendance, ſhall take place, and determine the Doubt; and if they be of like like number of Counſellors, bounden to continual Attendance, then that Party whereunto the Lord Preſident ſhall give his Aſſent, ſhall be followed and take place. And if the Caſe and Matter be of great Importance, and the Queſtion of the Law, then the Lord Preſident and Council ſhall ſignify the Caſe and Matter to the Judges at *Weſtminſter*, who ſhall, with diligence, advertiſe them again of their Opinions therein. And if the Matter be of great Importance, and an Order to be taken upon the Fact, then the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, attendant upon his Perſon upon the ſame, whereupon they ſhall have knowledg again how to uſe themſelves in that behalf.

And the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall take ſpecial regard, upon complaint of Spoil, Extortions, or Oppreſſions, to examine the ſame ſpeedily, that the Party grieved may have due and undelayed Remedy and Reſtitution. And for want of Ability in the Offenders thereunto, they to be puniſhed to the Example of others. And if any Man, of what degree ſoever he be, ſhall, upon a good, lawful, and reaſonable Cauſe or Matter, and ſo appearing to the Lord Preſident and Council, by Information, or otherwiſe, demand Surety of Peace or Juſtice againſt any great Lord or Nobleman of that Country, the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall, in that caſe, grant the Petition of the pooreſt Man, againſt the richeſt or greateſt Lord, being of the Council or no, as they ſhould grant the ſame (being lawfully asked) againſt Men of the meaneſt ſort, degree, and behaviour.

And foraſmuch as it may chance, the ſaid Lord Preſident to be ſometime diſeaſed, that he ſhall not be able to travel, for the direction of ſuch Matters as then ſhall occur; or to be called to the Parliament, or other-

wiſe

wiſe to be imploied in the King's Majeſty's Affairs, or about other Buſineſs, for good Reformation or Order within his Rule, or for other reaſonable cauſe by his diſcretion; To the intent therefore that the ſaid Council may be and remain ever full and perfect, and that they may be at all times in the ſame, one Perſon to direct and uſe all things in ſuch and the ſame order, ſort, and form, as the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhould and might do, by virtue of the afore-ſaid's Commiſſions, and theſe Inſtructions, his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That when the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall be ſo diſeaſed, abſent, or letted, as is before-ſaid, that he cannot conveniently ſupply his room himſelf, that then he ſhall name and appoint one of the ſaid Commiſſioners, being appointed, to give continual attendance to ſupply his Room for that ſeaſon, during his ſaid Diſeaſe, Abſence, or Lett; and ſhall deliver the Signet to the Perſon ſo appointed to keep, during the ſame time. And the King's Highneſs, during the ſame time, giveth unto the ſaid Perſon ſo appointed, the Name of Vice-Preſident; which Name nevertheleſs he ſhall no longer continue, than during the time that the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall ſo be ſick, abſent, or letted, as is before-ſaid. And his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That for the time only, that any of the ſaid Council, as is before-ſaid, ſhall occupy the ſaid Room and Place as a Vice-Preſident, that all the reſt of the Council ſhall in all things uſe him in like ſort, and with like reverence, as they be bound by thoſe Injunctions to uſe the Lord Preſident himſelf; whereunto his Grace doubteth not but every of them will conform themſelves accordingly.

And further, his Majeſty by theſe Preſents giveth full Power and Authority to the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, That when the Condition of any Recogniſance taken before them ſhall be fulfilled, they ſhall in open Court cauſe the ſame to be cancelled for the diſcharge of the Parties: Provided that no Recogniſance be in any wiſe cancelled but before the Lord Preſident, or Vice-Preſident, and three others at the leaſt, ſitting in open Court with him.

And further, his Highneſs ordaineth, That no Attorney ſhall take, in one Sitting or Seſſions, for one Matter, above 12 *d.* nor no Counſellor above 20 *d.*

The reſt are wanting.

Number

Number 57.

The Memorial of the Charge committed by the King's Majeſty to Sir Richard Moriſon *Kt. his Majeſty's Ambaſſador with the Emperor, the 24th of* September.

An Original.

FIrſt, You Sir *Richard Moriſon* ſhall, with all diligence, procure Audience of our good Brother the Emperor; and at your acceſs to him, deliver our Letters of Credence herewith ſent to you, with our moſt hearty Commendations, and earneſt Declaration, That we be moſt glad to have underſtanding of his good Eſtate and Health. After the ſame Delivery and Salutation, you ſhall further ſay, That We underſtanding his good and honourable Advancement towards his *Low Countries*, to the great comfort of the ſame. And having alſo the ſame love and good-will towards the proſperous ſucceſs of his ſaid Countries, that our late Father, and our other Progenitors have had theſe many Years paſſed, have willed you expreſly in our Names, to congratulate this his coming thitherward, and to ſhew him, that the good Succeſs which We wiſh to him, and his Affairs and Enterpriſes, is as much as We would to our Selves, and our own Countries and Patrimonies. *Galba.*B.12.

Item. When you ſhall have opened thus much, with as good words as you may deviſe, ye ſhall begin to deſcend to this that followeth, uſing therein your earneſtneſs and frankneſs, as ye ſhall ſee by the former ſayings, occaſion given to you by our ſaid Brother's Acceptation thereof, either by his good Words, or other behaviour in his Geſture. Ye ſhall ſay, that where we have lately underſtood of the great Murders, Spoils, and Cruelties done and committed, both in *Hungary*, and upon the Coaſts of *Naples*, and in other parts of *Italy*, by the Turks, the old common Enemy, to the Name and Religion of all Chriſtianity. Likeas We cannot but from our very Heart lament the ſame, ſo We will, for our part, as may be thought expedient for the well-publick of Chriſtendom, ſhew our ſelf willing to accord with our ſaid good Brother, and other Chriſtian Princes and States, for the repulſe of the ſaid Turk. And if any ſuch good means may, by the great Wiſdom and policy of our ſaid good Brother the Emperor, be thought good and deviſed, to bring the ſame to ſome good purpoſe and effect; We for our part will ſhew our Self ſo ready and well-willing thereto, as our ſaid good Brother ſhall well perceive, that We have not only that Zeal to the Conſervation and Surety of Chriſtendom, which in a Chriſtian Prince is duly required; but alſo ſuch conſideration and regard to our ſaid good Brother, and our ancient Amity with the Houſe of *Burgundy*, as to Honour and Reaſon appertaineth.

Thus much being declared in ſuch good ſort, as you ſhall ſee occaſion doth require; We would that you ſhould ſtay and pauſe awhile, as it were, looking for ſome anſwer to be made hereto by our ſaid good

Brother; and if you ſhall perceive he taketh it in thankful part, then may you entertain the Talk modeſtly, with ſuch good words as may ſeem to your wiſdom beſt to confirm our good Affection to the continuance of the Amity, and our great Offence and Grief, with the entry of the Turks in Chriſtendom.

And if you ſhall perceive that the Emperor doth in ſo good part receive this our Overture, that he ſhall ſhew himſelf willing to enter any further Talk, or deviſe for the further proceeding in the ſame, you may, as of your ſelf, ſhew your readineſs and good-will to do all that you any ways well may, as a good Miniſter, for the bringing this Purpoſe to ſome profitable effect; which you may ſay, in your own Opinion, ſhall the better take good entry and ſucceſs, if by ſome ſpecial Man to be ſent hither, We might underſtand more fully Our ſaid good Brother's Mind in this Matter.

Item. If ye ſhall perceive that the Emperor doth not regard this Overture, either in not liking the Matter it ſelf, or not ſo regarding our Amity as Reaſon would, and as it is on our part offered, then may you uſe your ſelf, more coldly, and diminiſh the declaration of Our earneſtneſs, in like ſort as Our ſaid Brother ſheweth himſelf; and conclude, that thus having done the Meſſage committed to your Charge, you will leave the conſideration hereof to him as he ſhall think good.

And if in the opening of the Premiſes, Our ſaid Brother ſhall make any mention or interpretation againſt the French King, referring the Turks Invaſions to the ſaid French King as ſome occaſion thereof; and ſo ſhall demand directly or indirectly, whether this our Overture be meant to extend againſt the French King, or any others of Chriſtian Name that ſhall join in League or Amity with the ſaid Turks. You may thereto ſay, That you had no more in charge preſently than ye have ſaid; and therefore for further opening of our Mind therein, you think the ſame might be beſt had here.

And if at any time of this your Talk, our ſaid Brother ſhall gather occaſion to ask you, What We will do for giving Aid againſt theſe Invaſions made by the French King upon the *Low Countries?* You may anſwer, you have nothing to ſay therein, but that you think the Anſwer that was declared to his Ambaſſador here reſident upon the Letters ſent to Us from our good Siſter the Queen of *Hungary*, hath both been ſignified to him long before his time; and alſo as ye truſt in reaſon contented Her. And in this Point, although ye know what was anſwered, yet would we not ye ſhould enter into the diſpute thereof, meaning in this and the reſt of things to be treated with our ſaid Brother, that ye would rather procure the ſending of ſome ſpecial Man hither, than to treat any thing by his Ambaſſador here, who hitherto hath not appeared the fitteſt Man to encreaſe or enlarge the Amity betwixt Us and our ſaid Brother.

Finally, Our Pleaſure is, That you ſhall, in the execution of this preſent Charge, wholly extend your good Policy and Wiſdom, to mark and well-adviſe all ſuch words of moment, as the Emperor ſhall utter to you in this Talk, by what Order, Behaviour, Geſture, or other paſſion of Joy or Grief the ſame ſhall be ſpoken, ſo as We may ſimply, plainly, and very orderly have the true Declaration thereof from you; wherein We deſire ſo expreſs and ſpecial a report of this Matter, as upon the ſame We may better conceive what ſhall be expedient, to be further done in this and other our weighty Affairs.

Wincheſter.
Northumberland.
J. Bedford.
F. Huntingdon.
E. Clinton.

W. Northampton.
J. Cobham.
T. Darcy.
Richard Cotton.
John Gate.

Number 58.

A Letter written by *B. Ridley*, ſetting out the Sins of that Time.

To his Well-beloved, the Preachers within the Dioceſs of London.

Regiſt. *Ridl.* Fol. 239.

AFter hearty Commendations, having regard, eſpecially at this time, to the Wrath of God, who hath plagued us diverſly, and now with extream puniſhment of ſudden Death poured upon us, for Cauſes certain, known unto his high and ſecret Judgment, and as may ſeem unto Man for our wicked living; daily encreaſing unto ſuch ſort, that not only in our Converſations the Fear of God is, alas, far gone from before our Eyes, but alſo the World is grown into that uncharitableneſs, that one, as it appeareth plainly, goeth about to devour another; moved with inſatiable Covetouſneſs, both contrary to God's Word and Will, and to the extream peril and damnation of Chriſt's Flock, bought ſo dearly with his precious Blood, and to the utter deſtruction of this whole Common Wealth, except God's Anger be ſhortly appeaſed: wherein, as according to my bounden Duty I ſhall, God willing, in my own Perſon be diligent and labour; ſo I exhort and require you, firſt in God's Name, and by authority of him committed unto me in that behalf, and alſo in the King's Majeſty's Name, from whom I have Authority and ſpecial Commandment thus to do, That as you are called to be ſetters forth of God's Word, and to expreſs in your livings the ſame, ſo now in your Exhortations and Sermons, you do moſt wholſomely and earneſtly tell unto Men their Sins, *Juxta illud annuncia populo meo ſcelera eorum*, with God's puniſhments lately poured upon us for the ſame, now before our Eyes: and ſpecially to beat down and deſtroy, with all your Power and Wit, that greedy and devouring Serpent of Covetouſneſs, that doth ſo now univerſally reign: calling upon God for Repentance, and provoking to Common Prayer, and amendment of life, with moſt earneſt Petitions, that hereby God's Hands may be ſtaied, the World amended, and obedience of Subjects, and faithfulneſs of Miniſters declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to fare. From *London*, *July* 25. 1551.

Yours in Chriſt, *Nic. London.*

Number

Number 59.

Biſhop Ridley*'s Letter to the Protector, concerning the Viſitation of the Univerſity of* Cambridg.

Right Honourable,

I Wiſh your Grace the holy and wholſome Fear of God, becauſe I am perſuaded your Grace's Goodneſs to be ſuch unfeignedly, that even wherein your Grace's Letters doth ſore blame me, yet in the ſame the advertiſement of the Truth ſhall not diſpleaſe your Grace; and alſo perceiving that the cauſe of your Grace's diſcontentation was wrong Information, therefore I ſhall beſeech your Grace to give me leave to ſhew your Grace, wherein it appeareth to me that your Grace is wrong informed.

Your Grace's Letters blameth me, becauſe I did not (at the firſt, before the Viſitation began, having knowledg of the Matter) ſhew my Mind; the Truth is, Before God, I never had, nor could get any fore-knowledg of the Matter, of the uniting of the two Colleges, before we had begun, and had entred two days in the Viſitation, and that your Grace may plainly thus well perceive.

A little before *Eaſter*, I being at *Rocheſter*, received Letters from Mr. Secretary *Smith*, and the Dean of *Pauls*, to come to the Viſitation of the Univerſity, and to make a Sermon at the beginning thereof; whereupon I ſent immediately a Servant up to *London*, to the Dean of *Pauls*, deſiring of him to have had ſome knowledg of things there to be done, becauſe I thought it meet that my Sermon ſhould ſomewhat have ſavoured of the ſame.

From Mr. *Dean* I received a Letter, inſtructing me only, That the cauſe of the Viſitation was, to aboliſh Statutes and Ordinances, which maintained Papiſtry, Superſtition, Blindneſs and Ignorance; and to eſtabliſh and ſet forth, ſuch as might further God's Word and good Learning; and elſe, the Truth is, he would ſhew me nothing, but bad me be careleſs, and ſaid, There was Informations how all things was for to be done; the which, I take God to Witneſs, I did never ſee, nor could get knowledg what they were, before we were entred in the Viſitation two days, although I deſired to have ſeen them in the beginning.

Now, when I had ſeen the Inſtructions, the Truth is, I thought peradventure, the Maſter and Company would have ſurrendred up their College; but when their conſent, after labour and travel taken therein two dayes, could not be obtained, and then we began ſecretly to conſult (all the Commiſſioners thinking it beſt that every Man ſhould ſay his Mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all) there when it was ſeen to ſome, that without the conſent of the preſent Incumbents, by the King's abſolute Power, we might proceed to the uniting of the two Colleges, I did, in my courſe ſimply and plainly declare my Conſcience, and that there only ſecretly, among our ſelves alone, with all kind of ſoftneſs, ſo that no Man could be juſtly offended. Alſo, I perceive, by your Grace's Letters, I have been noted of ſome for my barking there; and yet to bark, leſt God ſhould be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a part of my Profeſſion, for God's Word condemneth the dumb Dogs that will not bark and give warning of God's Diſpleaſure.

As for that that was ſuggeſted to your Grace, that by my aforeſaid barking, I ſhould diſhonour the King's Majeſty, and diſſuade others from the Execution of the King's Commiſſion, God is my Judg, I intended, according to my Duty to God & the King, the maintenance and defence of his Highneſs Royal Honour and Dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the Prophet ſaith, *Honor Regis Judicium diligit*; and as the Commiſſioners muſt needs, and I am ſure will all teſtify, that I diſſuaded no Man, but contrariwiſe, exhorted every Man (with the quiet of other) to ſatisfy their own Conſcience; deſiring only, that if it ſhould otherwiſe be ſeen unto them, that I might, either by my abſence or ſilence, ſatisfy mine. The which my plainneſs, when ſome, otherwiſe than according to my expectation did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good Opinion I had, and yet have, in your Grace's Goodneſs; and alſo ſpecially, becauſe your Grace had commanded me ſo to do) to open my mind, by my private Letters, freely unto your Grace.

And thus I truſt your Grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledg had, I did utter my Conſcience; and alſo that the Matter was not opened unto me before the Viſitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiſs, that before the knowledg of the Inſtructions, I was ready to grant to the Execution of the Commiſſion; Truly, I had rather herein acknowledg my Fault, and ſubmit my ſelf to your Grace's Correction, then after knowledg had, then wittingly and willingly commit that thing whereunto my Conſcience doth not agree, for fear of God's diſpleaſure.

It is a Godly Wiſh that is wiſhed in your Grace's Letters, that Fleſh, and Blood, and Country, might not more weigh with ſome Men than Godlineſs and Reaſon; but the truth is, Country in this Matter (whatſoever ſome Men do ſuggeſt unto your Grace) ſhall not move me; and that your Grace ſhall well perceive, for I ſhall be as ready, as any other, firſt thence to expel ſome of my own Country, if the Report which is made of them can be tried true.

And as for that your Grace ſaith of Fleſh and Blood, that is the favour or fear of Mortal Man. Yea, marry Sir, that is a Matter of weight indeed, and the truth is, (alas my own feebleneſs) of that I am afraid; but I beſeech your Grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confeſs the Truth.

Before God, there is no Man this day, (leaving the King's Majeſty for the Honour only excepted) whoſe favour or diſpleaſure I do either ſeek or fear, as your Grace's favour or diſpleaſure; for of God, both your Grace's Authority, and my bound Duty for your Grace's Benefits bind me ſo to do. So that if the deſire of any Man's favour, or fear of diſpleaſure, ſhould weigh more with me than Godlineſs and Reaſon.

Truly, if I may be bold to ſay the Truth, I muſt needs ſay, that I am moſt in danger to offend herein, either for deſire of your Grace's favour, or for fear of your Grace's diſpleaſure. And yet I ſhall not ceaſe (God willing) daily to pray God ſo to ſtay and ſtrengthen my frailty with holy Fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any Mortal Man, whereby my Conſcience may threaten me with the loſs of the favour of the Living God, but that it may pleaſe him, of his gracious Goodneſs, (howſoever the World goes) to blow this in the Ears of my Heart, *Deus diſſipavit oſſa eorum qui Hominibus placuerint.* And this, *Horrendum eſt incidere in manus Dei viventis.* And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.*

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Grace, for God's Love, not to be offended with me, for renuing of this my Suit unto your Grace, which is that whereunto my Conſcience cannot well agree; if any ſuch thing chance in this Viſitation, I may, with your Grace's Favour, have licenſe, either by mine abſence or ſilence, or other-like means, to keep my Conſcience quiet. I wiſh your Grace, in God, honour, and endleſs felicity, From *Pembrook-Hall* in *Cambridg, June* 1. 1549.

Your Grace's humble and daily Orator,

Nich. Roffen.

Number 60.

The Protector's Anſwer to the former Letter.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

AFter our right hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, we have received your Letters of the firſt of *June*, again replying to thoſe which we laſt ſent unto you. And as it appeareth, ye yet remaining in your former Requeſt, deſires, if things do occur ſo, that, according to your Conſcience, ye cannot do them, that you might abſent your ſelf, or otherwiſe keep ſilence. We would be loth any thing ſhould be done by the King's Majeſty's Viſitors, otherwiſe than Right and Conſcience might allow and approve: And Viſitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worſe; to eaſe Conſciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wiſh that Executors thereof ſhould not be ſcrupulous in Conſcience, otherwiſe than Reaſon would. Againſt your Conſcience, it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any Man to that which is againſt Right and Conſcience; and we truſt the King's Majeſty hath not in this Matter. And we think in this ye do much wrong, and much diſcredit the other Viſitors, that ye ſhould ſeem to think and ſuppoſe, that they would do things againſt Conſcience. We take them to be Men of that Honour and Honeſty, that they will not. My Lord of *Canterbury* hath declared unto us, that this maketh partly a Conſcience unto you, that Divines ſhould be diminiſhed. That can be no cauſe; for, firſt, the ſame was met before in the late King's Time, to unite the two Colleges together; as we are ſure ye have heard, and Sir *Edward North* can tell:

And for that cauſe, all ſuch as were Students of the Law, out of the new-erected Cathedral Church, were diſappointed of their Livings, only reſerved to have been in that Civil College. The King's Hall being in manner all Lawyers, Canoniſts were turned and joined to *Michael*-Houſe, and made a College of Divines, wherewith the number of Divines was much augmented, Civillians diminiſhed. Now at this preſent alſo, if in all other Colleges, where Lawyers be by the Statutes, or the King's Injunctions, ye do convert them, or the more part of them, to Divines, ye ſhall rather have more Divines upon this change than ye had before. The *King*'s College ſhould have ſix Lawyers; *Jeſus* College ſome; the *Queen*'s College, and other, one or two apiece. And as we are informed, by the late King's Injunctions, every College in *Cambridg* one at the leaſt; all theſe together do make a greater in number, than the Fellows of *Clare-Hall* be, and they now made Divines, and the Statutes in that reformed Divinity ſhall not be diminiſhed in number of Students, but encreaſed, as appeareth, although theſe two Colleges be ſo united. And we are ſure ye are not ignorant, how neceſſary a Study that Study of Civil Law is to all Treaties with Forreign Princes and Strangers, and how few there be at this preſent to do the King's Majeſty's Service therein. For we would the encreaſe of Divines, as well as you. Marry, Neceſſity compelleth us alſo to maintain the Science; and we require you, my Lord, to have conſideration how much you do hinder the King's Majeſty's Proceedings in that Viſitation, if now you, who are one of the Viſitors, ſhould thus draw back and diſcourage the other, ye ſhould much hinder the whole Doings; and peradventure that thing known, maketh the Maſter and Fellows of *Clare-Hall* to ſtand the more obſtinate; wherefore we require you to have regard of the King's Majeſty's Honour, and the quiet performings of that Viſitation, moſt to the Glory of God, and Benefit of that Univerſity; the which thing is only meant in your Inſtructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you uſe your Doings as ye think beſt, for the quieting of your Conſcience. Thus we bid you right-heartily farewel. From *Richmond*, the 10th of *June*, 1549.

Your loving Friend,

E. Somerſet.

Number 61.

A Letter of Cranmer'*s to King* Henry *the 8th, concerning a further Reformation, and againſt Sacrilege.*

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

IT may pleaſe your Highneſs to be advertiſed; that foraſmuch as I might not tarry my ſelf at *London*, becauſe I had appointed, the next day after that I departed from your Majeſty, to be at *Rocheſter*, to meet the next Morning all the Commiſſioners of *Kent* at *Sittingbourn*; therefore the ſame Night that I returned from *Hampton-Court* to *Lambeth*, I ſent for the Biſhop of *Worceſter* incontinently, and declared unto him all your Majeſty's Pleaſure, in ſuch things as your Majeſty willed me to be done. And firſt, where your Majeſty's Pleaſure was, to have the Names of ſuch Perſons as your Highneſs, in times paſt, appointed to make Laws Eccleſiaſtical for your Grace's Realm. The Biſhop of *Worceſter* promiſed me, with all ſpeed, to enquire out their Names, and the Book which they made, and to bring the Names, and alſo the Book, unto your Majeſty; which I truſt he hath done before this time.

And as concerning the ringing of Bells upon *Alhallow*-day at Night, and covering of Images in *Lent*, and creeping to the Croſs, he thought it neceſſary that a Letter of your Majeſty's Pleaſure therein, ſhould be ſent by your Grace unto the two Arch-Biſhops; and we to ſend the ſame to all other Prelats within your Grace's Realm. And if it be your Majeſty's Pleaſure ſo to do, I have for more ſpeed herein drawn a Minute of a Letter, which your Majeſty may alter at your Pleaſure. Nevertheleſs, in my Opinion, when ſuch things be altered or taken away, there would be ſet forth ſome Doctrine therewith, which ſhould declare the Cauſe of the Aboliſhing or Alteration, for to ſatisfy the Conſcience of the People: For if the Honouring of the Croſs, as creeping and kneeling thereunto be taken away, it ſhall ſeem to many that be ignorant, that the Honour of Chriſt is taken away, unleſs ſome good teaching be ſet forth withal to inſtruct them ſufficiently therein; which if your Majeſty command the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, with other your Grace's Chaplains to make, the People ſhall obey your Majeſty's Commandment willingly; giving thanks to your Majeſty that they know the Truth, which elſe they would obey with murmuration and grutching. And it ſhall be a ſatisfaction unto all other Nations, when they ſhall ſee your Majeſty do nothing but by the Authority of God's Word, and to the ſetting forth of God's Honour, and not diminiſhing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your Majeſty in his Preſervation and Governance. From my Mannor at *Beckiſbourn*, the 24*th* of *January*, 45.

Your Graces moſt bounden Chaplain

and Beadſman.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Beſeech your Majeſty, that I may be a Suitor unto the ſame, for your Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*; who to their great unquietneſs, and alſo great Charges, do alienate their Lands daily, and as it is ſaid, by your Majeſty's Commandment. But this I am ſure, that other Men have gotten their beſt Lands, and not your Majeſty. Wherefore this is mine only Suit, That when your Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhall be to have any of their Lands, that they may have ſome Letter from your Majeſty, to declare your Majeſty's Pleaſure, without the which they be ſworn, that they ſhall make no Alienation. And that the ſame Alienation be not made at other Mens pleaſures, but only to your Majeſty's Uſe. For now every Man that liſt to have any of their Lands, make ſuit to get it into your Majeſty's Hands; not that your Majeſty ſhould keep the ſame, but by Sale, or Gift from your Majeſty, to tranſlate it from your Grace's Cathedral Church unto themſelves.

T. Cantuarien.

The Draught of a Letter which the King ſent to Cranmer, *againſt ſome ſuperſtitious Practices.*

To the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

FOraſmuch as you, as well in your own Name, as in the Name of the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, and other our Chaplains and Learned Men, whom We appointed with you to peruſe certain Books of Service, which We delivered unto you, moved Us, that the Vigil, and ringing of Bells all the Night long upon *Alhallow*-day at Night, and the covering of Images in the Church in the time of *Lent*, with the lifting up the Veil that covereth the Croſs upon *Palm-Sunday*, with the kneeling to the Croſs at the ſame time, might be aboliſhed and put away, for the Superſtition, and other Enormities and Abuſes of the ſame. Firſt, Foraſmuch as all the Vigils of our Lady, and the Apoſtles, and all other Vigils, which in the beginning of the Church were Godly uſed; yet for the manifold Superſtition and Abuſes which after did grow, by means of the ſame, they be many Years paſt taken away throughout all Chriſtendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of the Vigil in the *Calendar*, the thing clearly aboliſhed and put away, ſaving only upon *Alhallows*-day at Night; upon which Night is kept Vigil, Watching, and ringing of Bells all the Night long. Foraſmuch as that Vigil is abuſed as other Vigils were, Our pleaſure is, as you require, That the ſaid Vigil ſhall be aboliſhed as the other be, and that there ſhall be no watching, nor ringing, but as be commonly uſed upon other Holy-days at Night. We be contented and pleaſed alſo, That the Images in Churches ſhall not be covered, as hath been accuſtomed in times paſt; nor no Veil upon the Croſs; nor no kneeling thereto upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor any other time. And foraſmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the Croſs, which is a greater abuſe than any of the other; for there you ſay, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine*; and the Ordinal ſaith, *Procedant Clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus:* And after followeth in the ſame Ordinal, *Ponatur Crux ante aliquod Altare, ubi a populo adoretur*; which by your own Book, called, *A Neceſſary Doctrine*, is againſt the Second Commandment. Therefore Our Pleaſure is, That the ſaid creeping to the Croſs ſhall likewiſe ceaſe from hence-forth, and be aboliſhed, with the other Abuſes before rehearſed. And this We will, and ſtraitly command you, to ſignify unto all the Prelats and Biſhops of your Province of *Canterbury*, charging them, in Our Name, to ſee the ſame executed, every one in his Dioceſs, accordingly.

FINIS.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

BOOK II.

Number 1.

The Proclamation of Lady Jane Grayes *Title to the Crown.*

JANE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland*; under Chriſt in Earth the Supream Head. To all our moſt Loving, Faithful, and Obedient Subjects, and to every of them, Greeting. Whereas our moſt dear Couſin *Edward* the *6th*, late King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and in Earth, Supream Head, under Chriſt, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*; by his Letters Patents, ſigned with his own Hand, and ſealed with his Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the 21*ſt* day of *June*, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign; in the preſence of the moſt part of his Nobles, his Councellors, Judges, and divers other grave and ſage Perſonages, for the profit and ſurety of the whole Realm, thereto aſſenting and ſubſcribing their Names to the ſame, hath, by the ſame his Letter Patents, recited, That foraſmuch as the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by an Act made in the 35*th* Year of the Reign of the late King, of worthy memory, King *Henry* the *8th*, our Progenitor, and great Uncle, was, for lack of Iſſue of his Body, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Iſſue of the Body of our ſaid late Couſin King *Edward* the *6th*, by the ſame Act, limited and appointed to remain to the Lady *Mary* his eldeſt Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten: And for default of ſuch Iſſue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady *Elizabeth*, by the Name of the Lady *Elizabeth* his ſecond Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; with ſuch Conditions as ſhould be limited and appointed by the ſaid late King of worthy memory, King *Henry*

Henry the 8*th*, our Progenitor, our Great Uncle, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his Hand. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Limitation of the Imperial Crown of this Realm being limited, as is afore-ſaid, to the ſaid Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the Marriage had, between the ſaid late King, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Katherine*, Mother to the ſaid Lady *Mary*; and alſo the Marriage had between the ſaid late King, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Ann*, Mother to the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*, were clearly and lawfully undone, by Sentences of Divorce, according to the Word of God, and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and which ſaid ſeveral Divorcements, have been ſeverally ratified and confirmed by Authority of Parliament, and eſpecially in the 28*th* Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, our ſaid Progenitor, and Great Uncle, remaining in force, ſtrength, and effect, whereby, as well the ſaid Lady *Mary*, as alſo the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*, to all intents and purpoſes, are, and been clearly diſabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the ſaid Imperial Crown, or any other of the Honours, Caſtles, Manours, Lordſhips, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as Heir or Heirs to our ſaid late Couſin King *Edward* the 6*th*, or as Heir or Heirs to any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, as well for the Cauſe before rehearſed, as alſo for that the ſaid Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, were unto our ſaid late Couſin but of the half Blood, and therefore by the Ancient Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of this Realm, be not inheritable unto our ſaid late Couſin, although they had been born in lawful Matrimony; as indeed they were not, as by the ſaid Sentences of Divorce, and the ſaid Statute of the 28*th* Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, our ſaid Progenitor and Great Uncle, plainly appeareth. And foraſmuch alſo, as it is to be thought, or at the leaſt much to be doubted, that if the ſaid Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, ſhould hereafter have, or enjoy the ſaid Imperial Crown of this Realm, and ſhould then happen to marry with any Stranger born out of this Realm, that then the ſaid Stranger, having the Government and Imperial Crown in his Hands, would adhere and practiſe, not only to bring this Noble, Free Realm into the Tyranny and Servitude of the Biſhops of *Rome*, but alſo to have the Laws and Cuſtoms of his or their own Native Country or Countries, to be practiſed and put in ure within this Realm, rather than the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms here of long time uſed; whereupon the Title of Inheritance, of all and ſingular the Subjects of this Realm do depend, to the peril of Conſcience, and the utter ſubverſion of the Common-Weal of this Realm: Whereupon our ſaid late dear Couſin, weighing and conſidering within himſelf, which ways and means were moſt convenient to be had for the ſtay of the ſaid Succeſſion, in the ſaid Imperial Crown, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call our ſaid late Couſin out of this tranſitory Life, having no Iſſue of his Body. And calling to his remembrance, that We, and the Lady *Katharine*, and the Lady *Mary*, our Siſters (being the Daughters of the Lady *Frances*, our natural Mother, and then, and yet, Wife to our natural and moſt loving Father, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*; and the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Lady *Elianor*, then deceaſed, Siſter to the ſaid Lady *Frances*, and the late Wife of our Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*) were very nigh of his Graces Blood, of the part of his Fathers ſide, our ſaid Progenitor, and great Uncle; and being naturally born here, within the Realm. And for the very good Opinion our ſaid late Couſin had of our ſaid Siſters and Couſin *Margarets* good Education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his ſaid Letters Patents, declare, order, aſſign, limit, and appoint, that if it ſhould fortune himſelf, our ſaid late Couſin King *Edward* the Sixth, to deceaſe, having no Iſſue of his Body lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Confines of the ſame, and his Title to the Crown of the Realm of *France*, and all and ſingular Honours, Caſtles, Prerogatives, Privileges, Preheminencies, and Authorities, Juriſdictions, Dominions, Poſſeſſions, and Hereditaments, to our ſaid late Couſin K. *Edward* the Sixth, or to the ſaid Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wiſe appertaining, ſhould, for lack of ſuch Iſſue of his Body, remain, come, and be to the eldeſt Son of the Body of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in his Life-time, and to the Heirs Males of the Body of ſuch eldeſt Son lawfully begotten; and ſo from Son to Son, as he ſhould be of vicinity of Birth of the Body of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in our ſaid late Couſins Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of every ſuch Son lawfully begotten. And for default of ſuch Son born into the World in his life-time, of the Body of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Heirs Males of every ſuch Son lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown, and all and ſingular other the Premiſes, ſhould remain, come, and be to us, by the Name of the Lady *Jane*, eldeſt Daughter of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, and to the Heirs Males of our Body lawfully begotten; and for lack of ſuch Iſſue, then to the Lady *Katherine* aforeſaid, our ſaid ſecond Siſter, and the Heirs Male of her Body lawfully begotten, with divers other Remainders, as by the ſame Letters Patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithence the making of our Letters Patents, that is to ſay, on *Thurſday*, which was the *6th* day of this inſtant Month of *July*, it hath pleaſed God to call unto his infinite Mercy, our ſaid moſt dear and entirely beloved Couſin, *Edward* the Sixth, whoſe Soul God pardon; and foraſmuch as he is now deceaſed, having no Heirs of his Body begotten; and that alſo there remaineth at this preſent time no Heirs lawfully begotten, of the Body of our ſaid Progenitor, and great Uncle, King *Henry* the Eighth; And foraſmuch alſo as the ſaid Lady *Frances*, our ſaid Mother, had no Iſſue Male begotten of her Body, and born into the World, in the life-time of our ſaid Couſin King *Edward* the Sixth, ſo as the ſaid Imperial Crown, and other the Premiſes to the ſame belonging, or in any wiſe appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our Actual and Royal Poſſeſſion, by Authority of the ſaid Letters Patents: We do therefore by theſe Preſents ſignify, unto all our moſt loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, That like-as we for our part ſhall, by God's Grace, ſhew our Self a moſt gracious and benign Soveraign Queen and Lady to all our good Subjects, in all their Juſt and lawful Suits and Cauſes; and to the uttermoſt of our Power, ſhall preſerve and maintain God's moſt Holy Word, Chriſtian Policy, and the good Laws, Cuſtoms, and Liberties of theſe our Realms and Dominions: ſo we miſtruſt not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all Times, and in all Caſes, ſhew themſelves unto Us, their natural Liege Queen and Lady, moſt faithful, loving, and obedient Subjects, according to their bounden Duties and Allegiance, whereby they ſhall pleaſe God, and do the things that ſhall tend to their own preſervation and ſureties; willing and commanding all Men, of all Eſtates, Degrees, and Conditions, to ſee our Peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our Laws, as they tender our Favour, and will anſwer for the contrary at their extream Perils. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents. Witneſs our Self, at our *Tower* of *London*, the tenth day of *July*, in the firſt Year of our Reign.

God ſave the Queen.

Number 2.

A Letter ſent by Queen Katherine, *to the Lady* Mary *her Daughter.*

Ex MS. *Norfolcianis* in Col. *Greſham.*

Daughter, I heard ſuch tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near that Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it, for I truſt that he doth handle you with a good Love; I beſeech you agree to his Pleaſure with a merry Heart, and be you ſure, that without fail he will not ſuffer you to periſh, if you beware to offend him. I pray God, you good Daughter, to offer your ſelf to him; if any pangs come to you, ſhrive your ſelf, firſt make your ſelf clean; take heed of his Commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you Grace to do, for then are you ſure armed. And if this Lady do come to you, as it is ſpoken, if ſhe do bring you a Letter from the King, I am ſure, in the ſelf-ſame Letter, you ſhall be commanded what you ſhall do. Anſwer you with few words; obeying the King your Father in every thing, ſave only that you will not offend God, and loſe your Soul, and go no further with Learning and Diſputation in the Matter; and whereſoever, and in whatſoever Company you ſhall come, obey the King's Commandments, ſpeak few words, and meddle nothing. I will ſend you two Books in Latin, one ſhall be, *de Vita Chriſti*, with the Declaration of the Goſpels; and the other, the Epiſtles of St. *Hierome*, that he did write always to *Paula* and *Euſtochium*, and in them truſt you ſhall ſee good things. And ſometimes, for your Recreation, uſe your Virginals, or Lute, if you have any. But one thing ſpecially I deſire you, for the love that you owe unto God and unto me, to keep your Heart with a chaſte Mind, and your Body from all ill and wanton Company, not thinking nor deſiring any Husband, for Chriſt's Paſſion; neither determine your ſelf to any manner of living, until this troubleſome time be paſt, for I dare make you ſure, that you ſhall ſee a very good end, and better than you can deſire. I would God, good Daughter, that you did know with how good a Heart I do write this Letter unto you: I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well, that God loveth you, I beſeech him of his goodneſs to continue it: And if it ſhall fortune that you ſhall have no Body to be with you of your Acquaintance, I think it beſt you keep your Keys your ſelf, for whoſoever it is, ſo ſhall be done as ſhall pleaſe them. And now you ſhall begin, and by likelihood I ſhall follow, I ſet not a ruſh by it, for when they have done the uttermoſt they can, then I am ſure of the amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good Lady of *Salisbury*, and pray her to have a good Heart, for we never come to the Kingdom of Heaven, but by Troubles. Daughter, whereſoever you become, take no pain to ſend to me, for if I may I will ſend to you.

By your loving Mother,

Katherine the Queen.

Number 3.

A humble Submiſſion made by Queen Mary *to her Father.* Anno 1536.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Otho*.C.20.

MOſt humbly proſtrate before the Feet of your moſt excellent Majeſty, your moſt humble, faithful, and obedient Subject, which hath ſo extreamly offended your moſt gracious Highneſs, that mine heavy and fearful Heart dare not preſume to call you Father, nor your Majeſty hath any cauſe by my deſerts, ſaving the benignity of your moſt bleſſed Nature, doth ſurmount all Evils, Offences, and Treſpaſſes, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the Penitent, calling for Grace in any convenient time. Having received, this *Thurſday* at Night, certain Letters from Mr. Secretary, as well adviſing me to make my humble ſubmiſſion immediately to your Self; which becauſe I durſt not, without your gracious Licenſe, preſume to do before, I lately ſent unto him; as ſignifying that your moſt merciful Heart, and fatherly Pity, had granted me your Bleſſing, with condition, that I ſhould perſevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I ſhould not eft-ſoons offend your Majeſty by the denial or refuſal of any ſuch Articles and Commandments, as it may pleaſe your Highneſs to addreſs unto me, for the perfect trial of my Heart and inward Affection. For the perfect declaration of the bottom of my Heart and Stomach.

Firſt, I acknowledg my ſelf to have moſt unkindly and unnaturally offended your moſt excellent Highneſs, in that I have not ſubmitted my ſelf to your moſt juſt and vertuous Laws. And for mine Offences therein, which I muſt confeſs were in me a thouſand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living Creature, I put my ſelf wholly and entirely to your gracious Mercy, at whoſe hand I cannot receive that puniſhment for the ſame that I have deſerved.

Secondly,

Secondly, To open mine Heart to your Grace, in theſe things which I have heretofore refuſed to condeſcend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, ſending the ſame to your Highneſs herewith, I ſhall never beſeech your Grace to have pity and compaſſion of me, if ever you ſhall perceive that I ſhall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and ſubſcribed, or refuſe to confirm, ratify, or declare the ſame, where your Majeſty ſhall appoint me.

Thirdly, As I have, and ſhall, knowing your excellent Learning, Vertue, Wiſdom, and Knowledg, put my Soul into your direction; and by the ſame hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my Conſcience, ſo my Body I do wholly commit to your Mercy, and fatherly Pity, deſiring no State, no Condition, nor no meaner degree of living, but ſuch as your Grace ſhall appoint me: knowledging and confeſſing, That my State cannot be ſo vile, as either the extremity of Juſtice would appoint unto me, or as mine Offences have required or deſerved.

And whatſoever your Grace ſhall command me to do, touching any of theſe Points, either for things paſt, preſent, or to come, I ſhall as gladly do the ſame, as your Majeſty ſhall command me. Moſt humbly therefore beſeeching your Mercy, moſt gracious Soveraign Lord and Benign Father, to have pity and compaſſion of your miſerable and ſorrowful Child, and with the abundance of your ineſtimable Goodneſs, ſo to overcome mine Iniquity towards God, Your Grace, and Your whole Realm, as I may feel ſome ſenſible Token of Reconciliation, which, God is my Judg, I only deſire, without other reſpect. To whom I ſhall daily pray for the preſervation of Your Highneſs, with the Queens Grace, and that it may pleaſe him to ſend You Iſſue.

From *Hunſdon*, this *Thurſday*, at eleven of the Clock at Night.

Your Graces moſt humble

and obedient Daughter

and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 4.

Another of the ſame ſtrain confirming the former.

An Original.

MOſt humbly, obediently, and gladly, lying at the Feet of Your moſt Excellent Majeſty, my moſt dear and benign Father, and Soveraign Lord, I have this day perceived Your gracious Clemency, and merciful Pity, to have overcome my moſt unkind and unnatural Proceedings towards You, and Your moſt Juſt and Vertuous Laws. The great and ineſtimable Joy whereof, I cannot expreſs, nor have any thing worthy to be again preſented to Your Majeſty for the ſame Your fatherly Pity extended towards me, moſt ingrately on my part abandoned, as much as in me lie, but my poor Heart, which I ſend unto Your Highneſs to remain in Your Hand, to be for ever uſed, directed, and framed, whiles God ſhall ſuffer life to remain in it at Your only pleaſure, moſt humbly beſeeching Your Grace to accept and receive the ſame; being all that I have to offer, which ſhall never alter, vary, or change, from that Confeſſion and Submiſſion which I have made unto Your Highneſs, in the preſence of Your Council, and other attending upon the ſame; for whoſe preſervation, with my moſt gracious Mother the Queen, I ſhall daily pray to God, whom eft-ſoons I beſeech to ſend You Iſſue, to his Honour, and the Comfort of Your whole Realm. *Cotton* Libr. *Otho*.C.20.

From *Hounſdon*, the *26th* day of *June*.

Your Grace's moſt humble
and obedient Daughter
and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 5.

Another Letter written to her Father to the ſame purpoſe.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Otho*.C.20.

MY bounden Duty moſt humbly remembred to Your moſt Excellent Majeſty: Whereas I am unable and inſufficient to render and expreſs to Your Highneſs thoſe moſt hearty and humble thanks for Your gracious Mercy and fatherly Pity, ſurmounting mine Offences at this time extended towards me, I ſhall proſtrate at Your moſt noble Feet, humbly and with the very bottom of my Stomach, beſeech your Grace to repute that in me, which in my poor Heart remaining in Your moſt noble Hand, I have conceived and profeſſed towards Your Grace, whiles the Breath ſhall remain in my Body; that is, that as I am now in ſuch merciful ſort recovered, being more than almoſt loſt with mine own Folly, that Your Majeſty may as well accept me juſtly Your bounden Slave by Redemption, as Your moſt humble, faithful, and obedient Child and Subject, by the courſe of Nature planted in this Your moſt noble Realm; ſo ſhall I for ever perſevere and continue towards Your Highneſs, in ſuch uniformity and due obedience, as I doubt not, but with the help of God, Your Grace ſhall ſee and perceive a will and intent in me, to redouble again that hath been amiſs on my behalf, conformably to ſuch Words and Writings as I have ſpoken and ſent unto Your Highneſs, from the which I will never vary during my Life, truſting that Your Grace hath conceived that Opinion of me, which to remember is mine only comfort. And thus I beſeech our Lord to preſerve Your Grace in Health, with my very natural Mother the Queen, and to ſend you ſhortly Iſſue, which I ſhall as gladly and willingly ſerve with my Hands under their Feet, as ever did poor Subject their moſt Gracious Soveraign.

From *Hunſdon*, the 8*th* day of *July*.

Your Grace's moſt humble
and obedient Daughter
and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number 6.

A Letter written by her to Cromwell, *containing a full Submiſſion to the King's Pleaſure, in all the Points of Religion. An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Otho.*C.10.

GOod Mr: Secretary, how much am I bound unto you, which have not only travelled, when I was almoſt drowned in folly, to recover me, before I ſunk, and was utterly paſt recovery, and ſo to preſent me to the face of Grace and Mercy; but alſo deſiſteth not ſithence, with your good and wholeſome Counſels, ſo to arm me from any relapſe, that I cannot, unleſs I were too wilful and obſtinate, (whereof now there is no ſpark in me) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your Goodneſs apart, which I cannot recount; For anſwer to the Particularities of your Credence, ſent by my Friend Mr. *Wriothſley.* Firſt, Concerning the Princeſs, (ſo I think I muſt call her yet, for I would be loth to offend) I offered, at her entry to that Name and Honour, to call her Siſter; but it was refuſed, unleſs I would alſo add the other Title unto it; which I denied not then more obſtinately, than I am now ſorry for it, for that I did therein offend my moſt gracious Father, and his juſt Laws. And now that you think it meet, I ſhall never call her by other Name than Siſter. Touching the nomination of ſuch Women as I would have about me; ſurely, Mr. Secretary, what Men or Women ſoever the King's Highneſs ſhall appoint to wait on me, without exception, ſhall be to me right-heartily, and without reſpect, welcome; albeit, to expreſs my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful Service done to the King's Majeſty, and to me, ſithence they came into my Company, I promiſe you, on my Faith, *Margaret Baynton*, and *Suſanna Clarencieux*, have, in every condition, uſed themſelves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently, as ever did Women in ſuch a caſe; as ſorry when I was not ſo conformable as became me, as glad when I enclined any thing to my Duty as could be deviſed. One other there is that was ſometime my Maid, whom, for her Vertue, I love, and could be glad to have in my Company, that is, *Mary Brown*, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my eſtimation of this ſhall be meaſured at the King's Highneſs, my moſt merciful Father's pleaſure and appointment, as Reaſon is.

For mine Opinion touching Pilgrimages, Purgatory, Reliques, and ſuch-like, I aſſure you I have none at all, but ſuch as I ſhall receive from him that hath mine whole Heart in keeping, that is, the King's moſt gracious Highneſs, my moſt benign Father, who ſhall imprint in the ſame touching theſe Matters, and all other, what his ineſtimable Vertue, high Wiſdom, and excellent Learning, ſhall think convenient, and limit unto me; to whoſe preſence I pray God I may once come e're I die, for every Day is a Year till I may have the fruition of it. Beſeeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble ſuit for the ſame, and for all other things whatſoever they be, to repute my Heart ſo firmly knit to his pleaſure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the ſame. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From *Hunſdon*, this *Friday*, at ten of the Clock at Night.

Your aſſured loving Friend,

during my Life,

MARY.

Number 7.

A Letter of *Bonners*, upon his being reſtored to his Biſhoprick.

An Original.

To my moſt loving and dearly beloved Friends, my Couſin Thomas Shirley, *the Worſhipful* Richard Leekmore, *and* Roger Leekmore *his Brother.*

IN moſt hearty wiſe I commend me unto you, aſſerting, that Yeſterday I was, by Sentence, reſtored again to my Biſhoprick, and repoſed in the ſame, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the ſaid Sentence, my Uſurper, Dr. *Ridley*, is utterly repulſed; ſo that I would ye did order all things at *Kidmerly* and *Buſhley* at your pleaſures, not ſuffering Sheeps-head, or Ships-ſide, to be any medler there, or to ſell or carry away any thing from thence; and I truſt, at your coming up now at the Parliament, I ſhall ſo handle both the ſaids Sheeps-heads, and the other Calves-heads, that they ſhall perceive their ſweet ſhall not be without ſour Sauce. This day is looked that Mr. *Canterbury* muſt be placed where is meet for him; He is become very humble and ready to ſubmit himſelf in all things, but that will not ſerve; in the ſame predicament is Dr. *Smith*, my Friend, and the Dean of *Pauls*, with others. Commend me to your Bed-fellows moſt heartily, and remember the Liquor that I wrote to you for; this Bearer ſhall declare the reſt, and alſo put you in remembrance for Beeves and Muttons for my Houſe-fare. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well keep you all. Written in haſte, this *6th* of *September*.

Aſſuredly all your own,

Edmond London.

Number 8.

A Manifeſto ſet out by *Cranmer*, declaring his readineſs to maintain the Reformation in a publick Diſpute.

Purgatio Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris ac Domini D. Thomæ Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis, adverſus infames ſed vanos rumores a quibuſdam ſparſos, de miſſa reſtituta Cantuariæ.

From the Copy printed that Year.

Quanquam Sathan, vetus Chriſti hoſtis, mendax ipſe atq; mendacii parens, nullis unquam temporibus abſtinuit ſuis armandis mancipiis & membris adverſus Chriſtum & veram ipſius Religionem, variis ſubinde excogitatis mendaciis: idem tamen his noſtris temporibus agit ſane perquam ſedulo. Nam cum Rex Hen. 8. Princeps illuſtriſſimæ memoriæ deprehenſis erroribus atq; infandis abuſibus Latinæ Miſſæ, ipſam aliquouſq; cæpiſſet corrigere, deindeq; filius qui proxime ſecutus eſt ſupremus Dominus noſter Rex Edwardus 6. non ferens hos tantos, tamq; manifeſtos errores atq; abuſus omnes pœnitus ſuſtuliſſet, reſtituta Sacroſ. Chriſti cæna & plane ad ipſius inſtitutum atq; Apoſtolorum & Eccleſiæ Primitivæ exemplum; Diabolus contra tentavit nuper ſi poſſet, rurſum ejecta dominica cæna, Latinam ac Satisfactoriam Miſſam (ſuum ipſius inventum & inſtitutum ſcilicet) rurſum hominibus noſtris obtrudere. Atq; id quo facilius poſſet effici, auſi ſunt quidam abuti nomine noſtro Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopi, ſpargentes in vulgum Miſſam meo juſſu Cantuariæ reſtitutam, meq; adeo cantaturum fuiſſe Miſſam in funere nuper Principis noſtri ſummi Edwardi 6. Regis, imo idem quoq; facturum recepiſſe coram Majeſtate Reginea, & ad Paulum, & neſcio ubi præterea.

Porro tametſi jam 20. ab hinc annis multos ejuſmodi rumores de me vanos & falſos pertulerim, utcunq; fortiter & modeſte, nunquam data hactenus ſignificatione ulla commoti animi ob res ejuſmodi; Attamen ſi quando in fraudem atq; injuriam veritatis Dei talia jactarentur, haud quaquam diutius perferri poſſe judico. Quæ res me impulit, ut ſcripto hoc teſtatum univerſo orbi facerem nunquam me autore Miſſam Cantuariæ cantatam, ſed vanum quendam adulatorem, mendacem atq; hypocritam Monachum, me nec conſultore, neq; conſcio ibidem hoc auſum fuiſſe: Dominus illi reddat in die illo. Quod porro meipſum obtulerim ad legendam Miſſam coram Majeſtate Reginea aut uſquam alibi, quam id vanum ſit ſatis novit ipſius Majeſtas; A qua ſi poteſtatem impetro, palam omnibus faciam, contraq; omnes diverſum putantes probabo, omnia, quæ in Communione (quam reſtituit innocentiſſimus idemque optimus Princeps Rex Edwardus 6. in Comitiis Regni) leguntur, reſpondere inſtitutioni Chriſti atq; Apoſtolorum & Primitivæ Eccleſiæ exemplo, multis annis obſervato. Miſſam contra in plurimis non tantum hoc fundamento carere Chriſti & Apoſtolorum & Primitivæ Eccleſiæ, ſed imò adverſari prorſus atq; ex diametro pugnare, undiquaq; erroribus atq; abuſibus refertiſſimam. Quamvis autem a nonnullis

Thortoneus. Suffraganeus Dovorenſis.

imperitis & malevolis Dicatur D. Petrus Martyr indoctus, ſi tamen nobis hanc libertatem det Majeſtas Reginea, ego cum Petro Martyre atq; aliis quatuor, aut quinq;, quos mihi delegero, favente Deo confido, nos idem omnibus approbaturos, non ſolum preces communes Eccleſiaſticas, Adminiſtrationem Sacram, cum cæteris Ritibus & Ceremoniis; Verum Doctrinam quoq; univerſam, ac religionis ordinem conſtitutum a ſupremo noſtro Domino Rege Edwardo ſexto, puriora hæc eſſe & Verbo Dei magis conſentanea, quam quidquid mille retro annis in Anglia uſurpatum novimus. Tantummodo judicentur omnia per Verbum Dei, ac deſcribantur partis utriuſq; argumenta, quo primum poſſit orbis Univerſus ea examinare & Judicare, deinde nequeat pars ulla dicta factave ſic deſcripta inficiari.

Quoniam vero gloriantur illi & jactant Eccleſiæ fidem quæ fuit 1500. abhinc annis, nos hac quoq; in parte cum illis periclitari audebimus, quod eadem doctrina atq; idem ordo ab omnibus ſervari debeat, qui fuit illò ſæculo ante Annos 1500. ac præterea docebimus argumentis firmis, totam rationem cultus divini Eccleſiaſtici, quæ nunc in hoc Regno ſervatur, Autoritate Comitiorum eandem eſſe, atq; illam ipſam quæ fuit ante Annos 1500. id quod alii de ſuis nunquam probaverint.

FINIS.

Lecta publice in vico Mercatorum ab amico qui clam Autographum ſurripuerat 5. Septemb. Anno Dom. 1553.

Number 9.

The Concluſion of Cardinal Pool's *Inſtructions to Mr.* Goldwell, *ſent by him to the Queen.*

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2. FOr the concluſion of all that is compriſed in your Inſtruction, as that the which containeth the whole Sum of my poor Advice and Counſel, it pleaſeth her Grace to ask of me, you ſhall ſay, That my moſt humble deſire is, that in all deliberation her Grace ſhall make touching the maintenance of her State, the ſame will ever well ponder and conſider, what the Providence of God hath ſhewed therein, above that which hath been ſhewed in her Predeceſſors, Kings of this Realm, in this one Point; which is to have the Crown, not only as a King's Daughter and Heir, but hath ordered, that this Point of right Inheritance ſhall depend as it doth, of the Authority he hath given to his Church, and of the See of *Rome*, which is the See Apoſtolick, approving her Mother to be Legitimate Wife of King *Henry* the Eighth; whereby ſhe is bound, afore God and Man, as ſhe will ſhow her ſelf the very Daughter of the ſaid King *Henry* the Eighth, right Heir of the Crown; ſo alſo to ſhow her ſelf right Daughter of the Church, and of them that be reſident in the See Apoſtolick, who be the right Heirs to *Peter*; to whom, and his Succeſſors, Chriſt chief Head of the Church in

Heaven, and in Earth, hath given in Earth to bear his Place, touching the Rule of the ſame Church, and to have the Crown thereof; which well conſidered and pondered, her Grace ſhall ſoon ſee how in her Perſon, the Providence of God hath joined the Right ſhe hath by her Father in the Realm, with the Right of the Church, that ſhe cannot prevail by the one, except ſhe join the other withal; and they that will ſeparate theſe two, take away not only half her Right, but her whole Right, being not ſo much Heir, becauſe ſhe is King *Henry*'s only Daughter, without Iſſue Male, as ſhe is his lawful Daughter, which ſhe hath by the Authority of the Church.

Which thing, prudently and godly conſidered, ſhe cannot but ſee what faithful counſel this is, That above all Acts that in this Parliament ſhall be made, doth advertiſe her Grace to eſtabliſh that, the which pertaineth to the eſtabliſhing of the Authority of the Church, and the See of the ſame; what rendering to him that is right Succeſſor to *Peter* therein, his right Title of Head in the Church in Earth, without the which ſhe cannot be right Head in the Realm; and this eſtabliſhed, all Controverſy is taken away; and who will repine unto this, he doth repine unto her right of the Crown.

Wherefore this is my firſt Advice, That this Point, above all other, ſhould be entreated and enacted in the Parliament; and ſo, I know her Graces full mind was, and is, that it ſhould be: But ſhe feareth Difficulties, and hereupon dependeth, that her Grace asketh my poor Advice, how theſe Difficulties may be taken away.

Unto this you may ſay, That they muſt be taken away by the help of him, that by his high Providence, above Man's expectance, hath given her already the Crown. Which will have as well this ſecond Act known, of the maintainance thereof to depend of him, as the firſt in attaining thereto. And to have his help, the mean is by humble Prayer, wherein I would advertiſe her Highneſs, not only to give her ſelf to Prayer, but alſo, by Alms to the needy, excitate the Minds of others to Prayer; theſe be the means of moſt efficacy; and with this, to take that ardent Mind, to eſtabliſh the Authority of the Church, caſting away all fear of Man, that ſhe to be to have her Crown, and not ſo much for her own ſake, as for the Honour of God which gave her the Crown. And if any Difficulty ſhould be feared in the Parliament herein, leave the honour, to take away the difficulty thereof, to none other, but aſſume that perſon to her ſelf, as moſt bound thereto; and to propone that her ſelf, which I would truſt to be of that efficacy, that if inwardly any Man will repugn outwardly, the Reaſons be ſo evident for this part, that joined with the Authority of her Perſon, being proponent, none will be ſo hardy, temerarious, nor impious, that will reſiſt. And if in this deliberation it ſhould ſeem ſtrange to put forth theſe Matters in the Parliament, as I have ſaid in the Inſtructions, without communicating the ſame with any of her Council, I would think it well her Grace might confer it with two of the chiefeſt that be counted of the People moſt near her favour, one Spiritual, and another Temporal; with declaring to them, firſt, how touching her Conſcience afore God, and her Right afore the World, ſhe can never be quiet until this Matter be ſtabliſhed touching the Authority of the Church, requiring their uttermoſt help in that, as if ſhe ſhould fight for the Crown, her Majeſty may be ſure, ſhe putting the ſame forth with that earneſt manner, they will not lack to ſerve her; and they may ſerve quietly in the Parliament, after her Grace hath ſpoken to proſecute and juſtify the ſame, with efficacy of words, to give all others example to follow her Grace; leaving this part unto them, That if the Name of Obedience to the Pope ſhould ſeem to bring, as it were, a Yoke to the Realm, or any other kind of ſervitude beſide, that it ſhould be profitable to the Realm, both afore God and Man, that her Grace that bringeth it in again, will never ſuffer it, nor the Pope himſelf requireth no ſuch thing. And herein alſo, that they ſay, That my Perſon being the Mean to bring it in, would never agree to be an Inſtrument thereof, if I thought any thraldom ſhould come thereby, they ſhall never be deceived of me. And if they would ſay beſide, I would never have taken this Enterprize upon me, except I thought by the ſame to bring great Comfort to the Country; wherein the Pope's Authority being accepted, I would truſt, ſhould be ſo uſed, that it might be an Example of Comfort, not only to that Country, but to all other that hath rejected it afore, and for that cauſe hath been ever ſince in great miſery.

This is the ſum of all my poor Advice at this time in this Caſe; whereof I beſeech Almighty God ſo much may take effect, as ſhall be to his Honour, and Wealth to her Grace, and the whole Realm beſides. *Amen.*

Number 10.

A Copy of a Letter, with Articles ſent from the Queens Majeſty unto the Biſhop of London; *and by him and his Officers, at her gracious Commandment, to be put in ſpeedy execution with effect in the whole Dioceſs, as well in places exempt, as not exempt whatſoever, according to the Tenour and Form of the ſame.*

Sent by the Queen's Majeſty's Commandment, in the Month of March, *Anno Dom.* 1553.

By the QUEEN.

Right Reverend Father in God, Right truſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late Reign of Our moſt deareſt Brother, King *Edward* the Sixth, (whoſe Soul God pardon) divers notable Crimes, Exceſſes, and Faults, with divers kinds of Hereſies, Simony, Advoutry, and other Enormities, have been committed within this our Realm, and other our Dominions; the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder, ſince the beginning of our Reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the People, both of the Laity and Clergy, and chiefly of the Clergy, have been given to much inſolence and ungodlineſs, greatly to the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to Our regret and evil contentation, and to the ſlander of other Chriſtian Realms, and in a manner, to the ſubverſion and clear defaceing of this our Realm. And remembring our Duty to Almighty God, to be to foreſee, as much as in Us may be, that all Vertue and Godly Living, ſhould be embraced, flouriſh, and encreaſe. And therewith alſo, that all vice and ungodly behaviour, ſhould be utterly baniſhed and put away; or at the leaſt wiſe, ſo nigh as might be, ſo bridled and kept under, that Godlineſs and Honeſty might have the over-hand: underſtanding, by very credible report, and publique fame, to Our no ſmall heavineſs and diſcomfort, that within your Dioceſs, as well in not exempted as in exempted Places, the like diſorder and evil behaviour hath been done and uſed; like alſo to continue and encreaſe, unleſs due proviſion be had and made to reform the ſame, (which earneſtly in very deed We do mind and intend) to the uttermoſt all the ways We can poſſible, truſting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For theſe Cauſes, and other moſt juſt Conſiderations us moving, We ſend unto you certain Articles of ſuch ſpecial Matter, as among other things be moſt ſpecial and neceſſary to be now put in execution by you and your Officers, extending to them by Us deſired, and the Reformation aforeſaid; wherein ye ſhall be charg'd with Our ſpecial Commandments, by theſe our Letters, to the intent you and your Officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any preſumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any ſuch our Laws, as by your doings, of that is in the ſaid Articles contain'd, might any wiſe grieve you, whatſoever be threatned in any ſuch Caſe; and therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and your ſaid Officers, to proceed to the execution of the ſaid Articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will anſwer to the contrary. Given under our Hand, at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the 4*th* day of *March*, the firſt Year of our Reign.

ARTICLES.

1. THat every Biſhop, and his Officers, with all other having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall, with all ſpeed and diligence, and all manner and ways to them poſſible, put in execution all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, heretofore in the time of King *Henry* the 8*th* uſed, within this Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the ſame, not being direct and expreſly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

2. *Item.* That no Biſhop, or any his Officer, or other Perſon aforeſaid hereafter, in any of their Eccleſiaſtical Writings in Proceſs, or other extra-judicial Acts, do uſe to put in this Clauſe or Sentence; *Regia Auctoritate fulcitus.*

3. *Item.* That no Biſhop, or any his Officers, or other Perſon aforeſaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admiſſion of any Perſon to any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, Orders, or Office, any Oath touching the Primacy, or Succeſſion, as of late in few Years paſſed hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

4. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and his Officers, with all other Perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant eye, and uſe ſpecial diligence and foreſight, that no Perſon be admitted or received to any Eccleſiaſtical Function, Benefit, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of Hereſy, or other great Crime; and that the ſaid Biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtaied, as much as lieth in him, that Benefices, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, do not notably decay, or take hinderance, by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable Leaſes.

5. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travel for the repreſſing of Hereſies, and notable Crimes, eſpecially in the Clergy, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

6. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do likewiſe travel for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty Opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendring hatred among the People, and diſcord amongſt the ſame: And that School-maſters, Preachers, and Teachers, do exerciſe and uſed their Offices and Duties, without Teaching, Preaching, or ſetting forth any evil corrupt Doctrine; and that doing the contrary, they may be, by the Biſhop and his ſaid Officers, puniſh'd and remov'd.

7. *Item.* That eve[illegible] Biſhop, and all the other Perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may and ſhall deprive, or declare depriv'd, and amove, according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch Perſons from their Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their Order, and the laudable Cuſtom of the Church, have married, and uſed Women as their Wives, or otherwiſe, notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves; ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid Proceſs, the Fruits and Profits of the ſaid Benefits, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions.

8. *Item.* That the ſaid Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe Wives be dead, than with other, whoſe Women do yet remain in Life. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſts, as with the conſents of their Wives, or Women, openly, in the preſence of the Biſhop, do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed the more favourably; in which Caſe, after Penance effectually done, the Biſhop, according to his diſcretion and wiſdom, may, upon juſt conſideration, receive, and admit them again to their former Adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame Place, appointing them ſuch a Portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice, whereof they be depriv'd, by diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop, or his Officers, ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid Benefice.

9. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all Perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee, That they ſuffer not any Religious Man, having ſolemnly profeſt Chaſtity, to continue with his Woman, or Wife: but that all ſuch Perſons, after deprivation of their Benefice, or Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, be alſo divorced, every one from his ſaid Woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the Offence therein.

10. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do take Order and Direction, with the Pariſhoners of every Benefice, where Prieſts do want, to repair to the next Pariſh for Divine Service; or to appoint, for a convenient time, till other better Proviſion may be made, one Curat to ſerve *Alternis Vicibus*, in divers Pariſhes; and

to allot to the ſaid Curat, for his Labour, ſome portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

11. *Item.* That all and all manner of Proceſſions of the Church, be uſed, frequented, and continued, after the old Order of the Church, in the Latin Tongue.

12. *Item.* That all ſuch Holy-days and Faſting-days, be obſerved and kept, as was obſerved and kept in the late time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

13. *Item.* That the laudable and honeſt Ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

14. *Item.* That Children be Chriſtened by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhops, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

15. *Item.* Touching ſuch Perſons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new ſort and faſhion of Orders, conſidering they were not ordered in very deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and ability in thoſe Men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his diſcretion, admit them to miniſter.

16. *Item.* That by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, an Uniform Doctrine be ſet forth by Homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good inſtruction and teaching of all People; and that the ſaid Biſhop, and other Perſons aforeſaid, do compel the Pariſhoners to come to their ſeveral Churches, and there devoutly to hear Divine Service, as of reaſon they ought.

17. *Item.* That they examine all School-maſters and Teachers of Children, and finding them ſuſpect in any ways to remove them, and place Catholick Men in their Rooms, with a ſpecial Commandment to inſtruct their Children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the Prieſt at the Maſs, and ſo help the Prieſt to Maſs as hath been accuſtomed.

18. *Item.* That the ſaid Biſhop, and all Perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the Premiſes, with all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example, with repreſſing alſo, and keeping under of Vice and Unthriftineſs, as they, and every each of them may be ſeen to favour the Reſtitution of true Religion; and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their Office and Cure, to the Honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this Realm, and Dominions of the ſame.

Number

Number 11.

A Commiſſion to turn out ſome of the Reformed Biſhops.

Rot. pat. prim. Mariæ pars ſeptim.

REgina Dei Gratia, &c. perdilectis & fidelibus Conſiliariis ſuis; Stephano Winton Epiſcopo, ſummo ſuo Angliæ Cancellario & Cudberto Dunelmen. Epiſcopo, necnon Reverend. & dilectis ſibi in Chriſto Edmund. London. Epiſcopo, Roberto Aſſaven. Epiſcopo, Georgio Ciceſtren. Epiſcopo, & Antonio Landaven. Epiſcopo ſalutem. Quia omne animi vitium tanto conſpectius in ſe crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur, & quoniam certis & indubitatis teſtimoniis, una cum facti notoreitate & fama publica referente, luculenter intelleximus & manifeſto comperimus Robertum Archiepiſcopum Ebor. Robertum Meneven. Joan. Ceſtren. & Paulum Briſtolen. Epiſcopos, aut certe pro talibus ſe gerentes, Dei & animarum ſuarum ſalutis immemores, valde gravia & enormia dudum commiſiſſe & perpetraſſe ſcelera atq; peccata, & inter cætera quod dolenter certe, & magna cum amaritudine animæ noſtræ proferimus, poſt expreſſam profeſſionem caſtitatis, expreſſe, rite & legittime emiſſam, cum quibuſdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, in Dei contemptum & animarum ſuarum peccatum manifeſtum necnon in grave omnium ordinum, tam Clericorum quam Laicorum ſcandalum; Deniq; cæterorum Omnium Chriſti fidelium perniciosiſſium exemplum contraxiſſe & cum illis tanquam cum Uxoribus cohabitaſſe. Ne igitur tantum ſcelus remaneat impunitum ac multos alios pertrahat in ruinam, vobis tenore præſentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus vos omnes, aut tres ſaltem veſtrum qui præſentes Literas Commiſſionales duxerint exequend. dictos Archiepiſcopum Ebor. Epiſc. Meneven. Epiſc. Ceſtren. & Epiſc. Briſtollen. diebus horis & locis, veſtro, aut trium veſtrum arbitrio, eligend. & aſſignand. ad comparend. coram vobis, ceu tribus veſtrum, vocetis aut vocari faciatis, vocend. aut vocari faciant, tres veſtrū (ceu ſaltem): Si ita vobis aut tribus, veſtrum videatur, eoſdem Archiep. & Epiſc. prædict. adeatis, aut tres veſtrum adeant & negotio illis ſummarie & de plano ſine ullo ſtrepitu & figura judicii expoſito & declarato, ſi per ſummariam examinationem & diſcuſſionem negotii per vos aut tres veſtrum fiendam eundem Archiep. & Epiſc. prædictos ſic contraxiſſe, aut feciſſe conſtiterit; eoſdem a dignitatibus ſuis prædictis, cum ſuis juribus pertinen. Univerſis, omnino ammoveatis, deprivetis & perpetuo excludatis, ceu tres veſtrum ſic amoveant, deprivent, perpetuo excludant: pœnitentiam ſalutarem & congruam pro modo culpæ veſtro aut trium veſtrum arbitrio imponend. eiſdem injungentes, cæteraq; in prædictis cum eorum incidentibus emergentiis annexis & connexis quibuſcunq;, facientes quæ neceſſaria fuerint, ceu quomodolibet opportuna. Quæ omnia & ſingula faciend. expediend. & finiend. Nos tam Autoritate noſtra Ordinaria, quam abſoluta, ex mero motu certaq; ſcientia noſtra, vobis & tribus veſtrum poteſtatem, Autoritatem & licentiam concedimus, & impertimur per præſentes cum cujuſlibet coercionis & caſtigationis ſeveritate & poteſtate in contrarium facientes non obſtant quibuſcunque, In cujus rei, &c. Apud. Weſtm. 16. die Martii.

Number 12.

Another Commiſſion to turn out the reſt of them.

MARY, by the Grace of God, *&c.* To the Right Reverend Fathers in God, our Right truſty, and right well-beloved Counſellors, *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, our Chancellor of *England*; *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſm*; *Edmond* Biſhop of *London*; *Robert* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; *George* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, our Almoner; and *Anthony* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Greeting. Whereas *John Tailour*, Doctor of Divinity, naming himſelf Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *John Hooper*, naming himſelf Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Gloceſter*; *John Harley*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; having theſe ſaid ſeveral pretended Biſhopricks given to them, by the Letter Patents of Our late deceaſed Brother, King *Edward* the Sixth, to have and to hold the ſame during their good behaviours, with the expreſs Clauſe, (*quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*) have ſithence, as hath been credibly brought to Our knowledg, both by Preaching, Teaching, and ſetting forth of Erroneous Doctrine, and alſo by inordinate Life and Converſation, contrary both to the Laws of Almighty God, and Uſe of the Univerſal Chriſtian Church, declared themſelves very unworthy of that Vocation and Dignity in the Church.

We minding to have theſe ſeveral Caſes duly heard and conſidered, and thereupon ſuch Order taken with them, as may ſtand with Juſtice, and the Laws, have, for the ſpecial truſt We have conceived of your Wiſdoms, Learning, and Integrity of Life, appointed you four, three, or two of you, to be our Commiſſioners in this behalf: giving unto you four, three, or two of you, full Power and Authority to call before you, if ye ſhall think ſo good, the ſaid *John Tailour*, *John Hooper*, and *John Harley*, and every of them. And thereupon, either by Order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, or of the Laws of our Realm, or of both, proceed to the declaring the ſaid Biſhopricks to be void, as they be already indeed void. To the intent ſome ſuch other meet Perſonages may be elected thereunto, as for their godly Life, Learning, and Sobriety, may be thought worthy the Places. In Witneſs, *&c.* *Apud Weſtm.* 15 *die Martii.*

Number 13.

Bonner*'s Certificate, that Biſhop* Scory *had put away his Wife.*

Regiſt. *Bonn.* Fol. 347.

EDmundus permiſſione Divina London. Epiſcopus, Univerſis & ſingulis Chriſti fidelibus, ad quos præſentes literæ noſtræ teſtimoniales pervenerint; ac eis præſertum quos infra ſcripta tangunt, ſeu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, ſalutem in Auctore ſalutis & fidem indubiam præſentibus adhibere. Quia boni Paſtoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Chriſti errantes oves ad caulam dominici gregis reducimus, & Eccleſiæ Chriſti, quæ redeunti gremium non claudit, reſtituimus: & quia dilectus Confrater noſter Joannes nuper Ciceſtrien. Epiſcopus in Dioc. & juriſdictione noſtris London. ad præſens reſidentiam & moram faciens; qui olim laxatis Pudicitiæ & caſtitatis habenis, contra Sacros Canones & Sanctorum Patrum decreta ad illicitas & prohibitas convolavit nuptias;ſe ea ratione non ſolum Eccleſiaſtic. Sacrament. pertractand. omnino indignum; verum etiam a publica officii ſui paſtoralis functione privatum & ſuſpenſum reddens, tranſactæ licentioſæ vitæ valde pœnitentem & deplorantem, plurimis Argumentis ſe declaravit, ac pro commiſſis pœnitentiam alias per nos ſibi injunctam ſalutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis ſui amaritudine & animi dolore peregit, vitam hactenus degens laudabilem, ſpemq; faciens id ſe in poſterum facturum atq; ob id ad Eccleſiaſticæ ac Paſtoralis Functionis ſtatum, ſaltem cum quodam temperamento, juſtitia exigente, reponend. hinc eſt quod nos præmiſſa ac, humilem dicti confratris noſtri petitionem pro reconciliatione ſua habenda & obtinenda conſiderantes, ejus precibus favorabiliter inclinati, eundem Confratrem noſtrum ad publicam Eccleſiaſtici Miniſterii & Officii ſui Paſtoralis Functionem & Executionem, infra Dioc. noſtram London. exercend. quatenus de jure poſſumus & abſq; cujuſq; præjudicio reſtituimus, rehabilitavimus & redintegravimus, prout tenore præſentium ſic reſtituimus, rehabilitamus, & redintegramus; Sacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ clementia & Chriſtianæ Charitate id exigentibus. Vobis igitur univerſis & ſingulis ſupradictis præfatum confratrem noſtrum, ſic ut præmittitur reſtitutum, rehabilitatum & reintegratum fuiſſe, & eſſe ad omnes effectus ſupradictos ſignificamus & notificamus per præſentes ſigillo noſtro ſigillat, Dat. in Manerio noſtro de Fulham die menſis Julii Anno Dom. 1554. & noſtræ Tranſla. Anno 15.

Number 14.

A Letter of the Queen's, to the Juſtices of the Peace in Norfolk.

MARY the Quee...

TRuſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas We have heretofore ſignified our Pleaſure, both by our Proclamation general, and by our Letters to many of you, particularly for the good Order and Stay of that our County of *Norfolk*, from Rebellions, Tumults, and Uproars; and to have a ſpecial regard to Vagabonds, and to ſuch as did ſpread any vain Propheſies, ſeditious, falſe, or untrue Rumors, and to puniſh them accordingly; We have nevertheleſs, to Our no ſmall grief, ſundry Intelligences, of divers and ſundry lewd and ſeditious Tales, forged and ſpread by certain malicious Perſons, touching the Eſtate of our Perſon; with many other vain and ſlanderous Reports, tending to the moving of Sedition and Rebellion, whoſe Fault, and paſſing unpuniſhed, ſeemeth either to be winked at, or at leaſt little conſidered, which is to Us very ſtrange. We have therefore thought good, eftſoons, to require and command you, to be not only more circumſpect in the good ordering of that our County, according to our Truſt conceived of you, but alſo to uſe all the beſt means and ways ye can, in the diligent examining and ſearching out, from Man to Man, the Authors and Publiſhers of theſe vain Propheſies, and untrue Bruits, the very foundation of all Rebellions: and the ſame being found, to puniſh them as the quality of their Offence ſhall appear to you to deſerve; whereby the malicious ſort may be the more feared to attempt the like, and Our good loving Subjects live in more quiet. And for Our better ſervice in this behalf, We think good that ye divide your ſelves unto ſeveral parts of that our County, ſo that every of you have ſome part in charge, whereby ye may the better butt out the malicious; and yet nevertheleſs to meet often together for the better conferring herein. And that ye ſignify your Doings, and the ſtate of that Shire, by your general Letters, once every month at leaſt, to our Privy Council. And like-as We ſhall conſider ſuch of you to your advancements, whoſe diligence ſhall ſet forwards our Service in this Part, ſo ſhall We have good cauſe to note great negligence and fault in them that ſhall omit their Duty in this behalf.

Given under our Signet, at our Mannor of St. *James*, the 23*d* of *May*, in the firſt Year of our Reign.

Number 15.

The Title of *Bonner's* whole Book.

Articles to be enquired of in the General Viſitation of Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *exerciſed by him in the Year of our Lord* 1554, *in the City and Dioceſs of* London; *and ſet forth by the ſame, for his own diſcharge towards God, and the World, to the Honour of God, and his Catholick Church; and to the Commodity and Profit of all thoſe, that either are good, (which he would were all) or delighteth in goodneſs, (which he wiſheth to be many) without any particular grudg or diſpleaſure to any one, good or bad, within this Realm; which Articles he deſireth all Men, of their Charity, eſpecially thoſe that are of his Dioceſs, to take, with as good intent and mind as the ſaid Biſhop wiſheth and deſireth, which is to the beſt. And the ſaid Biſhop withal, deſireth all People to underſtand, That whatſoever Opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatſoever uſage or cuſtom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpoſe, is to do his Duty charitably, and with that love, favour, and reſpect, both towards God and every Chriſtian Perſon, which any Biſhop ſhould ſhew to his Flock in any wiſe.*

Article 1.

WHether the Clergy, to give example to Laity, have in their Living, in their Teaching, and in their Doing, ſo behaved themſelves, that they (in the judgment of indifferent Perſons) have declared themſelves to ſearch principally the Honour of God and his Church, the Health of the Souls of ſuch as are committed to their Cure and Charge, the Quietneſs of their Pariſhioners, and the Wealth and Honour of the King and Queen of this Realm?

Article 2.

Item. Whether your Parſon, Vicar, or any other miniſtring as Prieſt within your Pariſh, have been, or is married, or taken for married, not yet ſeparated from his Concubine, or Woman taken for Wife? Or whether the ſame Woman be dead, or yet living; and being living, whether the one reſorteth to the other, openly, ſecretly, or ſlanderouſly, maintaining, ſupporting, or finding the ſame in any wiſe to the offence of the People?

Article 3.

Item. Whether there be any Perſon, of what Eſtate, Condition, or degree he be, that doth, in open talk, or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the Marriage of Prieſts, encouraging or bolding any Perſon to the defence thereof?

Article 4.

Item. Whether you have your Parſon or Vicar reſident continually with you upon his Benefice,doing his Duty in the ſerving of the Cure; and whether being able to do, keep Hoſpitality upon the ſame, feeding his Flock with his good living, with his teaching, and his relieving of them to his power?

Article 5.

Item. Whether your Parſon, or Vicar, being abſent, have a ſufficient Diſpenſation and Licenſe therein; and whether, in his abſence, he do appoint an honeſt, able, and ſufficient learned Curat to ſupply his room and abſence to ſerve his Cure?

Article 6.

Item. Whether your Parſon, or Vicar, by himſelf, or his good and ſufficient Deputy for him, do relieve ſuch poor Pariſhioners; repair and maintain his Houſe, or Manſion, and things thereunto appertaining; and otherwiſe do his Duty, as by the Order of the Law, and Cuſtom of this Realm, he ought to do?

Article 7.

Item. Whether the ſaid Curat, appointed in the abſence of your Parſon, or Vicar, do in all Points, the beſt he can, to miniſter the Sacraments, and Sacramentals; and other his Duty, in ſerving the ſame Cure, ſpecially in celebrating Divine Service at convenient hours, chiefly upon *Sundays*, and Holy-days, and Proceſſion-days, and miniſtring the ſaid Sacraments, and Sacramentals, as of Duty and Reaſon he ought, moving and exhorting earneſtly his Pariſhioners to come unto it, and devoutly to hear the ſame: and whether he himſelf do reverently celebrate, miniſter, and uſe the ſame as appertaineth?

Article 8.

Item. Whether he the ſaid Curat, Parſon, or Vicar, have been, or is of ſuſpect Doctrine, erroneous Opinion, Miſbelief, or evil Judgment; or do ſet forth, preach, favour, aid, or maintain the ſame, contrary to the Catholick Faith, and Order of this Realm?

Article 9.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do haunt or reſort to Alehouſes, or Taverns, otherwiſe than for his or their honeſt Neceſſity and Relief; or repair to any Dicing-houſes, common Bowling-Allies, ſuſpect Houſes, or Places; or do haunt and uſe Common Games, or Plays, or behave themſelves otherwiſe unprieſtly and unſeemly?

Article 10.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, be familiar, or keep company, and be converſant with any ſuſpected Perſon of evil Converſation and Living, or Erroneous Opinion or Doctrine, or be noted to aid, favour, and aſſiſt the ſame in any wiſe, contrary to the good Order of this Realm, and the uſage of the Catholick Church?

Article 11.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your Pariſhes, any Prieſt, Forreigner, Stranger, or other, who not preſented to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or his Officers, examined and admitted by ſome one of them, doth take upon him to ſerve any Cure, or to miniſter any Sacraments, or Sacramentals, within the ſaid Pariſh?

Article 12.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your Pariſhes, or repairing thither any Prieſt, or other, naming himſelf Miniſter, which doth not come diligently to the Church to hear the Divine Service, or Sermons there; but abſenteth himſelf, or diſcourageth others by his example, or words, to come unto the ſame, expreſſing their Name and Sir-name, with ſufficient knowledg of them?

Article 13.

Item. Whether there be any Married Prieſts, or naming themſelves Miniſters, that do keep any Aſſemblies, or Conventicles, with ſuch-like as they are, in Office or Sect, to ſet forth any Doctrine or Uſage not allowed by the Laws, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Realm; or whether there be any reſort of any of them to any Place, for any privy Letters, Sermons, Plays, Games, or other Devices, not expreſly in this Realm by Laws allowed?

Article 14.

Item. Whether there be any of them, which is a common Brawler, Scolder, a ſower of Diſcord among his Pariſh Churches, a Hawker, a Hunter, or ſpending his time idely or unthriftily; or being a Fornicator, an Adulterer, a Drunkard, a common Swearer or Blaſphemer of God or his Saints, or an unruly or evil-diſpoſed Perſon; or that hath come to his Benefice or Promotion, by Simony, unlawful Suit, or ungodly Means, in any Ways?

Article 15.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, to the beſt of their Powers, at all times have exhorted and ſtirred the People to Quietneſs and Concord, and to the Obedience of the King and Queens Majeſty's, and their Officers, rebuking all Sedition and Tumult, with all unlawful Aſſemblies, moving the People to Charity and good Order; and charging the Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors of Youth, to keep good Rule, and to inſtruct them in Vertue and Goodneſs, to the Honour of God, and of this Realm; and to have them occupied in ſome honeſt Art and Occupation, to get their Living thereby?

Article 16.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do admit any Perſon to receive the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, who are openly known or ſuſpected to be Adverſaries and Speakers againſt the ſaid Sacrament, or any other Article of the Catholick Faith; or to be a notorious evil Perſon in his Converſation or Doctrine; an open Oppreſſor, or evil Doer to his Neighbour, not being confeſſed, reconciled, and having made ſatisfaction in that behalf?

Article 17.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have of their own Authority admitted and licenſed any to preach in their Cure, not being authoriſed and admitted thereunto, or have denied and refuſed ſuch to preach as have been lawfully licenſed: and whether they, or any of them, having authority to preach within their Cures, doth uſe to preach, or at the leaſt doth procure other lawful or ſufficient Perſons to do the ſame, according to the Order of this Realm?

Article 18.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, ſince the Queen's Majeſty's Proclamation, hath, or doth uſe to ſay, or ſing, the Divine Service, miniſter the Sacraments, or Sacramentals, or other things, in Engliſh, contrary to the Order of this Realm?

Article 19.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, in their Suffrages, Collects, and Prayers, doth uſe to pray for the King and Queen's Majeſty, by the names of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, according to a Letter and Commandment therein lawfully given now of late unto them by their Ordinary?

Article 20.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have diligently moved and exhorted their Pariſhioners, how and in what manner Children ſhould be Baptized in time of neceſſity; and they the ſaid Pariſhioners, reverently and devoutly to prepare themſelves to receive and uſe the Sacraments, eſpecially the Sacrament of the Altar, or to be confeſſed and receive at the Prieſt's hand, the benefit of Abſolution, according to the laudable cuſtom of this Realm?

Article 21.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, hath diligently viſited his and their Pariſhioners, in the time of Sickneſs and Need, and miniſtred Sacraments and Sacramentals to them accordingly; and whether they have exhorted and moniſhed them to have due reſpect to their Souls Health; and alſo to ſet an Order in their Temporal Lands and Goods, declaring their Debts perfectly, and what is owing unto them; and they ſo to make their Teſtaments, and laſt Wills, that as much as may be, all trouble and buſineſs may be excluded; their Wives and Children, with their Friends, may be holpen and ſuccoured, and themſelves decently buried and prayed for; and to have an honeſt memory and commendations for their ſo doing?

Article 22.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have ſolemnized Matrimony, between and his Pariſhioners, or any other Perſons, the Banes not before asked, three ſeveral *Sundays*, or Holy-days; or without Certificate of the ſaid Banes, from the Curat of any other Pariſh, if any of them be of another Pariſh: And whether touching the Solemnization and uſe of this Sacrament of Matrimony, and alſo of all other the Sacraments of the Church, they have kept and obſerved the old and laudable Cuſtom of the Church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the ſame?

Article 23.

Item. Whether they, or every each of them, upon the *Sunday* at the Service-time, doth uſe to ſet forth, and to declare unto the People, all ſuch Holy-days, and Faſting-days, as of Godly uſage and cuſtom hath heretofore laudably been accuſtomed to be kept and obſerved in the week following and enſuing; and whether they, and every of them doth obſerve and keep themſelves the ſaid Holy-days, and Faſting-days?

Article 24.

Item. Whether the Parſon, or Vicar, doth repair and maintain his Chancel, and Manſion-houſe, in ſufficient reparation; and the ſame being in decay, whether he doth beſtow yearly the fifth part of his Benefice, till ſuch time the ſame be ſufficiently repaired; doing alſo further his Duty therein, and otherwiſe, as by the Law he is charged and bound in that behalf, diſtributing and doing as he is bound by the Law?

Article 25.

Item. Whether there be any Perſon that doth ſerve any Cure, or miniſter any Sacraments, not being Prieſt; or if any do take upon them to uſe the Room and Office of the Parſon, or Vicar, or Curat, of any Benefice or Spiritual Promotion, receiving the Fruits thereof, not being admitted thereunto by the Ordinary?

Article 26.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, doth go in Prieſtly Apparel and Habit, having their Beards and Crowns ſhaven, or whether any of them doth go in Lay-mens Habits and Apparel, or otherwiſe diſguiſe themſelves, that they cannot eaſily be diſcovered or known from Lay-men?

Article 27.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have many Promotions and Benefices Eccleſiaſtical, Cures, Secular Services, Yearly Penſions, Annuities, Farms, or other Revenues, now in Title or Poſſeſſion; and what the Names of them be, and where they lie, giving all good inſtruction, and perfect information therein?

Article 28.

Item. Whether ſuch as have Churches or Chappels appropriated, or Manſions or Houſes thereto appertaining, do keep their Chancels and Houſes in good and ſufficient reparations; and whether they do all things in Diſtributions and Alms, or otherwiſe, as by Law and good Order they ought to do?

Article 29.

Item. Whether any ſuch as were ordered Schiſmatically, and contrary to the old Order and Cuſtom of the Catholick Church, or being unlawfully and ſchiſmatically married, after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the Ordinary, have celebrated or ſaid, either Maſs or Divine Service, within any Cure or Place of this City or Dioceſs?

Article 30.

Item. Whether any Parſon, or Vicar, or other, having Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, doth ſet out the ſame to Farm, without conſent, knowledg, and licenſe of his Ordinary, eſpecially for an unreaſonable number of Years, or with ſuch Conditions, Qualities, or Manners, that the ſame is to the great prejudice of the Church, and the incumbent of the ſame, and eſpecially of him that ſhall ſucceed therein?

Article 31.

Item. Whether there be any Parſon or Vicar, Curat or Prieſt, that occupieth buying and ſelling as a Merchant, or occupieth Uſury, or layeth out his Mony for filthy Lucres-ſake and Gain, to the ſlander of the Prieſthood?

Article 32.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do wear Swords, Daggers, or other Weapons, in times or places not convenient or ſeemly ?

Article 33.

Item. Whether any Prieſt, or Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, have reiterated or renewed Baptiſm, which was lawfully done before, or invented or followed any new Faſhion or Forms, contrary to the Order of the Catholick Church ?

Article 34.

Item. Whether the Parſon, Vicar, or Curat, do (according to the Law) every quarter in the Year, upon one ſolemn Day, or more, that is to wit, upon the *Sunday*, or Solemn Feaſt (when the Pariſhioners, by the Order of the Church do come together) expound and declare by himſelf, or ſome other ſufficient Perſon, unto the People, in the Vulgar, or Common Tongue, plainly, truly, and fruitfully, the Articles of the Catholick Faith, the Ten Commandments expreſſed in the Old Law, the Two Commandments of the Goſpel, or New Law; that is, of earneſt Love to God, and to our Neighbour; the ſeven Works of Mercy; the ſeven deadly Sins, with their Off-ſpring, Progeny, and Iſſue; the ſeven principal Vertues, and the ſeven Sacraments of the Church ?

Article 35.

Item. Whether that every Prieſt, having Cure, do admoniſh the Women, that are with Child, within his Cure, to come to Confeſſion, and to receive the Sacrament, eſpecially when their time draweth nigh, and to have Water in readineſs to chriſten the Child, if neceſſity ſo require it ?

Article 36.

Item. Whether Stipendiary Prieſts do behave themſelves diſcreetly and honeſtly, in all Points, towards their Parſon, or Vicar, giving an Oath, and doing according to the Law, and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, Ordinances, and laudable Cuſtoms in that behalf ?

Article 37.

Item. Whether any Parſon, Vicar, or other, having any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, have made any alienation of any thing pertaining to their Church, Benefice, or Promotion; what it is, and what warrant they had ſo to do.

Number 16.

An Addreſs made by the Lower Houſe of Convocation, to the Upper Houſe.

Ex MS.Col. Cor.C.*Cant.*

Right Reverend Fathers in God, We the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, of the Lower Houſe, do moſt humbly pray your good Lordſhips, That touching the Submiſſion and Order of the Lands and Poſſeſſions which ſometimes did appertain to divers Biſhops, Cathedral Churches, and to the late ſuppreſſed Monaſteries, Priories, Colleges, Chauntries, and free Chappels, and other Churches within this Realm, and be now in the poſſeſſion of the Temporality, that it may pleaſe your good Lordſhips, by your diſcreet Wiſdoms, to foreſee and provide, that by this our Grant, nothing paſs, which may be prejudicial or hurtful to any Biſhop, or other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, or their Succeſſors, for or concerning any Action, Right, Title, or Intereſt, which by the Laws of this Realm are already grown, or may hereafter grow or riſe to them, or any of them, and their Succeſſors, for any Lands, Tenements, Penſions, Portions, Tithes, Rents, Reverſions, Service, or other Hereditaments, which ſometime appertained to the ſaid Biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, in the Right of their Churches, or otherwiſe, but that the ſame Right, Title, and Intereſt, be ſafe and reſerved to them, and every of them and their Succeſſors, according to the ſaid Laws.

And further, whereas in the Statute paſſed in the firſt Year of *Edward* the Sixth, for the ſuppreſſing of all Colleges, &c. *Proviſo* was made by the ſaid Statute, in reſpect of the ſame Surrender, that Schools and Hoſpitals ſhould have been erected and founded in divers parts of this Realm, for the good education of Youth in Vertue and Learning, and the better ſuſtentation of the Poor; and that other Works, beneficial for the Common-Weal, ſhould have been executed, which hitherto be not performed, according to the meaning of the ſaid Statute, it may pleaſe your good Lordſhips to move the King's and the Queen's moſt Royal Majeſty, and the Lord Cardinal, to have ſome ſpecial conſideration for the due performance of the Premiſes; and that as well the ſame may the rather come to paſs, as the Church of *England*, which heretofore hath been hononourably endowed with Lands and Poſſeſſions, may have ſome recovery of ſo notable Damages and Loſſes which ſhe hath ſuſtained.

It may pleaſe their Highneſs, with the aſſent of the Lords and Commons in this Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, to repeal, make fruſtrate and void, the Statute of *Mortmayn*, made in the ſeventh Year of *Edward* the Firſt, otherwiſe intituled, *de Religioſis*, and the Statute concerning the ſame, made the 15*th* Year of King *Richard* the Second. And all and every other Statute and Statutes, at any time heretofore made concerning the ſame. And foraſmuch as Tythes and Oblations have been at all times aſſigned and appointed for the ſuſtentation of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters; and in conſideration of the ſame; their Miniſtry and Office, which as yet cannot be executed by any Lay Perſon, ſo it is not meet that any of them ſhould perceive, poſſeſs, or enjoy the ſame; That all Impropriations, now being in the hands of any Lay Perſon, or Perſons, and Impropriations made to any ſecular uſe, other than for the maintenance of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, Univerſities, and Schools, may be, by like Authority of Parliament, diſſolved, and the Churches reduced to ſuch State as they were in, before the ſame Impropriations were made. And in this behalf we ſhall moſt humbly pray your good Lordſhips to have in ſpecial Conſideration, how lately the Lands and Poſſeſſions of Prebends, in certain Cathedral Churches within this Realm, have been taken away from the ſame Prebends, to the uſe of certain private Perſons; and in the lieu thereof, Benefices of notable value, impropriated to the Cathedral Churches in which the ſaid Prebends were founded, to the no little decay of the ſaid Cathedral Churches and Benefices, and the Hoſpitality kept in the ſame.

Farther, Right Reverend Fathers, we perceiving the godly forwardneſs in your good Lordſhips, in the reſtitution of this noble Church of *England*, to the priſtine State and Unity of Chriſt's Church, which now of late Years have been grievouſly infected with Hereſies, perverſe and ſchiſmatical Doctrine, ſown abroad in this Realm by evil Preachers, to the great loſs and danger of many Souls, accounting our ſelves to be called hither by your Lordſhips, out of all parts of the Province of *Canterbury*, to treat with your Lordſhips concerning, as well the ſame, as of other things touching the State and Quietneſs of the ſame Church, in Doctrine and in Manners, have, for the furtherance of your godly doing therein, deviſed theſe Articles following to be further conſidered and enlarged, as to your Lordſhips Wiſdoms ſhall be thought expedient. Wherein, as you do earneſtly think many things meet and neceſſary to be reform'd; ſo we doubt not but your Lordſhips, having reſpect to God's Glory, and the good Reformation of things amiſs, will no leſs travel to bring the ſame to paſs. And we, for our part, ſhall be at all times ready to do every thing, as by your Lordſhips Wiſdoms ſhall be thought expedient.

1. We deſign to be reſolved, Whether that all ſuch as have preach'd in any part within this Realm, or other the King and Queen's Dominions, any Heretical, Erroneous, or Seditious Doctrine, ſhall be called before the Ordinaries of ſuch Places where they now dwell, or be Benefic'd, and upon examination, to be driven to recant openly ſuch their Doctrine in all Places where they have preach'd the ſame? And otherwiſe, Whether any Order ſhall be made, and Proceſs to be made herein againſt them, according to the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church in ſuch Caſe uſed?

2. That the peſtilent Book of *Thomas Cranmer*, late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, made againſt the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and the Schiſmatical Book, called, *The Communion Book*, and the Book of Ordering of Eccleſiaſtical Mininiſters; all ſuſpect Tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament, the Authors whereof are recited in a Statute made the Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, and all other Books, as well in Latin as in Engliſh, concerning any Heretical, Erroneous, or

Slanderous Doctrine, may be deſtroyed and burnt throughout this Realm. And that publick Commandment be given in all Places to every Man having any ſuch Books, to bring in the ſame to the Ordinary, by a certain day, or otherwiſe to be taken and reputed as a favourer of ſuch Doctrine. And that it may be lawful to every Biſhop, and other Ordinary, to make enquiry and due ſearch, from time to time for the ſaid Books, and to take them from the Owners and Poſſeſſors of them, for the purpoſe aboveſaid.

3. And for the better repreſs of all ſuch peſtilent Books, That Order may be taken with all ſpeed, that no ſuch Books may be printed, uttered, or ſold, within this Realm, or brought from beyond the Seas, or other parts, into the ſame, upon grievous pains to all ſuch as ſhall preſume to attempt the contrary.

4. And that the Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, may, with better ſpeed, root up all ſuch pernicious Doctrine, and the Authors thereof; We deſire that the Statutes made, *Anno quinto* of *Richard* the Second, *Anno ſecundo* of *Henry* the Fourth, and *Anno ſecundo* of *Henry* the Fifth, againſt Hereticks, Lollards, and falſe Preachers, may be by your Induſtrious Suit reviv'd and put in force, as ſhall be thought convenient. And generally, that all Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Ordinaries, may be reſtored to their Priſtine Juriſdiction againſt Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and their Fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were, in the firſt Year of King *Henry* the Eighth.

5. And that the Premiſes may be the better executed by the preſence of Beneficed Men in their Cures, the Statutes made *Anno* 21. of *Henry* the Eighth, concerning Pluralities of Benefices, and *Non*-reſidence of Beneficed Men; by reaſon whereof, a larger Liberty or Licenſe is given to a great multitude of Prieſts and Chaplains to be abſent from their Benefices with Cure, than was ever permitted by the Canon Laws, and all other Statutes touching the ſame, may be repealed, void, and aboliſhed; and that the Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, may call all Beneficed Men to be reſident upon their Cures, as before the making of that Act they might have done.

6. *Item.* That the Ordinaries do, from time to time, make Proceſs for puniſhment of all Simoniacal Perſons, of whom it is thought there were never ſo many within this Realm. And that not only the Clerks, but alſo the Patrons, and all the Mediators of ſuch Pactions may be puniſh'd. Wherein we think good that Order were taken; that the Patrons ſhould loſe their Patronage during their natural Lives, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions of this Realm.

7. *Item.* That the ancient Liberty, Authority, and Juriſdiction, be reſtored to the Church of *England*, according to the Article of the great Charter, called, *Magna Charta*; at the leaſt wiſe, in ſuch ſort as it was in the firſt Year of *Henry* the Eighth; and touching this Article, we ſhall deſire your Lordſhips to be with us moſt humble Suitors to the King's and Queen's Majeſty, and to the Lord Legat, for the remiſſion of the importable Burdens of the Firſt-Fruits, Tenths, and Subſidies. In which Suit, whatſoever advancement your Lordſhips ſhall think good to be offered unto their Majeſties for the ſame, we ſhall therein be always glad to do as ſhall be thought good.

8. *Item.* That no Attachment of Premunire be awarded againſt any Biſhop, or other Ordinary Eccleſiaſtical from henceforth in any Matter, but that a Prohibition be firſt brought to the ſame, and that it may pleaſe the King's and Queen's Majeſty, to command the Temporal Judges of this Realm, to explicate and declare plainly, all and ſingular Articles of the Premunire, and to make a certain Doctrine thereof.

9. *Item.* That the Statutes of the Proviſors be not drawn by unjuſt Interpretation out of their proper Caſes, nor from the proper ſenſe of the words of the ſame Statutes.

10. *Item.* That the Statute of Submiſſion of the Clergy, made *Anno* 25. of *Henry* the Eighth, and all other Statutes made during the time of the late Schiſm, in derogation of the Liberties and Juriſdictions of the Church, from the firſt Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, may be repealed, and the Church reſtored *in integrum*.

11. *Item.* That the Statute made for finding of great Horſes by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, may likewiſe be repealed.

12. *Item.* That Uſurers may be puniſh'd by the Common Laws, as in times paſt hath been uſed.

13. *Item.* That thoſe which lay violent Hands upon any Prieſt, or other Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter, being in Orders, may be puniſh'd by the Canon Laws, as in times paſt hath been uſed.

14. *Item.* That all Prieſts, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons, and all other having Prebends, or other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions or Benefices, from henceforth uſe ſuch Prieſt-like Habit, as the quality of his State and Benefice requireth.

15. *Item.* That Married Prieſts may be compelled to forſake their Women, whom they took as their Wives.

16. *Item.* That an Order may be taken for the bringing up of Youth in good Learning and Vertue; and that the School-Maſters of this Realm may be Catholick Men, and all other to be removed that are either Sacramentaries, or Hereticks, or otherwiſe notable Criminous Perſons.

17. *Item.* That all exempt and peculiar Places may, from henceforth be immediately under the Juriſdiction of that Arch-Biſhop, or Biſhop, and Arch-deacon, within whoſe ſeveral Dioceſs and Arch-deaconry, the ſame are preſently conſtitute and ſcituate. And whereas divers Temporal Men, by reaſon of late Purchaſes of certain Abbies, and exempt Places, have, by their Letters Patents, or otherwiſe, granted unto them Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the ſaid Places; That from henceforth the ſaid Juriſdiction be devolv'd to the Arch-Biſhop, or Biſhop, and Arch-Deacon, within whoſe Dioceſs, and Arch-deaconry the ſame now be.

18. *Item.* Where the Mayor of *London*, by force of a Decree made, *Anno* . of *Henry* the Eighth, hath attributed unto him the Cognition of Cauſes of Tythes in *London*; that from henceforth the ſame Cognition, and Juriſdiction, may utterly ceaſe, and be reduced immediately to the Biſhop of *London* Ordinary there.

19. *Item.* That Tythes may be henceforth paid according to the Canon Laws.

20. *Item.* That Lands and Places impropriated to Monaſteries, which at the time of Diſſolution and Suppreſſion thereof, were exempt from payment of Tythes, may be now allotted to certain Pariſhes, and there chargeable to pay like Tythes as other Pariſhoners do.

21. *Item.* That there be a ſtreight Law made, whereby the reparations of Chancels, which are notoriouſly decay'd through the Realm, may be duly repaired, from time to time, by ſuch as by the Law ought to do the ſame; and namely, ſuch as be in the King's and Queen's Hands; and that the Ordinaries may lawfully proceed in Cauſes of Dilapidations, as well of them as of all other Parſonages, Vicarages, and other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Promotions.

22. *Item.* That Order be taken for the more ſpeedy payment of Penſions to all Prieſts, Pentionaries; and that they may have the ſame, without long Suits or Charges.

23. *Item.* That an Order be taken for payment of Perſonal Tythes, in Cities, and Towns, and elſewhere, as was uſed in *Anno* 21. of *Henry* the Eighth.

24. *Item.* That ſuch Prieſts as were lately married, and refuſe to reconcile themſelves to their Order, and to be reſtored to Miniſtration, may have ſome ſpecial Animadverſion, whereby, as Apoſtates, they may, be diſcern'd from other.

25. *Item.* That Religious Women, which be married, may be divorced.

26. *Item.* That in Divorces, which are made from Bed and Board, Proviſion may be made, that the Innocent Woman may enjoy ſuch Lands and Goods as were hers before the Marriage, or that happened to come to her uſe at any time during the Marriage; and that it may not be lawful for the Huſband, being for his Offence divorced from the ſaid Woman, to intermeddle himſelf with the ſaid Lands or Goods, unleſs his Wife be to him reconciled.

27. *Item.* That Wardens of Churches and Chappels, may render their Accounts before the Ordinaries, and may be by them compell'd to do the ſame.

28. *Item.* That all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Perſons as lately have ſpoiled Cathedral, Collegiat, and other Churches, of their own head and temerity, may be compelled to reſtore all and ſingular things by them taken away, or the true value thereof; and farther, to re-edify ſuch things, as by them are deſtroy'd and defac'd.

Number

Number 17.

A Bull, conſtituting Cardinal Beaton *Arch-Biſhop of St.* Andrews, *Legate a* Latere *in the Kingdom of* Scotland.

An Original.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

PAulus Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Davidi, & Sancti Stephani in Celiomonte Preſbitero Cardinali Sancti Andreæ nuncupato, apud Chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam noſtram Mariam Scotorum Reginam Illuſtrem, & in toto Scotiæ Regno, & Univerſis & ſingulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Caſtris, & Locis præfatæ Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate Subjectis, noſtro Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Licet poteſtatis plenitudo deſuper nobis ſit commiſſa, & Univerſi Gregis Domini, divina diſponente Clementia, curam habeamus; fines tamen humanæ poſſibilitatis excedere non valentes, conſiderante'ſq; quod circa ſingula per nos ipſos Apoſtolicæ ſervitutis Officium abſolvere non poſſumus, nonunquam aliquos, & præcipue Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinales, in Sollicitudinis partem aſſumimus; ut ipſis vices noſtras ſupplentibus, eorum cooperatione laudabili noſtri oneris gravitatem alleviantes, miniſterium nobis Commiſſum, Divina favente gratia, facilius & efficacius exequamur: Animo itaq; volventes multa quotidie eventura ob quæ opportunum atq; neceſſarium erit, cum chariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra Maria Scotorum Regina Illuſtri, ſuper pluribus Decus, Dignitatem ac Statum Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ, Sanctæq; ſedis Apoſtolicæ concernentibus pertractare; ac nobis perſuadentes quod Circumſpectio tua, quæ rerum maximarum uſu & experientia, ac ſingulari in agendo ſtudio & dexteritate, nec minori prudentia & ingenii Acrimonia ita præſtat, quod quæcunq; contigerint cum illa Majeſtate, noſtro & prædictæ ſedis nomine communicanda, tractanda, & peragenda, quæ noſtrum & dictæ ſedis honorem ipſamq; dignitatem reſpiciunt, necnon illa quæ eidem Circumſpectioni tuæ duxerimus committenda, ea cura, induſtria, & ſolertia proſequeris, & adimplere curabis ut voluntas noſtra, quæ non niſi ad Gregem cuſtodiæ noſtræ commiſſum, tuendum, & ampliandum invigilat, optatum finem ſortiatur; Habita ſuper his cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, matura deliberatione, de ipſorum Fratrum Conſilio, Circumſpectionem tuam apud dictam Mariam Reginam, necnon in toto Scotiæ Regno, ac univerſis & ſingulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Caſtris, & Locis eidem Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate ſubjectis, noſtrum & ſedis prædictæ Legatum, ad beneplacitum noſtrum, Creamus, Conſtituimus & Deputamus. Circumſpectio igitur tua munus hujuſmodi devota mente ſuſcipiens, ſe in illius executione ſic ſollicitam, ac verbo & opere ſtudioſam diligentemq; exhibeat, quod ex tuis laboribus divina favente gratia optati fructus, quod ſperamus, ſuccedant: Tuq; per ſollicitudinem tuam præter æternæ retributionis præmium, poſſis apud nos & ſedem eandem merito commendari. Nos autem, ut ipſi expectati fructus quantocius, emanent, & tu erga Perſonas Regni, Provinciarum, Civitatum, Terrarum, Caſtrorum, & Locorum prædictorum, necnon familiares tuos continuos, commenſales, undecunq; originem & ubicunq; Domicilium habentes, tuis obſequiis inſiſtentes, & tibi ſervientes, te poſſis reddere gratioſum, Circumſpectioni tuæ Matrimoniales & Beneficiales, ac alias Eccleſiaſticas necnon ſpirituales & prophanas cauſas quaſlibet, ad forum Eccleſiaſticum quomodolibet pertinentes, tam primæ inſtantiæ, quem Appellatione quorumcunque, etiam a quibuſcunq; Judicibus, Ordinariis & Delegatis, etiam per nos & ſedem prædictam, ſeu quoſcunq; alios etiam a Latere Legatos, & Judices interpoſitarum pro tempore, & durante dicta Legatione interponendarum, etiam Summarie, ſimpliciter, & de plano, ſine ſtrepitu & figura Judicii, ſola facti veritate inſpecta; cum poteſtate citandi, & inhibendi, ac ſequeſtrandi, & exequendi, etiam per edictum publicum conſtituto, ſummariæ & extrajudicialiter, de non tuto acceſſu, etiam ſub cenſuris & pænis Eccleſiaſticis etiam pecuniariis, tuo vel tuorum Delegatorum arbitrio moderandis, exigendis & applicandis, per te, vel alium ſeu alios, audiendas, cognoſcendas, & fine debito terminandas, delegandi; illaſq; etiamſi per nos aut alios Autoritate Apoſtolica delegatæ forent, ſeu alias coram quocunq; penderent, cum tibi placuerit, ad te advocandi, & aliis etiam ſimpliciter committendi, & adverſus quaſcunq; ſententias, & res Judicatas, ac Contractus, & Leſiones quaſcunque, dictis tuis familiaribus Beneficium Reſtitutionis in integrum concedendi. Ac Officium Tabellionatus quibuſcunq; perſonis idoneis, recepto ab eis in forma ſolita juramento, concedendi: illoſq; Tabelliones creandi, & Notariatus Officio inveſtiendi, alias juxta formam in Quinterno Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ deſcriptam: Ac Milites auratos, Comiteſq; Palatinos, & Poetas Laureatos creandi, conſtituendi, & deputandi: Ac perſonas ſufficientes & idoneas ad Doctoratus, ſeu Licenciaturæ, & Baccalaureatus in utroq; vel altero Jurium, & etiam ad Magiſterii tam in Theologia quam Artibus, & Medicina, vel alios gradus hujuſmodi promovendi; eiſq; inſignia ſolita & debita, conferendi, & exhibendi, ſeu exhiberi & conferri faciendi, eiſq; quod omnibus & ſingulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Libertatibus, immunitatibus, exemptionibus, & indultis, quibus alii Milites aurati, Poetæ Laureati, & Comites Palatini, per nos & ſedem prædictam, creati & inſtituti, necnon ad hujuſmodi Gradus in Univerſitatibus Studiorum generalium, juxta illos actus & mores, ac ſervatis ſervandis promoti utuntur, potiuntur & gaudent; ſeu uti, potiri, & gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum; uti, potiri & gaudere, libere & licite poſſint, & debeant indulgendi. Ac cum Nobilibus & Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Tria, & ſi cum eis ad Duo incompatibilia Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, inſimul ad vitam obtinenda diſpenſatum foret; cum eis ut quodcunq; Tertium, cum aliis vero non Nobilibus aut Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Duo Curata, ſeu alias invicem incompatibilia, etiam ſi dignitas, Perſonatus, Adminiſtrationes, vel Officia in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, vel Collegiatis: & Dignitates ipſe in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, poſt Pontificales Majores, ſeu Collegiatis Eccleſiis hujuſmodi Principales, aut duo ex eiſdem Parrochiales Eccleſiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ fuerint: Et ad dignitates, perſonatus, adminiſtrationes, vel officia hujuſmodi conſueverint, qui per electionem aſſumi, eiſq; cura immineat animarum, necnon quæcunq; duo diſſimilia, vel ſimilia, ſub uno, duobus vel tribus tectis dictarum vel aliarum Eccleſiarum conſiſtentia: Ac cum quibuſvis Perſonis, cujuſvis Ordinis, Monachis, Canonicis, & Religioſis, ut quæcunq; duo Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, cum cura vel ſine cura regularia, aut cum eorum altero, ſeu ſine illis, unum curatum ſeculare, & cum quibuſvis Clericis Secularibus, ut unum Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum cum cura, vel ſine cura cujuſvis Ordinis regulare, etiam ſi beneficia regularia hujuſmodi Prioratus, præpoſituræ, præpoſitatus, Dignitates, Perſonatus, Adminiſtrationes vel Officia fuerint; & ad illos illas vel illa conſueverint, qui per electionem aſſumi, eiſq; cura immineat animarum: Regulares, videlicet unum ex dictis regularibus beneficiis quod maluerint, ſi Prioratus, præpoſitura, aut alia Dignitas Conventualis, aut officium clauſtrale fuerit, in titulum & ipſi regulares reliquum, ac ſeculare vel alterius Ordinis regulare; necnon Clerici Seculares unum quod Conventuale aut Clauſtrale non ſit, in commendam quoad vixerint, vel ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur retinere, ac de ipſius commendandi beneficii, fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus diſponere, & ordinare, ſicuti illud in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis diſponere & ordinare potuerunt, ſeu etiam debuerunt; Alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, & precioſorum mobilium, dicti Benificii in Commendam retinendi, eis penitus interdicta: Necnon cum petentibus defectum Natalium etiam regularibus, ut ad omnes etiam Sacros Ordines promoveri, & quæcumque, quotcumque, & qualiacunque Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica cum cura vel ſine cura, ac ſe invicem compatientia, etiam ſi Canonicatus, & Prebendæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis vel Collegiatis Eccleſiis, hujuſmodi ac alias ut præfertur qualificata fuerint; dummodo dignitates in Metropolitanis vel aliis Cathedralibus, poſt Pontificales Majores, & in Collegiatis Eccleſiis hujuſmodi Principales non exiſtant; ac etiam cum eis ſi graduati non fuerint, ut præfertur, ad duo, ſi vero graduati fuerint, ad tria incompatibilia beneficia hujuſmodi, non tamen dignitates majores ut præfertur, nec Principales, vel cum diſpenſatis ad duo ut tertium Curatum, vel alias incompatibile ut ſupradictum eſt, & cum regularibus etiam ad beneficia regularia ut præfertur, qualificata, & competentibus, ætatis defectum etiam regularibus, ſupra decimum ſeptimum ſuæ ætatis Annum, ut ſeculare quodcunq; Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum Curatum, vel alias incompatibile, etiam ſi dignitas, perſonatus, adminiſtratio, vel Officium in Cathedrali, vel Metropolitana vel Collegiata, etiam ſi dignitas ipſa in Cathedrali vel Metropolitana poſt Pontificalem majori, & in Collegiata Eccleſia hujuſmodi Principalis ſeu Parochialis Eccleſia, vel ejus perpetua Vicaria fuerit; & ad dignitates, perſonatus, adminiſtrationes, vel officia tam ſecularia quam regularia, hujuſmodi conſueverunt, quæ per electionem aſſumi, eiſq; cura immineat animarum, Regulares vero beneficium etiam ſeculare ut præfertur qualificatum, ſi eis alias canonice conferatur, aut ipſi eligantur, præſententur, vel alias aſſumantur ad illa & inſtituantur, in eis recipere & inſimul quoad vixerint retinere, illaq; ſimul vel ſucceſſive, ſimpliciter vel ex cauſa permutationis, quoties ſibi placuerit dimittere, & commendæ hujuſmodi cedere, ac loco dimiſſi vel dimiſſorum, aliud vel alia, ſimile vel diſſimile, aut ſimilia vel diſſimilia, beneficium ſeu beneficia, Eccleſiaſticum vel Eccleſiaſtica, quæcunque, quotcunque & qualiacunque compatientia, ſeu duo aut tria vel tertium curata, ſeu alias invicem incompacompatibilia, ac duo alia ſimilia vel diſſimilia, ſub uno vel duobus aut tribus tectis conſiſtentia, ac quæcunque, quotcunque & qualiacunque cum cura vel ſine cura, ſe invicem & cum prædictis compatientia, aut ſupra dictum decimum ſeptimum Annum agentes, curatum vel alias incompatibile Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum reſpective ſimiliter recipere, & dummodo inter ipſa tria incompatibilia plures quam duæ Parrochiales Eccleſiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ, aut duo Canonicatus & Prebendæ, ſeu duæ dignitates, perſonatus, adminiſtrationes, vel officia, ſub eodem tecto ac pro dictis patientibus, defectum Natalium, dignitates ipſæ in eiſdem Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis poſt Pontificales Majores, aut Collegiatis Eccleſiis hujuſmodi modo Principales non exiſtent, inſimul quoad vixerint vel ad tempus retinere. Quodq; conſtituto in ſexto decimo, ut ad Subdiaconatus, & in decimo octavo ad Diaconatus, ac in vigeſimo primo ſuarum ætatis Annis, etiam ſi ratione Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum per eos obtentorum arctati fuerint, ad Preſbiteratus Ordines, & tam ipſi quam quicunq; alii in ætate legitima conſtituti, & ſimiliter arctati, promoveri volentes, ut ad omnes ordines prædictos, etiam extra tempora a jure Statuta, quibuſvis diebus Dominicis, vel Feſtivis, & prout neceſſitas exegerit, ad duos ex ordinibus prædictis eodem die a quocunq; maluerint, Catholico Antiſtite, gratiam & communionem dictæ ſedis habente, alias tamen rite promoveri libere & licite poſſint. Quodq; obtinentes Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica curata, ſeu alias Sacros & Preſbiteratus Ordines hujuſmodi, tam de jure quam ex Statuto, fundatione, vel alias requirentia, ut ratione illorum, Uſque ad ſeptennium a fine Anni eis a jure præfixi computandum, ad aliquem ex Diaconatus & Preſbiteratus Ordinibus hujuſmodi, dummodo infra primum dicti ſeptennii Biennium ad dictum Subdiaconatus Ordinem promoti fuerint, ſe promoveri facere minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam, quavis Auctoritate inviti valeant coarctari; etiam unum, duo, vel plura ſeptennia, vel alia tempora ad id per nos aut ſedem eandem pluries conceſſa, & prorogata fuerint, & pendeant: Et cum quibuſvis Perſonis tertio aut quarto, aut mixtim, tertio & quarto, etiam multiplici conſanguinitatis ſeu affinitatis gradibus invicem conjunctis, & quocunq; impedimento publicæ honeſtatis, aut cum his qui per Adulterium ſe polluiſſent, dummodo in mortem defuncti conjugis quicquam machinati non fuiſſent, ut invicem matrionaliter copulari, & in contractis per eos ſcienter vel ignoranter Matrimoniis, cum abſolutione a cenſuris quas ſic ſcienter contrahendo incurriſſent, remanere poſſint, etiam prolem exinde ſuſceptam legitimam decernendo, diſpenſandi. Ac Perſonis quibuſcunque, Eccleſiaſticis Secularibus & Regularibus, ut quoad vixerint, vel ad aliud tempus in Romana Cura, vel altero Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum per eos obtentorum reſidendo, aut Literarum Studio in Loco ubi illud vigeat generale inſiſtendo, fructus, redditus & proventus omnium & ſingulorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, cum cura vel ſine cura, quæ in quibuſvis Eccleſiis ſive Locis pro tempore obtinebunt, etiam ſi ut præfertur, qualificata fuerint cum ea integritate, quotidianis diſtributionibus duntaxat exceptis, libere percipere valeant, cum qua illos perciperent, ſi in eiſdem Eccleſiis ſive locis perſonaliter reſiderent, & ad reſidendum interim in eiſdem minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam valeant coarctari. Proviſo quod beneficia prædicta debitis propterea non fraudentur obſequiis, & animarum

Cura in eis quibus illa immineat nullatenus negligatur; ſed per bonos & ſufficientes Vicarios, quibus de ipſorum beneficiorum proventibus neceſſaria congrue miniſtrentur, diligenter exerceatur, & deſerviatur inibi laudabiliter in divinis. Ac quibuſcunq; perſonis liceat habere Altare portatile, cum debitis Reverentia, & honore, ſuper quo in locis ad id congruentibus & honeſtis ſive alieni juris præjudicio: Et cum qualitas negotiorum pro tempore ingruentium id exegerit, antequam eluceſcat dies, circa tamen diurnam lucem, ita quod id nec eis, nec Sacerdoti taliter celebranti ad culpam valeat imputari, & cum eos ad loca Eccleſiaſtica interdicta ſuppoſita contigerit declinare, in illis clauſis Januis, Excommunicatis & interdictis excluſis, non pulſatis Campanis, & ſubmiſſa voce poſſint etiam per ſe ipſos, ſi Eccleſiaſtici & ad Preſbiteratus ordinem rite promoti fuerint, aut per proprium vel alium Sacerdotem, Miſſas & alia Divina Officia in ſua & famulorum ſuorum domeſticorum præſentia celebrare, & celebrari facere; dummodo ipſi vel illi cauſam non dederint interdicto, nec id ipſis vel illis contigerit ſpecialiter interdici: Proviſo etiam quod parce hujuſmodi conceſſione ante diem, celebrandi & celebrari faciendi utantur; quia cum in Altaris Miniſterio imoletur Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, qui Candor eſt Lucis æternæ, convenit hoc non noctis tenebris fieri, ſed in Luce. Ac quibuſcunq; Perſonis ut Confeſſorem ſeu Confeſſores idoneos eligere poſſint, qui eos & eorum quemlibet juxta formam in quinterno dictæ Cancellariæ annotatam, poterit abſolvere. Necnon quibuſvis Perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſecularibus ut quoad vixerint, & quoties eis placuerit, per ſeipſas aut cum uno Preſbitero, ſeu Clerico, ſocio ſeu familiari, horas Canonicas diurnas & nocturnas, ac alia divina officia ſecundum uſum & morem Romanæ Eccleſiæ, etiam juxta ritum Breviarii noviter impreſſi, extra tamen chorum Eccleſiæ, dicere & recitare, libere & licite valeant; & ad alium uſum ſuper hoc obſervandum, etiam ratione beneficiorum per eas obtentorum, minime teneantur, nec ad id compelli poſſint, indulgendi. Quodq; quilibet Sacerdos aut Religioſus Eccleſiaſt. Sacramenta miniſtrare valeat, Juræ Parrochialis Eccleſiæ, & cujuſlibet alterius in omnibus ſemper ſalvo. Concedendi, ac Mulieribus honeſtis quibuſcunque, ut quæcunq; Monaſteria, & domos Monialium quarumcunque, etiam obſervantiæ regularis exempta & non exempta, quomodocunq; recluſa, cum aliquibus Matronis etiam honeſtis, de conſenſu eorum qui dictis Monaſteriis & Domibus præfuerint, dummodo inibi non pernoctent, Devotionis cauſa ingredi valeant: Ac Rectoribus Parrochialium Eccleſiarum, & aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, Curatorum, vel quoſcunq; eorum, Parrochianos utriuſq; ſexus, ab omnibus & ſingulis eorum peccatis, & Criminibus, in Caſibus in quibus Ordinarii locorum de Jure vel conſuetudine, aut alias abſolvere poſſint; Et in illis qui ſedi prædictæ reſervati non fuerint, abſolvere, Ac vota quæcunque per eos pro tempore emiſſa, preterquam ſedi prædictæ reſervata, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant: Ac quibuſcunq; perſonis utriuſque ſexus, Secularibus, Eccleſiaſticis, Religioſis, Mendicantibus, quæ Zelo Devotionis accenſæ, Sepulchrum Dominicum, & alia pia Loca & Oratoria terræ Sanctæ, deſiderant perſonaliter viſitare, quibuſvis prohibitionibus Apoſtolicis in contrarium factis non obſtantibus, Sepulchrum & alia Loca prædicta viſitare. Et in locis in quibus uſus olei non habetur, ut Butiro & Caſeo & infirmi de Conſilio utriuſq; Medici,

Carnibus

Carnibus Veſci, & licite uti valeant, indulgendi. Necnon quæcunq; Juramenta ad effectum agendi, ac etiam ſimpliciter ut tibi videbitur, dummodo alicui exinde magnum præjudicium non fiat, relaxandi. Ac quoſcunq; qui Perjurii Reatum incurrerint, ab illo abſolvendi, & ad Priores honores, Statum, & famam reſtituendi, ac plenarie reintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam ſive notam, Præmiſſorum occaſione contractam, pœnitus abolendi : ' Ac quoſcunque per ſaltum, vel furtive, ad aliquos ſacros Ordines promotos, ab exceſſu quem propterea incurrerint, abſolvendi ; vel ut ad aliquos alios ſi promoti non eſſent, alias rite promoveri, libere & licite poſſint diſpenſandi : Abſolvendi quoq; omnes & ſingulos qui Simoniæ labem, tam in beneficiis per eos habitis cujuſcunq; qualitatis fuerint, quam Ordinibus per eos ſuſceptis contraxerint, ab illa & excommunicationis aliiſq; cenſuris, & pænis Eccleſiaſticis quas propterea incurrerint ; & ſuper Irregularitate ſi quam illis ligati, Miſſas & alia Divina Officia, non tamen in contemptum Clavium, celebrando, ſeu alias ſe immiſcendo, contraxiſſent, diſpenſandi : omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, ſimiliter per eos dicta occaſione, ac etiam ſi forſan aliqua beneficia, curata vel alias incompatibilia, poſt & contra fœlicis recordationis Johannis Papæ 22, Prædeceſſoris noſtri, quæ incipit, Execrabilis, Conſtitutionem detinuiſſent, & detinerent, fructus perripiendo, ex eiſdem contractam abolendi ; dictaq; beneficia eis, facta tamen per eos prius de fructibus male perceptis, debita Compoſitione pro Camera Apoſtolica, denuo conferendi : Et eos qui etiam Parrochiales Eccleſias, vel alia beneficia Eccleſiaſtica Preſbiteratus vel alium ordinem requirentia, intra Annum vel aliud tempus pacifice poſſediſſent, & ea poſtmodum detinuiſſent & detineant, ad dictum Preſbiteratus ordinem legitimo ceſſante impedimento, nullaq; per eos deſuper diſpenſatione obtenta, non promoti, fructus etiam percipiendo, abſolvendi ; omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, ſive notam, ſimiliter per eos dicta occaſione contractam, pænitus tollendi, eiſq; de novo de beneficiis prædictis ſic detentis providendi, facta tamen debita de fructibus male perceptis, pro Camera prædicta ut prædictum eſt, compoſitione. Ac quoſcunq; qui in Clericos & Preſbiteros, citra tamen membri mutilationem & mortem, manus violentas temere injeciſſent, ab Excommunicationis ſententia, quam propterea incurrerint, ſi hoc humiliter petierint ; Et etiam qui tempore Bellorum, Rapinas, Sacrilegia, Furta, & alia mala perpetrarunt, debita ſatisfactione prævia, & etiam illos, qui horas Canonicas omiſerunt, & debita tempore non recitaverunt, aut inadvertenter dixerunt, cujuſcunq; Qualitatis, Ordinis & Conditionis fuerint, ab exceſſibus & omiſſione hujuſmodi reſpective ; Necnon etiam quoſcunq; Religioſos Ordinum quorumcunque, qui ob ſui habitus non delationem, aut alias, Reatum ſedis Apoſtolicæ incurriſſent, ab illa ac etiam Excommunicationis, aliiſq; ſententiis, cenſuris & pænis Eccleſiaſticis, quos propterea etiam juxta inſtituta ſuorum ordinum regularia incurriſſent, abſolvendi : Ac ſuper irregularitate quacunque, præterquam homicidii voluntarii, aut Bigamiæ, quoviſmodo, etiam per ſententiam, etiam ſanguinis, ultimi ſupplicii inde ſequuti, aut mutilatione membrorum contracta, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Preſbiteratos Ordines, citra tamen Altaris Miniſterium, & ad dignitates & beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, cum cura & ſine cura, quæcunque, quotcunq; & qualiacunque, ſe invicem compatientia, eis alias

Canonice conferenda, diſpenſandi; omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam ſive notam etiam inde contractam, pænitus abolendi. Et contra quoſcunq; tam Eccleſiaſticos quam Laicos, Litterarum Apoſtolicarum & Supplicationum ac Commiſſionum Falſarios, Schiſmaticos, Hæreticos, Uſurarios, Raptores, & aliorum quorumcunque Criminum Reos, cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis exiſtentes, inquirendi, procedendi, ac reos juxta criminum & exceſſuum exigentiam, prout Canonicæ diſponunt Sanctiones, ut videbitur Conſcientiæ expedire, puniendi: Contradictores quoſlibet & Rebelles, per Cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam, & alia Juris Remedia, Appellatione poſtpoſita, compeſcendi, & ſi opus fuerit auxilium Brachii ſecularis invocandi, ſeu præmiſſa fieri faciendi: Et ſi ad Cor reverſi, ſuum errorem recognoverint, & de præmiſſis volverint, ipſiq; humiliter poſtulaverint, ſeu ſupplicaverint, & tibi videbitur eos a criminibus, & exceſſibus ac ſententiis, cenſuris, & pænis hujuſmodi quas propterea incurrerint, abſolvendi: Ac cum eis, facta tamen cum dicta Camera Compoſitione, ad Ordines, Honores & Dignitates, ac etiam Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque, diſpenſandi, eoſque in priſtinum ſtatum reſtituendi, reponendi, & plenarie reintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, ſive notam per eos præmiſſorum occaſione contractam, etiam pænitus abolendi. Ac cum dictis Uſurariis ſuper male ablatis, & perceptis incertis, pro dicta Camera componendi, eiſque, ut facta compoſitione hujuſmodi, ad aliam reſtitutionem faciendam non teneantur, concedendi. Ac quaſcunque Eccleſias, Monaſteria, Domos, Univerſitates, & Collegia, ac pia Loca, quæcunq; etiam exempta, & eidem ſedi immediate ſubjecta, per te vel alium, ſeu alios idoneos, viſitandi, & quæ ex eis Correctione & Emendatione tam in Spiritualibus quam Temporalibus indigere cognoveris, tam in Capite quam in membris reformandi, prout ſecundum Deum, & Canonicas Sanctiones, ac Regularum ſuarum inſtituta, noveris expedire: Ac quæcunq; Statuta, & Ordinationes Eccleſiarum, Univerſitatum, & Studiorum generalium, Monaſteriorum, Ordinum, & Conventuum, quæ tamen Libertatem Eccleſiaſticam non confundant, aut illi derogent vel repugnent, confirmandi, & approbandi; Supplendique omnes & ſingulos defectus, ſi qui forſan interveniſſent in eiſdem, illaq; ſi tibi expedire videbitur, moderandi, corrigendi, & in melius reformandi, ac illis juxta illorum exigentiam addendi. Necnon quotquot tibi videbitur in noſtros & dictæ ſedis Accolitos, Capellanos, & Notarios Apoſtolica Auctoritate recipiendi, & aliorum noſtrorum & dictæ ſedis Accolitorum, Capellanorum, & Notariorum numero, & conſortio favorabiliter aggregandi; Ac eis quod omnibus & ſingulis Privilegiis, Prerogativis, indultis, honoribus, exemptionibus, gratiis, libertatibus, & immunitatibus, utantur, potiantur, & gaudeant, quibus utuntur, potiuntur & gaudent, ac uti, potiri & gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum alii noſtri & dictæ ſedis Notarii: Exhibendi quoque, & exhiberi faciendi, eis Inſignia Notariatus hujuſmodi, recepto tamen prius ab eis ſolito Juramento,ac quibuſvis perſonis Eccleſiaſticis etiam Prælatis, Secularibus, & Regularibus, utriuſq; ſexus, etiam juxta formam Quinterni Cancellariæ, hujuſmodi licentiam Teſtandi, concedendi; Ac etiam per te vel alium ſeu alios quorumcunq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum cum cura & ſine cura, Secularium vel Regularium, etiam quæ dictæ ſedi ex quavis cauſa præterquam ratione Officialium ſedis prædictæ, in Romana Curia officia ſua actu exercentium, generaliter reſervata fuerint, reſignationes ſimpliciter, vel ex cauſa permutationis, ac commendatorum & ligitioſorum tam in dicta Curia quam extra eam, ceſſiones litis, cauſas juris ac commendarum recipiendi, & admittendi, ac Cauſas deſuper pendentes aduocandi, & lites hujuſmodi penitus extinguendi, dictaq; beneficia tam ſimpliciter quam ex eadem cauſa, & alia quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque, etiam alias, etiam per obitum infra limites dictæ Legationis, & quoad tuos Familiares, continuos, commenſales extra dictos limites ubicunq; vacantia, & vacatura, etiam ſi ut præfertur reſervata, vel affecta, & de jure Patronatus Laicorum fuerint, etiam ſi Dignitates Majores & Principales, & beneficia etiam regularia manualia, & alias quomodolibet qualificata fuerint, perſonis idoneis etiam quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque beneficia Eccleſiaſtica obtinentibus & expectantibus, etiam ſecularibus vel regularibus, conferendi, & de illis etiam providendi: Necnon quibuſvis miniſteriis tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Ordinum quorumcunq; Legationis prædictæ, quorum tamen videlicet Virorum fructus, redditus, & proventus ducentornm fleecnorum Auri, de Camera ſecundum communem extenuationem, valorem annuum non excedant, nunc & pro tempore vacantibus, de Abbatibus & Abbatiſſis, providendi, ac Monaſteria & beneficia hujuſmodi quibuſvis ad vitam, vel ad tempus, per eos tenenda, regenda, & gubernanda; ita quod liceat eis, debitis & conſuetis illorum ſupportatis oneribus, de reſiduis illorum fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus, diſponere & ordinare, ſicuti illa in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis diſponere & ordinare potuerunt, ſeu etiam debuerunt: Alienatione tamen quorumcunq; bonorum immobilium, & precioſorum mobilium, Monaſteriorum & beneficiorum prædictorum eis penitus interdicta. Commendandi necnon invicem, vel ad tempus, etiam quibuſvis Menſis, Spiritualibus, Capitularibus, & Conventialibus, uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, Ac Canonicos ſuper-numerarios, de conſenſu Capituli creandi, ac ad ſententiarum, rerum judicatarum, Exemptorialium, & Cenſurarum, per reſignantes, ſeu cedentes in Rota noſtri Pallatii Apoſtolici habitarum, proſecutionem, illos in quorum favorem reſignaverint, ſeu ceſſerint, admittendi, ſeu admitti faciendi, & mandandi & ad ulteriorem executionem uſque ad realem paritionem contra quoſcunq; etiam Pontificali præditos dignitate procedendi, ac verum & ultimum vacationis modum, etiam ſi ex eo quævis generalis reſervatio reſultet, pro expreſſa habend. ac ſuper illorum & quorumcunq; aliorum beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus, quaſcunq; penſiones Annuas, non tamen medietatem fructuum, reddituum & proventuum hujuſmodi excedentes, ac etiam omnes fructus loco penſionis, prædictis reſignantibus, vel cedentibus, aut aliis perſonis idoneis, quoad vixerint per prædicta beneficia, pro tempore obtinentes, & eorum ſucceſſores, annis ſingulis, in locis & terminis etiam ſub privationis & aliis pænis, ſententiis, & cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis, in talibus apponi ſolitis; perſolvendas etiam cum regreſſu, ingreſſu, vel acceſſu, ob non ſolutionem earum in forma ſolita de conſenſu eorum qui dictas penſiones perſolvere habebunt, reſervandi, conſtituendi, & aſſignandi: Ac eaſdem & alias hactenus & deinceps reſervatas & reſervandas penſiones, & fructuum reſervationes, de conſenſu

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etiam anticipata ſolutione, aliquorum Annorum caſſandi, & extinguendi, ac Annullandi. Ac quo ad familiares tuos prædictos qui tranſferendi facultatem habuerint eaſdem penſiones, & fructus de eorum conſenſu,etiam in quoſcunq; per eos nominatos, transferendi,etiam cum hoc quod ipſi in quos transferentur, quæcunque transferenium debita perſolvere, vel alia onera, & conditiones in ipſis tranſlationibus appoſita, adimplere, ſub pæna invaliditatis tranſlationis, teneantur: & fructibus hujuſmodi clauſulam quod earum Litteræ per te concedendæ pro expeditis & intimatis, habeantur, de conſenſu illorum qui ſolvere habebunt, apponendi: Ac perſonas prædictas ad effectum gratiarum prædictarum, quas pro tempore per te eis concedi contigerit, ad omnibus & ſingulis Excommunicationis, Suſpenſionis, & Interdicti aliiſq; Eccleſiaſticis Sententiis,cenſuris & pænis, a jure vel ab homine quovis occaſione vel cauſa latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet immediate fuerint, abſolvendi, & abſolutas fore cenſendi. Ac omnia & ſingula beneficia Eccleſiaſt. cum cura, & ſine cura, quæ etiam ex quibuſvis diſpenſationibus Apoſtolicis obtinent, & expectant,ac in quibus & ad quævis eis quomodolibet competit, quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque ſint, eorumque, fructuum, reddituum, & proventuum, veros annuos valores, ac hujuſmodi diſpenſationum tenores, in Litteris tuis, pro expreſſis, abſq; eo quod de illis vel eorum aliquo mentionem facere teneantur, aut propter non factam mentionem ipſam, Litteræ per te concedendæ, ſurreptionis aut nullitatis vitia ſubjacere cenſeantur, habendo. Necnon quaſcunque gratias expectativas, ſpeciales reſervationes, uniones, annexiones, & incorporationes, nominationes, nominandi & conferendi facultates,& mandata per nos & ſedem prædictam, aut Legatos ejuſdem, in favorem quarumcunq; perſonarum, etiam cujuſcunq; dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, Ordinis, vel Conditionis, aut Cardinalatus honore fulgentium, ſub quibuſvis verborum formis ac clauſulis, etiam derogatariarum, derogatoribus fortioribus, efficacioribus, & inſolitis, etiam motu proprio & ex certa ſcientia, aut quavis conſideratione, intuitu vel reſpectu etiam quantumcunq; grandi vel excogitabili; etiam Regum, Reginarum aliacunq; Principum & Prælatorum, factas & conceſſas, ac faciendas & concedendas, impoſterum illorumq; vim & effectum omnino ſuſpendendi. Ac viſitantibus quaſcunq; Eccleſias, Seculares vel Regulares, etiam ad illarum fabricas, ſeu pro conſervatione & inſtauratione earum, manus porrigentibus adjutrices, in duabus feſtivitatibus duntaxat, ſeptem Annos & totidem Quadragenas, vel infra dictum tempus illud quod tibi videbitur de injunctis Pænitentiis miſericorditer in Domino relaxandi; ita quod perpetuo vel ad tempus prout tibi videbitur durare habeant. Ac quibuſvis perſonis dictæ Legationis, ac etiam familiaribus prædictis, ut bona immobilia eorundem Monaſteriorum, Dignitatum, Prioratuum, Adminiſtrationum, & Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, quæ obtinent, ſeu durante Legatione hujuſmodi obtinebunt, permutare, vendere, & ad tempus longum locare, ac in feudum & Emphiteoſim, ſeu Cenſum vel affectum concedere, & alias alienare valeant, cum evidenti Eccleſiarum,Monaſteriorum & Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ad quæ pertinent, utilitate: Proviſo quod pretia exinde provenientia, in hujuſmodi utilitatem convertenda, penes aliquam ædem ſacram, aut fide & facultatibus idoneam Perſonam, cum recognoſcibilibus clauſulis & cautelis in ſimilibus apponi ſolitis, fideliter reponantur. Necnon Regularibus Perſonis utriuſq; ſexus, etiam Ordinum Mendicantium, ut de eorum Monaſteriis, Domibus & Locis ad illa Monaſteria, Domos & Loca, etiam aliorum Ordinum, etiam non Mendicantium, in quibus benevolos invenerint receptores, ſe transferre, & nova loca recipere: Ac Perſonis quibuſlibet, Eccleſias, Monaſteria & Domos Ordinum Mendicantium, & beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque de novo fundare & dotare & collapſas reparare volentibus, ut illa in Locis ad hoc honeſtis & commodis fundare & reparare, ac in fundatione hujuſmodi licita & honeſta onera illa pro tempore obtinentibus, imponere valeant; reſervato eis, & dictis tuis familiaribus, etiam quo ad Eccleſias per eos jam ubilibet conſtructas ſeu reſtauratas, & ulterius vel de novo conſtruendas & reſtaurandas, ac eorum poſteris, jure Patronatus, & preſentandi perſonam idoneam, ad illa dum vacabunt, licentiam concedendi; ac locationes & alienationes de bonis immobilibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Prioratuum, Adminiſtrationum, vel Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, & locorum factas, ſi in evidentem utilitatem illorum ceſſerint, confirmandi & approbandi: ac ſingulos defectus, ſi qui intervenerint, in eiſdem ſupplendi: Necnon tempus præfixum Executoribus ultimarum Voluntatum, ad illas exequendum prorogandi; Ac juri patronatus Laicorum, ad effectum provisionum & commendarum, ac Unionum prædictarum Canonice pro medietate, & ſi ex cauſa permutationis fierent, vel lis penderet, aut jus patronatus non ex fundatione vel dotatione acquiſitum eſſet, in totum derogandi. Necnon omnia & ſingula, quæ Major Penitentiarius noſter, in dicta Curia ex ſpeciali vel alia ſibi conceſſa facultate, quomodolibet facere poteſt & conſuevit, ac quæ in prædictis & circa ea neceſſaria eſſent, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, faciendi, mandandi, ordinandi & decernendi, per te vel alium, ſeu alios, Auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium concedimus facultatem. Decernentes te omnibus & ſingulis facultatibus prædictis, in quibuſcunq; partibus prædictis, & cum illorum ſeu in illis reſidentibus perſonis ac familiaribus tuis, libere uti poſſe: Non obſtantibus defectibus, & aliis prædictis ac Lateranen. Vienen. Pictaven. & Generalium, ac aliorum Conſiliorum, necnon piæ memoriæ Bonifacii Papæ VIII. etiam Prædeceſſoris noſtri, per quam conceſſiones percipiendi fructus, in abſentia, ſine præfinitione temporis, fieri prohibentur: ac de una vel duabus Dietis in Concilio generali edita, & aliis Apoſtolicis, ac in Provincialibus & Sinodalibus Conciliis editis, generalibus vel ſpecialibus conſtitutionibus, & ordinationibus, etiam quibuſvis Regulis Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ editis & edendis, quarum tempora durantia, ac etiam pluries prorogata & decurſa de novo concedere poſſis: quibus & aliis præmiſſis, & in ſpecie valeas derogare ſtatutis & conſuetudinibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Univerſitatum, Collegiorum, & Civitatum hujuſmodi, necnon ordinum quorumcunque, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, etiam ſi de illis ſervandis & non impetrandis Literis, contra ea, & illis etiam ab alio vel aliis impetratis, ſeu alias quoviſmodo conceſſis, non utendo perſonæ quibus indultum de percipiendis fructibus in abſentia hujuſmodi conceſſum fuerit præſtitiſſent, eatenus vel imposterum forſan præſtare contigerit, juramentum ac quibuſvis privilegiis & indultis generalibus vel ſpecialibus, ordinibus quibuſcunq; etiam Cluniacenſ. & Ciſtercien. quomodolibet conceſſis, confirmatis &

renovatis,

innovatis, quæ præmiſſis quoviſmodo obſtarent, per quæ præſentibus non expreſſa vel totaliter non inſerta, effectus earum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri, & de quibus quorumq; totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda ſit in noſtris Literis mentio ſpecialis, quæ quoad hoc nolumus cuiquam ſuffragari : quibus omnibus & fundationibus quibuſcunq; prout expedierit ſecundum rei & Caſus exigentiam ut tibi placuerit valeas derogare; quodq; aliqui ſuper proviſionibus ſibi faciendis de hujuſmodi vel aliis Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis in illis partibus ſpeciales vel generales dictæ ſedis vel Legatorum ejus Literas impetratas, etiam ſi per eas ad inhibitionem, reſervationem, & decretum, vel alias quomodolibet, ſit proceſſum : quibus omnibus perſonas, quibus per te de beneficiis prædictis providebitur, in eorum aſſecutione volumus anteferri; ſed nullum per hoc eis quoad aſſecutionem beneficiorum aliorum præjudicium generari. Seu ſi Locorum Ordinariis & Collatoribus, vel quibuſvis aliis communiter, vel diviſim ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel proviſionem alicujus minime teneantur, & ad id compelli, aut quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint, quodq; de hujuſmodi vel aliis beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis ad eorum collationem, proviſionem, preſentationem, electionem, ſeu quamvis aliam diſpoſitionem, conjunctim vel ſeparatim ſpectantibus, nulli valeat provideri, ſeu commenda fieri per Literas Apoſtolicas; non facientes plenam & expreſſam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujuſmodi mentionem, & qualibet alia dictæ ſedis indulgentia, generali vel ſpeciali, cujuſcunq; tenoris exiſtat, per quam præſentibus non expreſſam, vel totaliter non inſertam effectus Literarum tuarum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differi & de qua cujuſq; toto tenore habenda ſit in noſtris Literis mentio ſpecialis. Et quia difficile eſſet præſentes in ſingulis Literis tuis ſuper præmiſſis comedendis inferri, aut ad omnia Loca, in quibus de eis fides facienda eſſet deferri; volumus & decernimus, earum tranſumptis etiam per impreſſionem factis & tuo ſigillo munitis; ac manu tui Secretarii aut Regentis Cancellariæ tuæ ſubſcriptis, dictiſq; Literis tuis abſq; earundem præſentium in toto vel in parte inſertione, eam ubiq; fidem in Judicio & extra adhiberi, quæ ipſis præſentibus adhiberetur, ſi originaliter exhiberentur. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Domini Milleſimo quingenteſſimo quadrageſſimo tertio. Tertio Kalend. Februarii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo.

C. L. de Torres.

N. Richardus.

In Dorſo. Data in Secretaria Apoſtolica.

De Torres.

Number 18.

A Letter of the Queen's, recommending the Promotion of Cardinal Pool *to the Popedom; written to the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *the Earl of* Arundel, *and the Lord* Paget, *then at* Calice.

An Original.

MARY the Queen.

Cotton Libr. *Titus.* B.2.

Right Reverend Father in God, right truſty and right well-beloved; and right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellors, and right truſty and well-beloved Counſellors, We greet you well. And where We do conſider that Chriſt's Catholick Church, and the whole ſtate of Chriſtendom, having been of late ſo ſundry ways vexed, it ſhould greatly help to further ſome quiet ſtay and redreſs of that is amiſs, if at this time, of the Pope's Holineſs Election, ſome ſuch godly, learned, and well-diſpoſed Perſon may be choſen to that Place, as ſhall be given to ſee good Order maintained, and all Abuſes in the Church reformed; and known beſides, to the World, to be of godly Life and Diſpoſition. And remembring, on the other ſide, the great Inconveniency that were like to ariſe to the State of the Church, if (worldly Reſpects being only weighed in this choice) any ſuch ſhould be preferred to that Room, as wanting thoſe godly Qualities before remembred, might give any occaſion of the decay of the Catholick Faith; We cannot, for the diſcharge of our Duty to God and the World, but both earneſtly wiſh, and carefully travel, that ſuch a one may be choſen, and that without long delay or contention, as for all reſpects may be moſt fitteſt to occupy that Place, to the furtherance of God's Glory, and quietneſs of Chriſtendom. And knowing no Perſon in our mind more fit for that purpoſe, than our deareſt Couſin the Lord Cardinal *Pool*, whom the greateſt part of Chriſtendom hath heretofore for his long Experience, integrity of Life, and great Learning, thought meet for that Place, We have thought good to pray you, that taking ſome good occaſion for that purpoſe, you do, in our Name, ſpeak with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Conſtable, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners of our good Brother, the French King, praying them to recommend unto our ſaid good Brother, in our Name, our ſaid deareſt Couſin, to be named by him to ſuch Cardinals as be at his Devotion, ſo as the rather, by his good furtherance and means, this our Motion may take place. Whereunto if it ſhall pleaſe him to give his Aſſent, like-as upon knowledg thereof, We ſhall, for our part, alſo labour to ſet forwards the Matter the beſt We may; So doubt We not, but if this Our good Purpoſe take effect, both He, and We, and the reſt of all Chriſtendom, ſhall have good cauſe to give God thanks, and rejoice thereat. Aſſuring him, that if We had in our Conſcience thought any other Perſon more fit for than Place that our ſaid deareſt Couſin, We would not, for any private Affection, have preferred his Advancement before God's Glory, and the Benefit of Chriſtendom: the furtherance whereof is (We take God to Record) the only thing We ſeek herein, which moveth Us to be the more earneſt in this Matter. The overture whereof We have taken in hand, (as you may aſſure them on our Honour) without Our ſaid deareſt Couſin's knowledg or conſent. And becauſe We need not to remember the Wiſdom, Sincerity of Life, and other godly Parts; wherewith Almighty God hath endowed our ſaid deareſt Couſin, the ſame being well enough known to Our ſaid good Brother, and his ſaid Commiſſioners, and the reſt of the World; We do refer the manner of the opening and handling of the reſt of the Matter unto your own Wiſdoms; praying you, We may underſtand from you, as ſoon as ye may, what anſwer ye ſhall have received herein at the ſaid Commiſſioners hands.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Honour of *Hampton-Court*, the 30*th* of *May*, the firſt and ſecond Years of Our Reigns.

Number 19.

An Order preſcribed by the King and Queens Majeſties, unto the Juſtices of Peace of the County of Norfolk, *for the good Government of their Majeſties loving Subjects within the ſame Shire,* March 26. 1555.

An Original.

Philip R. *Mary* the Queen.

FIrſt, The ſaid Juſtices of the Peace aſſembling themſelves together, and conſulting by what good Means, good Order and Quietneſs may be beſt continued, ſhall after divide themſelves into eight, ten, or twelve parts, more or leſs, as to their diſcretions, having regard to the quantity of the Shire, and number of themſelves, ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; endeavouring themſelves, beſides their general care, that every particular number may give diligent heed, within their Limits appointed to them, for conſervation of Quietneſs and good Order.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, ſhall not only be aiding and aſſiſting unto ſuch Preachers as be, and ſhall be ſent unto the ſaid County, but ſhall alſo be themſelves preſent at Sermons, and uſe the Preachers reverently, travelling ſoberly with ſuch, as by abſtaining from coming to the Church, or by any other open doings ſhall appear not perſuaded to conform themſelves, and to uſe ſuch as be wilful and obſtinate, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good bearing, or committing them to Priſon, as the Quality of the Perſons, and Circumſtance of their Doings, may ſeem to deſerve.

Item. Amongſt all other things, they muſt lay ſpecial weight upon thoſe which be Preachers and Teachers of Hereſy, or Procurers of ſecret Meetings for that purpoſe.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of Peace, and every of them, muſt by themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Servants, ſhew good example; and if they ſhall have any of their own Servants faulty, they muſt firſt begin to reform them.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, and every of them, ſhall, as much as in them lieth, procure to ſearch out all ſuch as ſhall by any means ſpread falſe Tales, or ſeditious Rumours, cauſing them, when they ſhall be known, to be further apprehended and puniſhed according to the Laws.

Item. They ſhall procure to have in every Pariſh, or part of the Shire, as near as may be, ſome one or more honeſt Men, ſecretly inſtructed, to give information of the behaviour of the Inhabitants amongſt or about them.

Item. They ſhall charge the Conſtables, and four, or more of the moſt Honeſt and Catholick of every Pariſh, with the order of the ſame Pariſh, unto whom idle Men, Vagabonds, and ſuch as may be probably ſuſpected, ſhall be bound to give a reckoning how they live, and where they ſhall be come from time to time.

Item. They ſhall have earneſt regard to the execution, and keeping of the Statutes againſt rebellious Vagabonds, and Reteinours, Alehouſes, and for keeping of the Statute of Huy-and-Cry; and ſhall give order for keeping of good and ſubſtantial Watches, in places convenient, the ſame to begin the 20*th* day of *April* next.

Item. As ſoon as any Offenders for Murder, Felony, or other Offences ſhall be taken, the ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, ſhall cauſe the matter to be forthwith examined and ordered, as to Juſtice ſhall appertain, according to the Tenour of the Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, addreſſed preſently unto them for that purpoſe.

Finally; The ſaid Juſtices of Peace ſhall meet and conſult together, at the Seſſions, every month, and more-often, as occaſion may require, conferring among themſelves, upon the ſtate of all particular parts of the Shire, and taking ſuch order for all Miſorders, as to their Wiſdoms may ſeem requiſite.

Number

Number 20.

A Letter written by the King and Queen, requiring the Biſhop of London *to go on in the proſecution of the Hereticks.*

Philip R. *Mary* the Queen.

Regiſt. *Bonn.* Fol. 363.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And where of late We addreſſed our Letters unto the Juſtices of the Peace within every of the Counties of this our Realm; whereby, amongſt other Inſtructions given therein, for the good Order and quiet Government of the Country about, therein they are willed to have a ſpecial regard unto ſuch diſordered Perſons, as forgetting their Duties towards Almighty God and Us, do lean to any Erroneous and Heretical Opinions, to ſhew themſelves conformable to the Catholick Religion of Chriſt's Church; whom, if they cannot by good admonition and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver unto the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty Opinions; or elſe, if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the Laws provided in that behalf: Underſtanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the ſaid diſordered Perſons, being by the Juſtices of the Peace, for their contempt and obſtinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be uſed as is aforeſaid, are either refuſed to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither ſo travelled with as Chriſtian Charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the Order of Juſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their Errors, to the diſhonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others. Like-as We find this Matter very ſtrange, ſo have We thought convenient, both to ſignify this Our knowledg, and therewith alſo to admoniſh you, to have in this behalf ſuch regard henceforth to the Office of a good Paſtor and Biſhop, as when any ſuch Offenders ſhall be by the ſaid Juſtices of Peace brought unto you, ye do uſe your good wiſdom and diſcretion, in procuring to remove them from their Errors, if it may be, or elſe in proceeding againſt them, (if they ſhall continue obſtinate) according to the order of the Laws; ſo as through your good furtherance, both God's Glory may be the better advanced, and the Common-Wealth the more quietly governed.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Honour of *Hampton-Court*, the 24*th* of *May*, in the firſt and ſecond Years of Our Reigns.

Number· 21.

Sir T. More's *Letter to* Cromwell, *concerning the Nun of* Kent.

Ex MSS. *Norfolcianis* in Col. *Greſham.*

Right Worſhipful,

AFter my moſt hearty recommendation, with like thanks for your Goodneſs, in accepting of my rude long Letter. I perceive, that of your further goodneſs and favour towards me, it liked your Maſterſhip to break with my Son *Roper*, of that, that I had had communication, not only with divers that were of Acquaintance with the lewd Nun of *Canterbury*, but alſo with her ſelf; and had, over that, by my writing, declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counſel; of which my demeanour, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon my ſelf therein right deeply beholden to you.

It is, I ſuppoſe, about eight or nine Years ago ſith I heard of that Houſewife firſt; at which time, the Biſhop of *Canterbury* that then was, God aſſoil his Soul, ſent unto the King's Grace a roll of Paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that ſhe had, as report was then made, at ſundry times ſpoken in her Trances; whereupon it pleaſed the King's Grace to deliver me the Roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards ſhew him what I thought therein. Whereunto, at another time, when his Highneſs aſked me, I told him, That in good faith I found nothing in theſe words that I could any thing regard or eſteem; for ſeeing that ſome part fell in Rithm, and that, God wots, full rude alſo; for any reaſon, God wots, that I ſaw therein, a right ſimple Woman might, in my mind, ſpeak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I ſaid, that becauſe it was conſtantly reported for a truth, that God wrought in her, and that a Miracle was ſhewed upon her; I durſt not, nor would not, be bold in judging the Matter. And the King's Grace, as me thought, eſteemed the Matter as light as it after proved lewd.

From that time, till about *Chriſtmaſs* was twelve-month, albeit that continually there was much talking of her, and of her Holineſs, yet never heard I any talk rehearſed, either of Revelation of hers, or Miracle, ſaving that I heard ſay divers times, in my Lord Cardinal's days, that ſhe had been both with his Lordſhip, and with the King's Grace, but what ſhe ſaid, either to the one or to the other, upon my Faith, I had never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about *Chriſtmaſs* was twelve-month, Father *Risby* Friar Obſervant, then of *Canterbury*, lodged one night at mine Houſe; where, after Supper, a little before he went to his Chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her high commendation of Holineſs, and that it was wonderful to ſee and underſtand the Works that God wrought in her; which thing, I anſwered, That I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me, that ſhe had been with my Lord Legate in his Life, and with the King's Grace too; and that ſhe had told my Lord Legat a Revelation of hers, of three Swords that God hath put in my Lord Legat's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would lay it ſore to his Charge. The firſt, he ſaid, was the ordering the Spirituality under the Pope, as Legat. The ſecond, The Rule, that he bore in order of the Temporality under the King, as his Chancellor. And the third, ſhe ſaid, was the medling he was put in truſt with by the King, concerning the great matter of his Marriage. And therewithal I ſaid unto him, That any Revelation of the King's Matters I would not hear of, I doubt not but the goodneſs of God ſhould direct his Highneſs with his Grace and Wiſdom, that the thing ſhould take ſuch end as God ſhould be pleaſed with, to the King's Honour, and Surety of the Realm. When he heard me ſay theſe words, or the like, he ſaid unto me, That God had ſpecially commanded her to pray for the King; and forthwith he brake again into her Revelations concerning the Cardinal, that his Soul was ſaved by her Mediation; and without any other Communication went unto his Chamber. And he and I never talked any more of any ſuch manner of matter, nor ſince his departing on the Morrow; I never ſaw him after, to my remembrance, till I ſaw him at *Paul's* Croſs.

After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before Supper, Father *Rich*, Friar Obſervant of *Richmond*; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of Father *Risby*, how he did? And upon that occaſion, he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had any thing ſhewed me of the Holy Nun of *Kent*? and I ſaid, Yea, and that I was very glad to hear of her Vertue. I would not, quoth he, tell you again that you have heard of him already; but I have heard, and known, many great Graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other Folk, by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already. And therewith he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal? and I ſaid, Yea: Then he told you, quoth he, of the three Swords: Yea verily, quoth I. Did he tell you, quoth he, of the Revelations that ſhe had concerning the King's Grace? Nay forſooth, quoth I, nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing; nor verily no more I would indeed, for ſith ſhe hath been with the King's Grace her ſelf, and told him, me-thought it a thing needleſs to tell me, or to any Man elſe. And when Father *Rich* perceived that I would not hear her Revelations concerning the King's Grace, he talked on a little, of her Vertue, and let her Revelations alone; and therewith my Supper was ſet upon the Board, where I required him to ſit with me; but he would in no wiſe tarry, but departed to *London*. After that night I talked with him twice, once in mine own Houſe, another time in his own Garden at the *Friars*, at every time a great ſpace, but not of any Revelations touching the King's Grace, but only of other mean Folk, I knew not whom of, which things, ſome were very ſtrange, and ſome were very childiſh. But albeit, that he ſaid, He had ſeen her lie in her Trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great ſpiritual comfort in her Communication; yet did he never tell me that ſhe had told him thoſe Tales her ſelf; for if he had, I would, for the Tale of *Mary Magdalen* which he told me, and for the Tale of the Hoſtie, with which, as I have heard ſhe ſaid ſhe was

Houſeled at the King's Maſs at *Calice*: If I had heard it of him, as told unto himſelf by her Mouth for a Revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worſe. But whether ever I heard the ſame Tale of *Rich* or of *Risby*, or of neither of them both, but of ſome other Man ſince ſhe was in hold, In good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well when or whereſoever I heard it, me thought it a Tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that ſhe had told ſome Man her Dream, which told it out for a Revelation. And in effect, I little doubted but that ſome of theſe Tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet ſith I never heard them reported as ſpoken by her own Mouth, I thought nevertheleſs that many of them might be true, and ſhe a very vertuous Woman too; as ſome Lyes be peradventure written of ſome that be Saints in Heaven, and yet many Miracles indeed done by them for all that.

After this, I being upon a day at *Sion*, and talking with divers of the Fathers together at the Grate, they ſhewed me that ſhe had been with them, and ſhewed me divers things that ſome of them miſliked in her; and in this talking, they wiſhed that I had ſpoken with her, and ſaid, they would fain ſee how I ſhould like her. Whereupon, afterward, when I heard that ſhe was there again, I came thither to ſee her, and to ſpeak with her my ſelf. At which Communication had, in a little Chappel, there were none preſent but we two: in the beginning whereof, I ſhewed that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any thing to know of ſuch things as Folk talked, that it pleaſed God to reveal and ſhew unto her, but for the great Vertue that I had heard ſo many Years, every day more and more ſpoken and reported of her; I therefore had a great mind to ſee her, and be acquainted with her, that ſhe might have ſomewhat the more occaſion to remember me to God in her Devotion and Prayers; whereunto ſhe gave me a very good vertuous Anſwer, That as God did of his goodneſs far better by her than ſhe, a poor Wretch, was worthy, ſo ſhe feared that many Folk yet beſide that ſpoke of their own favourable minds many things for her, far above the Truth, and that of me ſhe had many ſuch things heard, that already ſhe prayed for me, and ever would; whereof I heartily thanked her. I ſaid unto her, Madam, one *Hellen*, a Maiden dwelling about *Totnam*, of whoſe Trances and Revelations there hath been much talking; ſhe hath been with me of late, and ſhewed me, that ſhe was with you, and that after the rehearſal of ſuch Viſions as ſhe had ſeen you ſhewed her, that they were no Revelations, but plain Illuſions of the Devil, and adviſed her to caſt them out of her mind: And verily ſhe gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto ſuch Viſions of her own: Whereupon ſhe ſaith, ſhe findeth your words true, for ever ſince, ſhe hath been the leſs viſited with ſuch things as ſhe was wont to be before. To this ſhe anſwered me, Forſooth Sir, There is in this point no praiſe unto me, but the goodneſs of God, as it appeareth, hath wrought much meekneſs in her Soul, which hath taken my rude warning ſo well, and not grudged to hear her Spirit and her Viſions reproved. I liked her, in good Faith, better for this Anſwer, than for many of theſe things that I heard reported by her. Afterward ſhe told me, upon that occaſion, how great need Folk have, that are viſited with ſuch Viſions, to take heed, and prove well of what Spirit they come of; and in that Communication ſhe told me, That of late the Devil, in likeneſs of a Bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a Chamber, and ſuffered himſelf to be taken; and being in hands, ſuddenly changed, in their ſight that were preſent, into ſuch a ſtrange ugly faſhioned Bird; that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a Window.

For concluſion; we talked no word of the King's Grace, or any great Perſonage elſe, nor in effect, of any Man or Woman, but of her ſelf and my ſelf; but after no long communication had, for or ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a Double Ducate, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and ſo departed from her, and never ſpake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great eſtimation, as you ſhall perceive by the Letter that I wrote unto her. For afterwards, becauſe I had often heard that many right worſhipful Folks, as well Men as Women, uſed to have much communication with her; and many Folk are of nature inquiſitive and curious, whereby they fall ſometimes into ſuch talking, and better were to forbear, of which thing I nothing thought while I talked with her of Charity, therefore I wrote her a Letter thereof; which ſith it may be peradventure, that ſhe brake or loſt, I ſhall inſert the very Copy thereof in this preſent Letter.

Theſe were the very words.

Good Madam, and my right dearly-beloved Siſter in our Lord God, after moſt hearty Commendation, I ſhall beſeech you to take my good Mind in good worth, and pardon me, that I am ſo homely as of my ſelf unrequired, and alſo without neceſſity, to give counſel to you, of whom for the good Inſpirations, and great Revelations that it liketh Almighty God of his goodneſs to give and ſhew, as many wiſe, well-learned, and very vertuous Folk teſtify, I my ſelf have need, for the comfort of my Soul, to require and ask Advice. For ſurely, good Madam, ſith it pleaſeth God ſometime to ſuffer, ſuch as are far under and of little eſtimation, to give yet fruitful advertiſement to ſuch other as are in the Light of the Spirit ſo far above them, that there were between them no compariſon; as he ſuffered his High Prophet *Moſes* to be in ſome things adviſed and counſelled by *Jethro*, I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly neceſſary to be by your Wiſdom conſidered, referring the end, and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit, to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not, but that you remember that in the beginning of my Communication with you, I ſhewed you, that I neither was, nor would be, curious of any knowledg of other Mens Matters, and leaſt of all of any Matter of Princes, or of the Realm, in caſe it ſo were, that God had, as to many good Folks before-time, he hath any time revealed unto you ſuch things, I ſaid unto your Ladyſhip, that I was not only not deſirous to hear of, but alſo would not hear of. Now Madam, I conſider well that many Folk deſire to ſpeak with you, which are not all peradventure of my mind in this Point; but ſome hap to be curious and inquiſitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and ſome might peradventure hap to talk of ſuch things as might peradventure after turn to much harm; as I think you have heard how the late Duke of *Buckingham*, moved with the fame of one that was reported for an Holy Monk, and had ſuch talking with him, as after was a great part of his deſtruction, and diſheriting of his Blood, and great ſlander and infamy of Religion. It ſufficeth me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of ſuch things, as I nothing doubt your Wiſdom, and the Spirit of God ſhall keep you from talking with any Perſon, ſpecially with high Perſons, of any ſuch manner things as pertain to Princes Affairs, or the State of the Realm, but only to commune and talk with any Perſon, high and low, of ſuch manner things as may to the Soul be profitable for you to ſhew, and for them to know. And thus, my good Lady, and dearly beloved Siſter in our Lord, I make an end of this my needleſs advertiſement unto you, whom the Bleſſed Trinity preſerve and increaſe in Grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout Prayers. At *Chelſey*, this *Tueſday*, by the Hand of

Your hearty loving Brother and Beadſman,

Thomas More Kt.

At the receipt of this Letter, ſhe anſwered my Servant, that ſhe heartily thanked me: Soon after this there came to mine Houſe the Prior of the *Charterhouſe* at *Shene*, and one Brother *Williams* with him, who nothing talked to me, but of her, and of the great joy that they took in her Vertue, but of any of her Revelations they had no communication. But at another time Brother *Williams* came to me, and told me a long Tale of her, being at the Houſe of a Knight in *Kent*, that was ſore troubled with Temptations to deſtroy himſelf; and none other thing we talked of, nor ſhould have done of likelyhood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took ſo great pleaſure, good Man, to tell the Tale, with all the Circumſtances at length. When I came again another day to *Sion*, on a day in which there was a Profeſſion, ſome of the Fathers asked me how I liked the Nun? And I anſwered, that, in good Faith, I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, ſhe is never the nearer tried by that, for I aſſure you, ſhe were likely to be very bad, if ſhe ſeemed good, e're I ſhould think her other, till ſhe happened to be proved naught; and in good Faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were ſet to ſearch and examine the truth, upon likelyhood of ſome cloaked evil; for in that caſe, although I nothing ſuſpected the Perſon my ſelf, yet no leſs than if I ſuſpected him ſore, I would as far, as my wit would ſerve me, ſearch to find out the truth, as your ſelf hath done very prudently in this Matter; wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praiſe, a very meritorious Deed, in bringing forth to light ſuch deteſtable Hypocriſy, whereby every other Wretch may take warning, and be feared to ſet forth their own deviliſh diſſembled falſhood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful Work of God; for verily, this Woman ſo handled her ſelf, with help of that evil Spirit that inſpired her, that after her own Confeſſion declared at *Paul's* Croſs, when I ſent word by my Servant unto the Prior of the *Charterhouſe*, that ſhe was undoubtedly proved a falſe deceiving Hypocrite; The good Man had had ſo good opinion of her ſo long, that he could at the firſt ſcantly believe me therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her ſo very good, but many another right good Man beſides, as little marvel was upon ſo good report, till ſhe was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in Communication between Father *Rich* and me; I counſelled him, that in ſuch ſtrange things as concerned ſuch Folk as had come unto her, to whom, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe had told the cauſes of their coming, e're themſelves ſpake thereof; and ſuch good Fruit as they ſaid that many Men had received by her Prayer, he, and ſuch other as ſo reported it, and thought that the knowledg thereof ſhould much pertain to the Glory of God, ſhould firſt cauſe the things to be well and ſure examined by the Ordinaries, and ſuch as had Authority thereunto; ſo that it might be ſurely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no Letters intermingled among them, or elſe the Letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of theſe things that were true. And when he told me the Tale of *Mary Magdalen*, I ſaid unto him, Father *Rich*, that ſhe is a good vertuous Woman, in good Faith, I hear ſo many good Folk ſo report, that I verily think it true; and think it well-likely that God worketh ſome good and great things by her; but yet are, you wot well, theſe ſtrange Tales no part of our Creed; and therefore before you ſee them ſurely proved, you ſhall have my poor counſel, not to wed your ſelf ſo far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very ſurely for true, leaſt that if it ſhould hap that they were afterwards proved falſe, it might miniſh your eſtimation in your Preaching, whereof might grow great loſs. To this he thanked me for my counſel, but how he uſed it after that, I cannot tell.

Thus have I, good Mr. *Cromwell*, fully declared to you, as far as my ſelf can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or ſaid in this Matter, wherein I am ſure that never one of them all ſhall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any Man elſe, report of me, as I truſt verily no Man will, and I wot well truly no Man can, any Word or Deed by me ſpoken or done, touching any breach of my legal Truth and Duty toward my moſt redoubted Soveraign, and natural Liege Lord, I will come to mine Anſwer, and make it good in ſuch wiſe as becometh a poor true Man to do; that whoſoever any ſuch thing ſhall ſay, ſhall therein ſay untrue: for I neither have in this Matter done evil, nor ſaid evil, nor ſo much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad, and rejoiced of them that were reported for good; which condition I ſhall nevertheleſs keep toward all other good Folk, for the falſe cloaked Hypocriſy of any of theſe, no more than I ſhall eſteem *Judas* the true Apoſtle, for *Judas* the falſe Traitor.

But ſo purpoſe I to bear my ſelf in every Man's Company, while I live, that neither good Man nor bad, neither Monk, Friar, nor Nun, nor other Man or Woman in this World, ſhall make me digreſs from my Truth and Faith, either towards God, or towards my natural Prince, by the Grace of Almighty God ; and as you therein find me true, ſo I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good-will, as you ſhall be ſure of my poor daily prayer ; for other pleaſure can I not do you. And thus the Bleſſed Trinity, both bodily and ghoſtly, long preſerve and proſper you.

I pray you pardon me, that I write not unto you of mine own hand, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reaſon of this Diſeaſe of mine, whereof the chief occaſion is grown, as it is thought, by the ſtooping and leaning on my Breaſt, that I have uſed in writing. And thus, eft-ſoons, I beſeech our Lord long to preſerve you.

Number 22.

Directions of Queen Mary *to her Council, touching the Reformation of the Church, out of her own Original.*

Ex M.S. D,G.*Petyte.*

FIrſt, That ſuch as had Commiſſion to talk with my Lord Cardinal at his firſt coming, touching the Goods of the Church, ſhould have recourſe unto him, at the leaſt once in a week, not only for putting theſe Matters in execution, as much as may be, before the Parliament, but alſo to underſtand of him which way might be beſt to bring to good effect, thoſe Matters that have been begun concerning Religion, both touching good Preaching, I wiſh, that may ſupply and overcome the evil Preaching in time paſt ; and alſo to make a ſure Proviſion, that no evil Books ſhall either be printed, bought, or ſold, without juſt puniſhment. Therefore I think it ſhould be well done, that the Univerſities and Churches of this Realm, ſhould be viſited by ſuch Perſons as my Lord Cardinal, with the reſt of you, may be well aſſured to be worthy and ſufficient Perſons to make a true and juſt account thereof, remitting the choice of them to him and you. Touching puniſhment of Hereticks, me thinketh it ought to be done without raſhneſs, not leaving in the mean while to do Juſtice to ſuch, as by Learning would ſeem to deceive the ſimple ; and the reſt ſo to be uſed, that the People might well perceive them not to be condemned without juſt occaſion, whereby they ſhall both underſtand the Truth, and beware to do the like. And eſpecially in *London*, I would wiſh none to be burnt, without ſome of the Councils preſence, and both there and every-where, good Sermons at the ſame. I verily believe that many Benefices ſhould not be in one Man's hand, but after ſuch ſort as every Prieſt might look to his own Charge, and remain reſident there, whereby they ſhould have but one Bond to diſcharge towards God ; Whereas now they have many, which I take to be the cauſe that in moſt part of this Realm there is over-much want of good Preachers, and ſuch as ſhould with their Doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abuſed Preachers in the time of Schiſm, not only by their Preaching, but alſo by their good Example, without which, in mine Opinion, their Sermons ſhall not ſo much profit as I wiſh. And like-as their good Example, on their behalf, ſhall undoubtedly do much good, ſo I account my ſelf bound, on my behalf alſo, to ſhew ſuch example, in encouraging and maintaining thoſe Perſons, well-doing their Duty, (not forgetting, in the mean while, to correct and puniſh them which do contrary) that it may be evident to all this Realm how I diſcharge my Conſcience therein, and miniſter true Juſtice in ſo doing.

Number 23.

Injunctions by *Hugh Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to the Prior and Convent of St. *Mary Houſe* in *Worceſter*, 1537.

Hugh, *by the goodneſs of God, Biſhop of* Worceſter, *wiſheth to his Brethren, the Prior and Convent aforeſaid, Grace, Mercy, Peace, and true knowledg of God's Word; from God our Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Foraſmuch as in this my Viſitation, I evidently perceive the Ignorance and Negligence of divers Religious Perſons in this Monaſtery to be intollerable, and not to be ſuffered; for that thereby doth reign Idolatry, and many kinds of Superſtitions, and other Enormities: And conſidering withal, that our Soveraign Lord the King, for ſome part of Remedy of the ſame, hath granted, by his moſt gracious Licenſe, that the Scripture of God may be read in Engliſh, of all his obedient Subjects. I therefore, willing your Reformation in moſt favourable manner, to your leaſt diſpleaſur; do heartily require you all, and every one of you, and alſo in God's behalf command the ſame, according as your Duty is, to obey me as God's Miniſter, and the Kings, in all my lawful and honeſt Commandments, that you obſerve and keep inviolably, all theſe Injunctions following, under pain of the Law.

L. 3us Reg. Prior.&Convent.Wigorn.

First; Foraſmuch as I perceive that ſome of you neither have obſerved the King's Injunctions, nor yet have them with you, as willing to obſerve them; therefore ye ſhall from henceforth, both have and obſerve diligently and faithfully, as well ſpecial commandments of Preaching, as other Injunctions given in his Graces Viſitation.

Item. That the Prior ſhall provide, of the Monaſteries charge, a whole Bible in Engliſh, to be laid faſt chained in ſome open place, either in their Church or Cloiſter.

Item. That every Religious Perſon have, at the leaſt, a New Teſtament in Engliſh, by the Feaſt of the Nativity of our Lord next enſuing.

Item. Whenſoever there ſhall be any Preaching in your Monaſtery, that all manner of Singing, and other Ceremonies, be utterly laid aſide in his preaching time; and all other Service ſhortned, as need ſhall be; and all Religious Perſons quietly to hearken to the Preaching.

Item. That ye have a Lecture of Scripture read every day in Engliſh amongſt you, ſave Holy-days.

Item. That every Religious Perſon be at every Lecture, from the beginning to the ending, except they have a neceſſary Lett allowed them by the Prior.

Item. That every Religious Houſe have a Layman to their Steward, for all former Buſineſſes.

Item. That you have a continual Schoolmaſter, ſufficiently learned, to teach your Grammer.

Item. That no Religious Perſon diſcourage any manner of Lay-man or Woman, or any other from the reading of any good Book, either in Latin or Engliſh.

Item. That the Prior have at his Dinner or Supper, every day a Chapter read, from the beginning of the Scripture to the end, and that in Engliſh, whereſoever he be in any of his own Places, and to have edifying communication of the ſame.

Item. That the Covent ſit together, four to one *Meſs*, and to eat together in common, and to have Scripture read in likewiſe, and have communication thereof; and after their Dinner or Supper, their Reliques and Fragments to be diſtributed to the poor People.

Item. That the Covent and Prior, provide Diſtributions to be miniſtred in every Pariſh, whereas ye be Parſons and Proprietaries, and according to the King's Injunctions in that behalf.

Item. That all theſe my Injunctions be read every month, once in the Chapter Houſe, before all the Brethren.

Number 24.

A Letter of Ann Boleyn's *to* Gardner.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

Mr. *Stephens*, I thank you for my Letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful Mind that you have to do me pleaſure, not doubting, but as much as is poſſible for Man's Wit to imagine, you will do. I pray God to ſend you well to ſpeed in all your Matters, ſo that you would put me to the ſtudy, how to reward your high Service: I do truſt in God you ſhall not repent it, and that the end of this Journey ſhall be more pleaſant to me than your firſt, for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceaſing the lack of it, does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know: And therefore I do truſt that this hard beginning, ſhall make the better ending.

Mr. *Stephens*, I ſend you here Cramp-Rings for you and Mr. *Gregory*, and Mr. *Peter*, praying you to diſtribute them as you think beſt. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as ſhe, that you may aſſure them, will be glad to do them any pleaſure which ſhall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God ſend you good health. Written at *Greenwich*, the 4*th* day of *April*.

By your aſſured Friend,

Ann Boleyn.

Number 15.

The Office of Conſecrating the Cramp-Rings.

Certain Prayers to be uſed by the Queen's Highneſs, in the Conſecration of the Cramp-Ring.

Deus miſereatur noſtri & benedicat nos Deus, illuminet vultum ſuum ſuper nos & miſereatur noſtri. Ex M S. in Biblioth. *R. Smith.* Lond

Ut cognoſcamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus ſalutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Lætentur & exultent gentes, quoniam judicas populos in equitate, & gentes in terra dirigis.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes, terra dedit fructum ſuum.

Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noſter, benedicat nos Deus & metuent eum omnes fines terræ.

Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & ſemper, & in ſœcula, ſœculorum. Amen.

Omnipotens ſempiterne Deus, qui ad ſolatium humani generis, varia ac multiplicia miſeriarum noſtrarum levamenta uberrimis gratiæ tuæ donis ab inexhauſto benignitatis tuæ fonte manantibus, inceſſanter tribuere dignatus es, & quos ad Regalis ſublimitatis faſtigium extuliſti, inſignioribus gratiis ornatos, Donorumq; tuorum organa atq; canales eſſe voluiſti, ut ſicut per te regnant aliiſq; præſunt, ita te authore reliquis proſint, & tua in populum beneficia conferant; preces noſtras propitius reſpice, & quæ tibi vota humilime fundimus, benignus admitte, ut quod a te majores noſtri de tua miſericordia ſperantes obtinuerunt, id nobis etiam pari fiducia poſtulantibus concedere digneris. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

The Rings lying in one Baſon, or more, this Prayer to be ſaid over them.

Deus Cœleſtium terreſtriumq; conditor creaturarum, atq; humani generis benigniſſime reparator, Dator ſpiritualis gratiæ, omniumq; benedictionum largitor, immitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum Paracletum de cælis ſuper hos Annulos arte fabrili confectos, eoſq; magna tua potentia ita emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenoſiq; ſerpentis procul expulſa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum, a cunctis inimici ſordibus maneat immune. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Benedictio Annulorum.

Deus Abraham, Deus Iſaac, Deus Jacob, exaudi miſericors preces noſtras, parce metuentibus, propitiare ſupplicibus, & mittere digneris Sanctum Angelum tuum de Cœlis qui Sanctificet ✠ & benedicat ✠ annulos iſtos, ut ſint remedium ſalutare omnibus nomen tuum humiliter implorantibus, ac ſemetipſos pro conſcientia delictorum ſuorum accuſantibus, atq; ante conſpectum Divinæ Clementiæ tuæ facinora ſua deplorantibus, & ſereniſſimam pietatem tuam humiliter obnixeq; flagitantibus; proſint deniq; per invocationem Sancti tui nominis omnibus iſtos geſtantibus, ad corporis & animæ ſanitatem. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Benedictio.

Deus qui in morbis curandis maxima ſemper potentiæ tuæ miracula declaraſti, quiq; annulos in Juda Patriarcha fidei arrabonem, in Aarone Sacerdotale ornamentum, in Dario fidelis cuſtodiæ Symbolum, & in hoc Regno variorum morborum remedia eſſe voluiſti, hos annulos propitius ✠ benedicere & ✠ ſanctificare digneris: ut omnes qui eos geſtabunt ſint immunes ab omnibus Satanæ inſidiis, ſint armati virtute cœleſtis defenſionis, nec eos infeſtet vel nervorum contractio, vel comitialis morbi pericula, ſed ſentiant te opitulante in omni morborum genere Levamen. In nomine Patris ✠ & Filii ✠ & Spiritus Sancti ✠. Amen.

Benedic anima mea Domino: & omnia quæ intra me ſunt nomini ſancto ejus. *Here followes the reſt of that Pſalm.*

Immenſam clementiam tuam Miſericors Deus humiliter imploramus, ut qua animi fiducia & fidei ſinceritate, ac certa mentis pietate, ad hæc impetranda accedimus, pari etiam devotione gratiæ tuæ ſymbola fideles proſequantur; faceſſat omnis ſuperſtitio, procul abſit Diabolicæ fraudis ſuſpitio, & in gloria tui nominis omnia cedant; ut te Largitorem bonorum omnium fideles tui intelligant, atque a te uno quicquid vel animis vel corporibus vere proſit, profectum ſentiant & profiteantur. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. *Amen.*

Theſe Prayers being ſaid, the Queens Highneſs rubbeth the Rings between her Hands, ſaying;

Sanctifica Domine Annulos iſtos, & rore tuæ benedictionis benignus aſperge, ac manuum noſtrarum confricatione, quas olei ſacri infuſione externa, ſanctificare dignatus es pro miniſterii noſtri modo, conſecra, ut quod natura metalli præſtare non poſſit, gratiæ tuæ magnitudine efficiatur. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Then muſt Holy Water be caſt on the Rings, ſaying;

In Nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Domine Fili Dei unigenite, Dei & Hominum Mediator, Jeſu Chriſte, in cujus unius nomine ſalus recte quæritur, quiq; in te ſperantibus facilem ad Patrem acceſſum conciliaſti, quem quicquid in nomine tuo peteretur, id omne daturum, eum certiſſimo veritatis Oraculo ab ore tuo Sancto, quum inter homines verſabaris homo pronunciaſti, precibus noſtris aures tuæ pietatis accommoda, ut ad thronum gratiæ in tua fiducia accedentes, quod in Nomine tuo humiliter poſtulavimus, id a nobis, te mediante, impetratum fuiſſe, collatis per te beneficiis, fideles intelligant. Qui vivis & regnas cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia ſœcula ſœculorum. Amen.

Vota noſtra quæſumus Domine, Spiritus Sanctus qui a te procedit, aſpirando preveniat, & proſequatur, ut quod ad ſalutem fidelium confidenter petimus, gratiæ tuæ dono efficaciter conſequamur. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Majeſtatem tuam Clementiſſime Deus, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, ſuppliciter exoramus, ut quod ad nominis tui ſanctificationem piis hic Ceremoniis peragitur, ad corporis ſimul & animæ tutelam valeat in terris, & ad uberiorem fœlicitatis fructum proficiat in Cœlis.

Qui vivis & regnas Deus, per omnia ſœcula ſœculorum. Amen.

Number 26.

A Letter of Gardiners *to King* Henry *the Eighth, concerning the Divorce.*

An Original.

PLeaſeth it your Majeſty to underſtand, that beſides all other means uſed to the Pope's Holineſs, for attaining and atchieving your Highneſs Purpoſe and Intent, ſuch as in our common Letters to my Lord Legat's Grace, and my ſeveral Letters to the ſame be contained at length. I have alſo a-part ſhewed unto the Pope's Holineſs, that which your Highneſs ſhewed me in your Gallery at *Hampton-Court*, concerning the ſollicitation of the Princes of *Almayn*, and ſuch other Matter as ſhould and ought to fear the Pope's ſaid Holineſs; adding alſo thoſe Reaſons which might induce the ſame to adhere expreſly to your Highneſs, and the French King, and ſo to take the more courage to accompliſh your Highneſs Deſires: uſing all ways poſſible to enforce him to do ſomewhat, being a Man of ſuch Nature, as he never reſolveth any thing, but by ſome violent Affection compelled thereunto. And conſidering we can ſpeed no better at his hands, it agreeth with

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

that your Majeſty, of your high Wiſdom before perpended, that his Holineſs would do nothing which might offend the Emperor, unleſs he firſt determined himſelf to adhere to your Highneſs, and the French King, and ſo to declare himſelf, containing himſelf no longer in Neutrality; which he will not do: Ne the State of the Affairs here conſidered, it were for his Wealth ſo to do, unleſs the Leagues otherwiſe proceeded than they yet do, or that his Holineſs would determine himſelf to leave theſe Parts, and eſtabliſh his See in ſome other Place; foraſmuch, as here being, he is daily in danger of the Imperial's, like as we have ſignified by our other Letters. His Holineſs is in great perplexity and agony of Mind, nor can tell what to do: he ſeemeth in words, faſhion, and manner of ſpeaking, as though he would do ſomewhat for your Highneſs; and yet, when it cometh to the Point, nothing he doth: I dare not ſay certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good Will, for I were loth to make a Lie of him, or to your Highneſs, my Prince, Soveraign Lord and Maſter. Finally, I perceive this by the Pope, and all other here, that ſo your Highneſs cauſe were determined there by my Lord's Legats, they would be glad thereof; and, as I think, if the Emperor would make any Suit againſt that which ſhall be done there, they would ſerve him as they now do your Highneſs, and ſo drive off the time, for they ſeem to be ſo minded, as in this Cauſe they would ſuffer much, but do very little: Wherefore if my Lord *Campegius* will ſet apart all other reſpects, and frankly promiſe your Highneſs to give Sentence for you, then muſt be your Highneſs Remedy ſhort and expedite; nor ſhall there want wit, by another means, to meet with ſuch delays, as this falſe counterfeit Breve hath cauſed. For with theſe Men here, your Highneſs ſhall by no Suit profit; which thing I write unto your Highneſs, as of my moſt bounden Duty I ought to do: there ſhall every day riſe new Devices, and none take effect, but long delays, and waſted time: wherefore doing what I can yet to get the beſt, although we be fully anſwered therein, I ſhall do what I can to get the Commiſſion amplified as much as may be, and at the leaſt, to extend to the reprobation of the Brief, if I can, for I dare promiſe nothing to your Majeſty at this Man's hands; and that which ſhall be obtained, if any be obtained, ſhall be, according to your Highneſs Pleaſure, ſent by Mr. *Bryan*.

And whereas your Highneſs, in your gracious Letters directed to me and my Colleagues, marvelleth that I have not e're this advertiſed the ſame, of ſuch Bulls as your Majeſty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that foraſmuch as the ſame be to be impetrate at the Pope's Hand, and that we ſignified unto your Majeſty, by our Letters, of the Pope's great Sickneſs, and how we could not have acceſs unto the ſame, that it had been ſuperfluous for me, in my Letters, to make any mention of the ſaid Bulls: ſignifying unto your Highneſs now, that having thoſe Matters, as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the Pope's Holineſs in them, nor thought good to interrupt the Proſecution of your Highneſs Matter, with the purſuit of thoſe, ſaving that I ſpake a word to the Pope's Holineſs, *de Eccleſiis Cathedralibus*, and his Holineſs ſaid nothing could be done till the *Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor* be recovered. In other things I ſpeak not; for our Audience with the Pope's Holineſs hath been ſo ſcarce, that we thought it little enough to ſpend the ſame in your Highneſs principal Matter.

And to advertiſe your Highneſs what Counſel is here conducted for the defence of your Majeſty's Cauſe, the ſame ſhall underſtand that this Court, as it hath ſuffered in all other things, ſo it is alſo much appeyred in Learned Men, and of them that be, we dare not truſt every one, *ne Cauſa Majeſtatis veſtræ illis demudata*, they ſhould, *prodere illam Adverſariis*; wherefore counſelling, as yet only with two, the one called *Dominus Michael*, the other *Dominus Sigiſmundus*; we perceiving nothing to be ſolicited openly on the other ſide, and that here as yet, hath been no need to diſpute openly, have communicate your Highneſs Matter to no more. And as for that Article, *Quod Papa non poſſit diſpenſare*, the Pope himſelf will hear no Diſputations in it; and ſo he might retain your Highneſs good Mind, he ſeemeth not to care for himſelf, whether your Highneſs Cauſe be decided by that Article or no, ſo he did it not: but ſurely it appeareth, as a Man may gather by his faſhion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your Highneſs Matter, neither with your Majeſty, nor againſt the ſame, but follow that ſhall be done by his Legats there. Wherefore if my Lord *Campegius* would promiſe your Majeſty to give Sentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium Judice*, I would truſt, being there with ſuch Conſultations as I ſhould bring from hence to ſay ſomewhat to this Breve there, *Apud illos & iſta eſt Sacra Anchora Majeſtatis veſtræ*, for from hence ſhall come nothing but Delays; deſiring your Highneſs not to ſhew this to my Lord *Campegius*, nor my Lord's Grace.

Mr. *Gregory* ſendeth preſently unto your Highneſs the Promiſe made by the Pope's Holineſs, concerning your Highneſs Cauſe, at ſuch time as I went to *Venice* for his Cauſe, which Promiſe in the firſt three words, *viz. Cum nos juſtitiam ejus Cauſæ perpendentes*, &c. doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that ſhall be done in your Highneſs Cauſe; then if the Commiſſion Decretal, being in Cardinal *Campegius*'s Hands, ſhould be ſhewed: and this your Highneſs at your liberty to ſhew to whom of your Council it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, thinking, in my poor Opinion, that it were not the beſt therefore to move the Pope in that Matter again in this adverſe Time.

I moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, that I may be a Suitor to the ſame for the ſaid Mr. *Gregory*; ſo as by your moſt gracious Commandment, payment may be made there to his Factors, of ſuch Diets as your Highneſs alloweth him: for omitting to ſpeak of his true, faithful, and diligent Service, which I have heretofore, and do now perceive in him here; I aſſure your Highneſs, he liveth here ſumptuouſly and chargeably, to your Highneſs Honour, and in this great Scarcity, muſt needs be driven to Extremity, unleſs your Highneſs be a gracious Lord unto him in that behalf.

Thus having none other Matter whereof privately to write unto your Majeſty, beſides that is contained in our common Letters to my

Lord Legat's Grace, deſiring your Highneſs, that I may know your Pleaſure what to do, in caſe none other thing can be obtained here. I ſhall make an end of theſe Letters, praying Almighty God to preſerve your moſt noble and royal Eſtate, with a ſhort expedition of this Cauſe, according to your Highneſs Purpoſe and Deſire.

From *Rome*, the 21 day of *April.*

Your Highneſs moſt humble Subject,

Servant, and daily Orator,

Stephen Gardiner.

Number 27.*

The Writ for the burning of Cranmer.

PHILIP and MARY, *&c.*

Rot. Pat. 2, & 3, *Phil.* & *Mar.* 2. par.

TO Our right truſty *Nicholas*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Greeting. We Will and Command you, that immediately upon the ſight hereof, and by Warrant of the ſame, ye do cauſe to be made a Writ for the Execution of *Thomas Cranmer*, late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and the ſame ſo made, to Seal with our Great Seal of *England*, being in your Cuſtody, according to the Tenor and Form hereafter following.

Philippus & Maria Dei Gratia, &c. Majori & Ballivis Civitatis Oxon. Salutem. Cum Sanctiſſimus Pater noſter Paulus Papa ejuſdem Nominis Quartus, per ſententiam definitivam juris Ordine in ea parte requiſito in omnibus obſervato, & juxta canonicas ſanctiones judicialiter & definitive, Thomam Cranmer nuper Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum, fore Hæreſiarchum, Anathematizatum, & Hæreticum manifeſtum, propter ſuos varios nefandos Errores manifeſtos & damnabiles Hæreſes, & deteſtandas & peſſimas Opiniones, Fidei noſtræ Catholicæ, & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ determinationi obviantes & repugnantes: & prædict. Thomam Cranmer multis modis contract. comiſſ. dict. affirmat. perpetrat. & publice & pertinaciter tent. & defens. judicavit, declaravit, pronunciavit & condemnavit. & eadem cauſa idem Sanctiſsimus Pater noſter Papa Paulus quartus Judicialiter & definitive, more ſolito, prædictum Thomam Cranmer a prædicto Archiepiſcopatu, aliis Prælaturis, dignitatibus, Officiis & Beneficiis deprivavit & abjudicavit, prout cunctam inde habemus noticiam: Cumq; etiam Reverendus in Chriſto Pater Edmundus Londini Epiſcopus, & Thomas Elien Epiſcopus Authoritate ejuſdem Sanctiſsimi noſtri Patris Papæ prædictum Thomam Cranmer ab omni Ordine, Gradu, Officio & Dignitate Eccleſiaſtica, tanquam Hæreſiarcham & Hæreticum manifeſtum realiter degradaverunt; Vigore cujus idem Thomas Cranmer in preſenti Hæreticus & Hæreſiarcha

juſte, legitime, & Canonice Judicatus, condemnatus & degradatus exiſtit; Et cum etiam Mater Eccleſia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte contra tam putridum & deteſtabile membrum & hereſiarchum faciat aut facere debeat, Iidem Reverendi Patres eundem Thomam Cranmer damnatum Hæreticum & Hæreſiarcham brachiis & poteſtati noſtris ſecularibus tradiderunt, commiſerunt & reliquerunt, prout per Literas Patentes eorundem Reverendorum Patrum ſuperinde confect. nobis in Cancellaria noſtra Certificatum eſt. Nos igitur ut Zelatores Juſticiæ, & Fidei Catholicæ Defenſores, volenteſque Eccleſiam Sanctam ac Jura & Libertates ejuſdem, & Fidem Catholicam manutenere & defendere, hujuſmodi Hæreſes & Errores ubique, quantum in nobis eſt, eradicare & extirpare, & prædictum Thomam Hereſiarcham ac convictum, damnat. & degradat. animadverſione condigna punire. Attendenteſque hujuſmodi Heretic. & Hereſiarch. in forma prædicta convict. damnat. & degradat. juxta Leges & conſuetudines Regni noſtri Angliæ in hac parte conſuetas ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis Præcipimus quod dictum Thomam Cranmer, in cuſtodia veſtra exiſten. in Loco publico & aperto, infra Libertatem dicti Civitatis noſtræ Oxon. ex cauſa prædicta, coram Populo igni Committi, ac ipſum Thomam Cranmer in eodem igne realiter comburi facietis, in hujuſmodi Criminis deteſtationem, aliorum Chriſtianorum exemplum manifeſtum: Et hoc ſub pæna & periculo incumbente, ac prout nobis ſubinde reſpondere volueritis, nullatenus Omittatis. Teſt. nobis ipſis apud Weſtmonaſterium, Viceſimo quarto Februarii, Annis Regis & Reginæ ſecundo ac tertio.

And this Bill, ſigned with the hand of Us the ſaid Queen, ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge for the ſame.

Number 28.

A Commiſſion to Bonner, *and others, to ſearch and raze Records.*

PHILIP *and* MARY, *&c.*

TO the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edmond* Biſhop of *London*; and to Our truſty and well-beloved *Henry Cole*, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*; and *Thomas Marten* Eſq; Doctor of the Civil Law, Greeting. Where is come to Our knowledg and underſtanding, that in the time of the late Schiſm, divers and ſundry Accompts, Books, Scroles, Inſtruments, and other Writings, were practiſed, deviſed, and made, concerning Profeſſions againſt the Pope's Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolick: And alſo ſundry and divers infamous Scrutinies were taken in Abbeys, and other Religious Houſes, tending rather to ſubvert and overthrow all good Religion, and Religious Houſes, than for any Truth contained therein; which Writings, and other the Premiſes, as We be informed, were delivered to the Cuſtody and Charge of divers and ſundry Regiſters, and other Officers and Miniſters of this

Rot. Pat. 3, & 4, *Phil.* & *Mar.* 12. Pars.

Our Realm of *England*, to be by them kept and preſerved. And minding to have the ſaid Writings, and other the Premiſes, brought to knowledg, whereby they may be conſidered and ordered, according to Our Will and Pleaſure. And truſting in your Fidelities, Wiſdoms, and Diſcretions, We have appointed, and aſſigned you to be Our Commiſſioners; and by theſe preſents do give full Power and Authority unto you, or two of you, to call before you, or two of you, all and ſingular the ſaid Regiſters, and other Officers and Miniſters within this Our ſaid Realm, to whoſe hands, cuſtody, knowledg, or poſſeſſion, any of the ſaid Accompts, Books, Scroles, Inſtruments, or other Writings concerning the Premiſes, or any part thereof, did, or is come; giving ſtreight charge and commandments to them, and every of them, to bring before you, or two of you, at their ſeveral appearance, all and ſingular the ſaid Accompts, Books, Writings, and other the Premiſes whatſoever: And them, and every of them, to charge by Oath, or otherwiſe, to make a true Certificate and Delivery of all and ſingular the ſaid Premiſes, to the hands of you, or two of you; commanding you, or two of you, to attend and execute the Premiſes, with effect, by all ways and means, according to your Wiſdoms and Diſcretions.

And of all and ſingular your doings therein, Our Pleaſure and Commandment is, Ye ſhall make Certificate unto the moſt Reverend Father in God, and our deareſt Couſin *Reginald Pool*, Lord Cardinal, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Metropolitan and Primate of *England*, with diligence, to the intent that further Order may be taken therein as ſhall appertain; charging and commanding all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and all other Our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, to be aiding, helping, aſſiſting, and at Our Commandment in the due execution hereof, as they tender Our Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the contrary at their perils.

In Witneſs whereof, *&c.* Witneſs the King and Queen, at *Greenwich*, the 29*th* day of *December*.

Per Regem & Reginam.

Number

Number 29.

Cromwell's *Commiſſion, to be Lord-Vicegerent, in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.*

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* F.2.

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ ac in Terris Supremum totius Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput, dilectis nobis A. B. C. D. Salutem. In terris, ſupremam Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Autoritatem, etſi Regiæ Noſtræ dignitati, ut præcellenti, jam inde ab adepto primum divina diſponente gratia, hujus Regni noſtri Angliæ Sceptro, jure nobis competierit, nunc denuo exercere quodam modo impellimur; nempe quum hi, qui curam illius & regimen ſibi potiſſimum arrogabant, ſuis potius ipſorum privatis commodis, quam publicæ illius ſaluti, aut compendio conſulentes, eam tandem eo calamitatis, tum nimia licentia & in Officiis eiis commiſſis oſcitantia, tum ſuis malis exemplis devenire paſſi ſunt, ut non ab re metuendum ſit, ne illam Chriſtus nunc ſuam non agnoſcat ſponſam. Quamobrem noſtræ Regiæ excellentiæ, cui prima & ſuprema poſt Deum Auctoritas in quoſcunq; hujus Regni noſtri incolas, nullo ſexus, ætatis, ordinis aut conditionis habito diſcrimine, ſacro teſtante eloquio, cœlitus demandata eſt, ex muneris hujuſmodi debito potiſſimum incumbit, dictam Eccleſiam vitiorum vepribus, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, purgare, & virtutum ſeminibus & plantis conſerere. Porro cum hi, qui in eadem de cæteris antehac cenſuram ſibi vindicabant, de ſe vero nullam a quovis mortalium haberi ſuſtinebant, tum aliis hominibus plura indies corrigenda committant, tum ex eorum corruptis moribus majori præ cæteris ſunt plebi offendiculo; ut non immerito iidem & bonorum omnium, ſi boni, & malorum omnium, ſi contra certiſſimi ſint Authores: Ab his igitur veluti fonte & ſcaturigine ad univerſalem hujus Regni noſtri & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ reformationem jure auſpicandum eſſe duximus, haud vanam ſpem habentes, quod, fonte primitus purgato, purus deinde & limpidus decurret rivus. Cæterum quia ad ſingula hujus Regni noſtri loca pro præmiſſis exequendis nos ipſi perſonaliter obire non valemus, alios quorum Vicaria fide freti munus hujuſmodi veluti per miniſtros exequamur, qui quum vices noſtras in ea parte ſuppleant, in partem ſolicitudinis adſtitimus & vocamus. Cum itaque nos alias prædilectum nobis Thomam Cromwell Secretarium noſtrum primarium, & Rotulorum noſtrorum Magiſtrum ſive cuſtodem, Noſtrum, ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas quaſcunq; noſtra Autoritate uti ſupremi capitis dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractand. ſeu ventiland. atq; ad exercend. expediend. & exercend. omnem & omnimodam juriſdictionem, Authoritatem, ſive poteſtatem Eccleſiaſticam, quæ nobis tanquam ſupremo capiti hujuſmodi competit, aut quoviſmodo competere poſſit, aut debeat, ubilibet infra Regnum noſtrũ, Angliæ & loca quæcunq; nobis ſubjecta, Vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem, ac Commiſſarium ſpecialem & principalem, cum poteſtate alium vel alios Commiſſarium ſive Commiſſarios ad præmiſſa, vel eorum aliqua ordinanda & deputanda, per alias literas noſtras Patentes, ſigillo noſtro majori communitas, conſtituerimus, deputaverimus & ordinaverimus, prout ex tenore literarum noſtrarum hujuſmodi plenius liquet. Quia tamen & ipſe noſtris & totius hujus Regni noſtri negotiis præpeditus exiſtit, quominus præmiſſa perſonaliter obire & exequi poſſit; Idem Thomas Cromwell Vicem gerens, Vicarius generalis & Officialis principalis noſter hujuſmodi, vos A. B. C. D. prelibatos ad infra-ſcripta omnia & ſingula vice & nomine noſtris exequenda, Commiſſarios noſtros deputaverit, ordinaverit & conſtituerit; Nos igitur deputationem, ordinationem, & conſtitutionem hujuſmodi ratam & gratam habentes, ad viſitandum tam in Capite quam in Membris, de tam plena, quam vacante, quoties, & quando vobis opportunum viſum fuerit, omnes & ſingulas Eccleſias, etiam Metropoliticas, Cathedrales & Collegiatas, Hoſpitalia quæque & Monaſteria, tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Prioratas, Preceptorias, Dignitates, Officia, Domos & Loca alia Eccleſiaſtica, tam Scholaria quam Regularia, exempta & non exempta, quæcunque infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, & Provincias, Civitates, Terras, Dominia & Loca nobis Subjecta, ubicunque ſita ſeu conſtituta, cujuſcunque Dignitatis, Prærogativæ, Ordinis, Regulæ ſive conditionis exiſtant: deque ſtatu & conditione eorundem tam in Spiritualibus quam in Temporalibus, necnon vita, moribus & converſatione, tam Præſidentium ſive Prælatorum eorundem quocunque nomine & dignitate, etiamſi Archiepiſcopali vel Epiſcopali, præfulgeant, quam aliarum perſonarum in eis degentium quarumcunque, inquirendum & inquiri faciendum. Ac illos quos in ea parte curioſos vel culpabiles fore compereritis, pro modo culpæ hujuſmodi corrigendi, puniendi & coercendi; ac ſi delicti qualitas popoſcerit, officiis ſive beneficiis ſuis pro tempore vel in perpetuum privandi & amovendi, vel ad tempus ab eiſdem ſuſpendendi: fructus quoque, redditus & proventus Eccleſiarum & Locorum hujuſmodi, ſi videbitur, ſequeſtrandos, ac ſub ſalvo & tuto ſequeſtro cuſtodiri faciendos, atque mandando ſequeſtrumque hujuſmodi relaxandum ac computum calculum & rationem, de receptis & collectis per ſequeſtros hujuſmodi tempore ſequeſtri, & de adminiſtratione per eoſdem exigenda & recipienda, ac bene & fideliter computantes quietando & liberando deque ſtatu dictarum Eccleſiarum & Locorum tempore viſitationis hujuſmodi, annotationem, necnon de bonis rebus & localibus eorundem inventaria facienda & exigenda.

Statuta inſuper, Ordinationes & Injunctiones particulares & generales prò bona & laudabili conſervatione, ſeu reformatione perſonarum, locorum & ordinum prædictorum, juxta rei exigentiam, Auctoritate noſtra faciendo & imponendo: pænaſque convenientes in earum violatores infligendas & irrogandas, Synodoſque, Capitula & Convocationes, tam ſpeciales quam generales pro præmiſſis vel aliis cauſis, & rationibus quibuſcunque, quoties & quando & ubicunque vobis viſum fuerit magis expedire nomine & auctoritate noſtris concedendos & convocandos ac eas & ea celebranda continuanda & proroganda. Clerumq; & Populum ad Synodos & capitula hujuſmodi convocando & congregando ac Synodis capituli, & congregationibus hujuſmodi intereſſendo & præſidendo eaque inibi ſtatuendo & ordinando quæ pro reformatione vel emendatione locorum, perſonarum & ordinum prædictorum viſa fuerint quomodolibet expedire.. Dictaſque Eccleſias, loca & perſonas modis omnibus, quibus melius & efficacius valeatis ad ſtatum honeſtiorem, probatioreſque vivendi mores,reducendo & reponendo. Crimina quoque, exceſſus, & delicta quorumcunque ſubditorum noſtrorum juxta comperta & detecta quæcunque debito reformando,corrigendo & puniendo. Quoſcunq; inſuper ſubditos noſtros, pro præmiſſis vel quibuſcunque aliis cauſis ad forum Eccleſiaſticum quomodolibet ſpectantibus & pertinentibus, undecunque & quacunque infra hoc noſtrum Angliæ Regnum vobis videbitur melius expedire, ad vos & coram vobis citando & evocando: contumaceſq; & rebelles, tam per cenſuras & pænas Eccleſiaſticas, quam per mulctarum impoſitionem ac alia juris hujus Regni noſtri remedia coercendo & puniendo. Cauſaſq; & negotia Eccleſiaſtica hujuſmodi cognoſcendo,examinando ac ſine debito terminando: & ſubditos hujuſmodi rei per vos judicatæ ſtare & acquieſcere cogendo & compellendo. Reſignationes inſuper ſive ceſſiones Eccleſiarum, ſeu locorum & quaſcunq; quorumcunq; prædictorum factas ſive faciendas recipiendo & admittendo. Eccleſiaſq; & loca reſignata,Vacantia,& pro vacantibus habenda fore pronunciando & declarando: Licentiaſq; ad tractandũ & communicandũ & concludendũ de & ſuper penſionibus & fructibus & emolumentis, necnon dictarum Eccleſiarum & locorum commiſſorum aſſignando: necnon de & ſuper, quacunque permutatione fienda quibuſcunq; perſonis idoneis id petentibus concedendo. Penſioneſque annuas congruas & moderatas, reſignantibus hujuſmodi, aſſignando & limitando: Eccleſiaſq; & loca prædicta de & ſuper penſionum hujuſmodi ſolutione & præſtatione onerando & obligando,ac decreta & ſummas in ea parte neceſſarias ſeu requiſitas ferendas & promulgandas.

Electionibus quoque Prælatorum, qui per electionem hujuſmodi aſſumi ſoleant quorumcunq; intereſſendi & præſidendi, eligendumq; in eiſdem dirigendo & informando. Electiones inſuper quaſcunq; rite factas & celebratas,& perſonas electas ſive eligendas confirmando: ac aliter factas & celebratas caſſando & annullando, ac rite electos & confirmatos inſtallando ſeu inſtallari faciendo. Inſtitutiones quoq; & inveſtituras in quibuſcunq; Eccleſiis & locis prædictis pendente viſitatione noſtra hujuſmodi perſonis idoneis & rite preſentatis quibuſcunq; conferendo & concedendo, ac eos in realem, actualem & corporalem poſſeſſionem Eccleſiarum & locorum prædictorum indicendo ſeu ſic induci faciendo atque mandando,cum ſuis juribus & pertinentibus univerſis. Quæcunque inſuper inſtrumenta, literaſq; tam teſtimoniales, quam mandatores & reſcripta alia quæcunq; in ea parte neceſſaria, oportuna, &c.

Deſunt cætera.

Number 30.

A Letter written by the Monks of *Glaſſenbury*, for the new Founding of that Abbey.

An Original.

To the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majeſty.

Ex M S. Nob. Illuſtr. Com. de *Huntington.*

RIght Honourable, in our moſt humble wiſe, your Lordſhips daily Beadſman, ſometimes at the Houſe of *Glaſſenbury*, now here Monks in *Weſtminſter*, with all due ſubmiſſion, we deſire your Honour to extend your accuſtomed Vertue, as it hath been always heretofore propenſe to the Honour of Almighty God, to the honourable Service of the King and Queens Majeſty; So it may pleaſe your good Lordſhip again, for the honour of them, both of God and their Majeſties, to put the Queen's Highneſs in remembrance of her gracious Promiſe, concerning the Erection of the late Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*; which Promiſe of her Grace hath been ſo by her Majeſty declared. That upon the ſame, we your Lordſhips daily Beadſmen, underſtanding my Lord Cardinals Grace's Pleaſure to the ſame, by the procurement hereof, our Reverend Father *Abbot*, hath gotten out the Particulars; and through a Warrant from my Lord Treaſurer, our Friends there hath builded, and beſtowed much upon Reparation: Notwithſtanding, all now ſtandeth at a ſtay; we think the cauſe to be want of remembrance; which cannot ſo well be brought unto her Majeſty's underſtanding, as by your Honourable Lordſhips favour and help. And conſidering your Lordſhips moſt Godly diſpoſition, we have a confidence thereof to ſollicite the ſame; aſſuring your Lordſhip of our daily Prayers while we live, and of our Succeſſors during the World, if it may ſo pleaſe your good Lordſhip to take it in hand.

We ask nothing in Gift to the Foundation, but only the Houſe and Scite, the reſidue for the accuſtomed rent; So that with our Labour and Huſbandry, we may live here a few of us in our Religious Habits, till the Charity of good People may ſuffice a greater number: and the Country there being ſo affected to our Religion, we believe we ſhould find more help amongſt them, towards the Reparations and Furniture of the ſame; whereby we would happily prevent the ruin of much, and repair no little part of the whole, to God's Honour, and for the better proſperity of the King and Queen's Majeſties, with the whole Realm; for, doubtleſs, if it ſhall pleaſe your good Lordſhip, if there hath ever been any flagitious Deed, ſince the Creation of the World, puniſhed of God, in our Opinion the overthrow of *Glaſſenbury* may be compared to the ſame, not ſurrendred, as other, but extorted; the Abbot prepoſterouſly put to death, with two innocent vertuous Monks with him; that if the thing were to be ſkanned by any Univerſity, or ſome learned Councel in Divinity, they would find it more dangerous than it is commonly taken: which might move the Queen's Majeſty to the more ſpeedy Erection; namely, that being an Houſe of ſuch Antiquity, and of Fame through all Chriſtendom; firſt begun by St. *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, (who took down the dead Body of our Saviour Chriſt from the Croſs) and lieth buried in *Glaſſenbury*: and him moſt heartily we beſeech with us, to pray unto Chriſt for good ſucceſs unto your Honourable Lordſhip, in all your Lordſhips Affairs; and now eſpecially in this our moſt humble Requeſt, that we may do the ſame in *Glaſſenbury* for the King and Queens Majeſties as our Founders, and for your good Lordſhip, as a ſingular Benefactor.

Your Lordſhips daily Beadſmen of *Weſtminſter*,

John Phagan.
John Nott.
William Ailewold.
William Kentwyne.

Number 31.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne *from* Rome, *ſhewing how the Pope diſſembled with him concerning a General Peace.*

An Original.

Pleaſeth it your moſt Excellent Majeſty to be advertiſed, That *Francis* the Poſt arrived here upon *Corpus Chriſti* Day, with your Majeſty's moſt gracious Letters, as well for the expedition of the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter* and *Cheſter*, as alſo for his Holineſs beſide; with your moſt gracious Letters of the 30*th* of *March* to me: According to the purport whereof, I ſued for Audience at his Holineſs Hands, the next day following; whereof I had Anſwer, That I ſhould come to his Holineſs, *viz.* the ſixth of this; and being with his Holineſs, after the delivery of your Majeſty's moſt gracious Letters, with your Majeſty's humble Commendations, After he had read your Majeſty's Letter, in the preſence of the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal *Morone*, he ſaid, how much he was bound to that Bleſſed Queen, and moſt Gracious and Loving Daughter, that had written to him ſo gratefully and humbly; ſaying, That he would keep that Letter to be read openly in the Conſiſtory, before all the moſt Reverend Lords his Brethren; and ſaid, that he was much bound to his Legat there, to make that good Report of him to your Majeſty. Whereupon I declared unto him your Majeſty's Pleaſure, according to my Inſtructions, with ſuch Thanks and Congratulations as your Pleaſure was I ſhould uſe to his Holineſs, with the reſt of my Inſtructions; leaving no part thereof undeclared and ſpoken: Whereunto he ſaid, That his Affection to that bleſſed Queen (making a Croſs upon your Majeſty's Name contained in

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

in the Letter) was not, neither could be as much as the goodneſs of her Majeſty required; but this your Majeſty ſhould be ſure of, he ſaid, that his good Affection, and good Will, ſhould not only continue, but encreaſe to the utmoſt, to the ſatisfaction of your Majeſty in all that may lie in him.

And as touching the Peace to be had perfectly, betwixt the Emperor's Majeſty, and the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and the French King, he was wondrous glad to hear that your Majeſty's furtherance ſhould not want in helping to bring the Truce, late concluded, to a perfect Peace. And of his part, he ſaid, that he ſent two Legats for that purpoſe, for his diſcharge towards God: Or elſe, he ſaid, if he ſhould overpaſs, and not declare unto them the great Neceſſities of the Common-Weal of all Chriſtendom to have a perfect Peace, God would impute his ſilence therein unto him, being appointed over his Flock here as he is: For, he ſaid, it is more than time to be doing therein, conſidering that the Realm of *Polonia* doth ſo waver, and that the King there neither can nor dare, being compaſſed with naughty Sects round about him, do any thing againſt them. And likewiſe the King of *Romans* about him. They call upon his Holineſs for help, and ſome Proviſion for Amendment; which thing he cannot do without a General Council, which, he ſaid, cannot be well done, unleſs the ſaid Peace be made; for though there be an Abſtinence from War, yet the grudg of the Doings heretofore, and the incertainty of Peace, will be an occaſion to keep Men of War, and the one ſhall be in miſtruſt of the other, in ſuch ſort, as the Paſſages cannot be ſure for thoſe that ſhould come to the ſaid Council: Therefore he will travel, as much as is poſſible for him, to have a Peace, without the which it will not be poſſible to do any good in the Council. His Holineſs is minded to have the General Council here in *St. John Latarenenſe*, and thinks it the moſt meeteſt Place, for divers Conſiderations which he declared; For it is the Head Church of Chriſtendom, and there hath been divers times many wholſome and Holy Councils in times paſt. And for that this City is *Communis Patria*, and free to all the World to reſort to freely, truſting that all Neceſſaries ſhall come hither, both by Sea and Land. And alſo foraſmuch as in divers Councils begun in times of his Predeceſſors, little good could be done; and Men thought that more good might have been done, if the Pope had been preſent himſelf in the ſaid Councils, therefore his Holineſs would be preſent himſelf in this Council; which he cannot, being in a manner decrepit for Age, in caſe it were kept far here-hence; he not being able to travel for Age, unleſs it be kept here, where he truſteth to be himſelf in Perſon. And for to conclude this Matter, in ſuch ſort as the neceſſity of Chriſtendom requireth, he hath diſpatched the two Legats, *de Latere ſuo*, at this preſent, wherein he knoweth that your Majeſty may do more than any others, and doubteth not but your Majeſty will ſo do. Concluding that God hath preſerved your Majeſty to help all the World; whereunto I ſaid, That there ſhould not want neither good Will, neither any other thing that your Majeſty might do for the furtherance thereof.

As touching the Proviſions of *Wincheſter* and *Cheſter*, it ſhall be done with all the ſpeed that may be. And his Holineſs hath promiſed all the favour that he can conveniently ſhew for your Majeſty's ſake: It muſt have ſomewhat longer time, for that the Proceſs made there by my Lord Legat's Grace, for to try the Yearly Value of *Wincheſter*, muſt be committed to certain Cardinals, for to report in the Conſiſtory, before the new Tax can be made; but there ſhall be no time loſt, for it ſhall be diligently ſollicited.

Alſo concerning the Pention to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, of a thouſand Pounds *Sterling* Yearly, the Pope his Holineſs will aſſign it according to your Majeſty's Pleaſure; ſo that all ſhall be done therein with all the ſpeed that may be, God willing; wherein the moſt reverend Lord, Cardinal *Morone*, who rejoiceth much in your Gracious Letters ſent to him, to his great comfort, doth travel, as he is moſt ready always, in all that toucheth your Majeſty, or any of your moſt noble Realms.

As concerning the Occurents here, ſince my laſt Letters of the fifteenth of the laſt, be none other, but that the Cardinal *de Caraffa*, departed here-hence towards *France*, the fourteenth of the laſt, with divers Antiquities to be preſented to the French King. Some ſay here, that part of his Charge is, to move the French King to take the Dukedom of *Paleano* in his Protection, as he hath *Parma* and *Mirandula.* There be a great number of Workmen already gone to Fortify *Paleano*, *Neptuno*, and *Rocca del Papa*; and certain Captains appointed and gone thither alſo.

The Legat to the Emperor's Majeſty, and the King's Majeſty, departed the 30*th* of the laſt.

The Ambaſſador of *Polonia* is returned towards his Maſter. His Petition, as I am informed, to his Holineſs, was, to have Licenſe for Prieſts to Marry, and all Lay-folk to receive the Communion, *Sub utraque ſpecie*, in the Realm of *Polonia*, and certain Diſmes upon the Clergy, to be ſpent againſt the Turk. His Anſwer, as I hear, was, in general, with relation of all ſuch Matters to the General Council.

Alſo there came hither four Ambaſſadors very honourably from the State of *Genua*, with the Obedience of that State to his Holineſs: Which Ambaſſador did viſit me, delaring the good Will, Amity, and Service, that the ſaid State bare towards the King, and your moſt Excellent Majeſty, deſiring me advertiſe your Majeſty thereof.

The 24*th* of the laſt, the Pope his Holineſs kept the Anniverſary of his Coronation: I was warned to be at the Chappel, by the Officers appointed for that purpoſe. Alſo one of his Holineſs Gentlemen was ſent to invite me to dine with his Holineſs that day. At my coming to the Court, the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* being there, at his Holineſs coming forth, would have kept the Place, amongſt all the Ambaſſadors, from me, that I was wont to ſtand in, that is next the French Ambaſſador; And next to me would be the Ambaſſador of *Polonia.* I came to the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, as gently as I could; and for that he would not give me my Place, I took him by the Shoulder, and removed him out of that Place, ſaying, That it was your Majeſty's Ambaſdor's Place always. Beneath me he would not ſtand, neither next me he ſhould not, for the Ambaſſador of *Polonia* who claimed next to me: Whereupon the *Portugal* went and complained to the Duke of *Paleano*, who went ſtreight to the Pope; and after him went the ſaid Amballador of *Portugal* to him himſelf. His Holineſs willed him to depart therehence. He deſired that I ſhould depart likewiſe. And thereupon the Duke came to me, ſaying, That the Pope his Pleaſure was, I ſhould depart alſo. I asked him, Why? He ſaid, That his Holineſs, to avoid diſſention, would have me to depart. I told him, I made no Diſſention; for if the other would keep his own Place, and not uſurpe upon the Place, that always the Ambaſſors of *England*, in times paſt, were wont to be in, he might be in quiet, and ſuffer me to be in quiet likewiſe, and not to ſeek that ſeemed him not. All this Year he never ſought it till now, why now, I cannot tell; but he may be ſure he ſhall not have it of me, unleſs your Majeſty command it. Alſo the Maſter of the Houſhold with his Holineſs, ſaid, That I was invited, and that *Portugal* was not, but came upon his own head.

I am much bound to the Marqueſs, he was very angry with the *Portugal*, being his Brother, to attempt any ſuch thing againſt your Majeſty's Ambaſſador; and ſent to me, as ſoon as he heard of it. Indeed he was not there, I kept my Place from him, ſending him to ſeek his Place in ſuch ſort, that all the Ambaſſadors thought it well done; and others that were indifferent ſaid no leſs. I told the Duke that I would not loſe a jot of your Majeſty's Honour for no Man. For it is the Place of Ambaſſadors of *England*, nigh a thouſand Years before there was any King in *Portugal.*

Other Occurents here be none. And thus I beſeech Almighty God to conſerve your moſt Excellent Majeſty, in long and moſt proſperous Liſe.

From *Rome*, the *9th* of *June*, 1556.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble Subject,

and Poor Servant,

Edward Carne.

Number 32.

A Commiſſion for a ſeverer way of proceeding againſt Hereticks.

PHilip and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Spain*; *France*, both *Sicills*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Ireland*, and Defenders of the Faith; Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Millain*, and *Brabant*, Counts of *Harſpurge*, *Flanders*, and *Tyroll*. To the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edmond* Biſhop of *London*, and to the Reverend Father in God, Our right truſty, and right well-beloved Counſellor, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*; and to Our right truſty, and right well-beloved, *William Windſor* Kt. Lord *Windſor*; *Edward North* Kt. Lord *North*; and to Our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellors, *John Bourne* Kt. one of Our chief Secretaries; *John Mordaunt* Knight; *Francis Englefield* Kt. Maſter of our Wards and Liveries; *Edward Walgrave* Kt. Maſter of Our great Wardrobe; *Nicholas Hare* Kt. Maſter of the *Rolls* in our Court of *Chancery*; and to Our truſty and well-beloved *Thomas Pope* Kt. *Roger Cholmley* Kt. *Richard Read* Kt. *Thomas Stradling* Kt. and *Rowland Hill* Kt. *William Raſtall* Serjeant at Law; *Henry Cole* Clark, Dean of *Pauls*; *William Roper*, and *Randulph Cholmley* Eſquires; *William Cooke*, *Thomas Martin*, *John Story*, and *John Vaughan*, Doctors of Law, Greeting,

Rot. Pat. in Dorſo. Rot. 3, & 4. *Phil. & Mar.* 2 p.

Foraſmuch as divers deviliſh and clamourous Perſons, have not only invented, bruited, and ſet forth divers falſe Rumours, Tales, and ſeditious Slanders againſt Us, but alſo have ſown divers Hereſies and Heretical Opinions; and ſet forth divers ſeditious Books within this our Realm of *England*, meaning thereby to move, procure, and ſtir up Diviſions, Strife, Contentions, and Seditions, not only amongſt Our loving Subjects, but alſo betwixt Us and Our ſaid Subjects; with divers other outragious Miſdemeanours, Enormities, Contempts, and Offences daily committed and done, to the diſquieting of Us and Our People; We minding and intending the due puniſhment of ſuch Offenders, and the repreſſing of ſuch-like Offences, Enormities, and Miſbehaviours from henceforth, having ſpecial truſt and confidence in your Fidelities, Wiſdoms, and Diſcretions, have authorized, appointed, and aſſigned you to be our Commiſſioners; and by theſe preſents do give full Power and Authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the Oaths of twelve good and lawful Men, as by Witneſſes, and all other means and politick ways you can deviſe, of all and ſundry Hereſies, Heretical Opinions, Lollardies; heretical and ſeditious Books, Concealments, Contempts, Conſpiracies, and of all falſe Rumours, Tales, Seditious and Clamorous, Words and Sayings, raiſed, publiſhed, bruited, invented, or ſet forth againſt Us, or either of Us; or againſt the quiet Governance and Rule of Our People and Subjects, by Books, Letters, Tales, or otherwiſe, in any County, City, Burrough, or other Place or Places within this Our Realm of *England*, and elſewhere, in any Place or Places beyond the Seas; and of the bringers in Uſers, Buyers, Sellers, Readers, Keepers, or Conveyers of any ſuch Letters, Books, Rumour, or Tale; and of all and every their Coadjutors, Counſellors, Conſorters, Procurers, Abetters, and Maintainers; Giving to you, and three of you, full Power and Authority, by vertue hereof, to ſearch out, and take into your hands and poſſeſſion, all manner of heretical and ſeditious Books, Letters, Writings, whereſoever they, or any of them ſhall be found, as well in Printers Houſes and Shops, as elſewhere; willing you, and every of you, to ſearch for the ſame in all Places, according to your diſcretions. And alſo to enquire, hear, and determine, all and ſingular Enormities, Diſturbances, Miſbehaviours, Miſdemeanours and Negligences, done, ſuffered, or committed, in any Church, Chappel, or other hallowed Place within this Realm. And alſo for and concerning the taking away, or the with-holding of any Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Ornaments, Stocks of Mony, or other things belonging to any of the ſame Churches and Chappels, and all Accompts and Reckonings concerning the ſame. And alſo to enquire and ſearch out all ſuch Perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to preach the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Maſs, or come to their Pariſh, or other convenient Places, appointed for Divine Service; and all ſuch as refuſe to go in Proceſſions, to take Holy Water, or Holy Bread; or otherwiſe do miſuſe themſelves in any Church, or other Hallowed Place, whereſoever any of the ſame Offences have been, or hereafter ſhall be, committed within this Our ſaid Realm. Nevertheleſs Our Will and Pleaſure is, That when, and as often as any Perſon or Perſons hereafter to be called or convented before you, do obſtinately perſiſt or ſtand in any manner of Hereſy, or heretical Opinions, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the ſame Perſon, or Perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be delivered and committed to his Ordinary, there to be uſed according to the Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Laws. And alſo We give unto you, or three of you, full Power and Authority to enquire and ſearch out all Vagabonds and Maſterleſs Men, Barretors, Quarrellers, and ſuſpect Perſons, Vagrant, or abiding within the City of *London*, or ten miles compaſs of the ſame; and all Aſſaults and Affrays done and committed within the ſame City, and Compaſs. And further, to ſearch out all Waſtes, Decays, and Ruines of Churches, Chancels, Chappels, Parſonages, and Vicarages, in whatſoever Dioceſs the ſame be within this Realm. Giving to you, or any three of you, full Power and Authority, by virtue hereof to hear and determine the ſame, and all other Offences and Matters above ſpecified and rehearſed, according to your Wiſdoms, and Conſciences, and Diſcretions; willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to uſe and deviſe all ſuch politic ways and means, for the trial and ſearching out of the Premiſes, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſary; and upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out by the Confeſſion of the Parties, or by ſufficient Witneſſes, before you, or three of you, concerning the Premiſes, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requiſite, to give and award ſuch puniſhment to the Offenders, by Fine, Impriſonment, or otherwiſe; and to take ſuch order for redreſs and reformation of the Premiſes, as to your Wiſdoms, or three of you, ſhall be thought meet and convenient. Further willing and commanding you, and any three of you, in caſe you ſhall find any Perſon or Perſons, obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or aſſignment; or elſe in not accompliſhing, or not obeying your Decrees, Orders, and Commandments, in any thing or things touching the Premiſes, or any part thereof, to commit the ſame Perſon, or Perſons, ſo offending, to Ward, there to remain, till they be by you, or three of you, enlarged and delivered. And We give to you, and any three of you, full Power and Authority, by theſe Preſents, to take and receive, by your Diſcretions, of every Offender, or ſuſpect Perſon, to be convented or brought before you, a Recognizance or Recognizances, Obligation or Obligations to Our uſe, of ſuch Sum or Sums of Mony, as to you, or three of you, ſhall ſeem convenient, as well for the perſonal appearance before you, of any ſuch ſuſpect Perſon, or for the performance and accompliſhment of your Orders and Decrees, in caſe you ſhall think ſo convenient, as for the ſure and true paiment of all and every ſuch Fine and Fines, as ſhall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or aſſeſſed upon any Offender that ſhall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced, as is aforeſaid, to Our uſe, to be paid at ſuch days and times, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be ſealed, limited, or appointed: And you to certifie any ſuch Recognizance, or Obligation, as being taken for any Fine, or Fines, not fully and wholly paid before you, under your Hands and Seals, or the Hands and Seals of three of you, into Our Court of *Chancery*, to the intent We may be thereof duly anſwered, as appertaineth.

And furthermore, We give to you, or three of you, full Power and Authority, by theſe Preſents, not only to call afore you all and every Offender and Offenders, and all and every ſuſpect Perſon and Perſons in any of the Premiſes, but alſo all ſuch, and ſo many Witneſſes as ye ſhall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine and compel to Anſwer, and Swear, upon the Holy Evangeliſt, to declare the Truth in all ſuch things, whereof they, or any of them ſhall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the Premiſes, or of any part thereof.

And furthermore, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that you, or three of you, ſhall name and appoint, one ſufficient Perſon to gather up and receive all ſuch Sums of Mony as ſhall be aſſeſſed or taxed by you, or three of you, for any Fine or Fines, upon any Perſon or Perſons, for their Offence; and you, or three of you, by Bill, or Bills, ſigned with your Hands, ſhall, and may aſſign and appoint, as well to the ſaid Perſon for his pains in receiving the ſaid Sums, as alſo to your Clark, Meſſengers, and Attendants upon you, for their travel, pains and charge to be ſuſtained for Us about the Premiſes, or any part thereof, ſuch ſum and ſums of Mony for their Rewards, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be thought expedient. Willing and commanding you, or three of you, after the time of this Our Commiſſion is expired, to certify into our Exchequer, as well the Name of the ſaid Receiver, as alſo a note of ſuch Fines as ſhall be ſet or taxed before you, to the intent, that upon the determination of the account of the ſame Receiver, We may be anſwered, that that to Us ſhall juſtly appertain. Willing and Commanding, alſo all Our Auditors, and other Officers, upon

upon the ſight of the ſaid Bills, ſigned with the Hands of you, or three of you, to make to the ſaid Receiver, due allowance, according to the ſaid Bills upon his account. Wherefore We Will and Command you, our ſaid Commiſſioners, with diligence to execute the Premiſes, with effect: any of Our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other Grants, Priviledges, or Ordinance, which be, or may ſeem to be contrary, to the Premiſes notwithſtanding.

And moreover, We Will and Command, all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and all other our Officers, Miniſters, and faithful Subjects, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to you,at your commandment,in the due execution hereof, as they tender Our Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the Coſts, at their utmoſt Perils.

And We Will and Grant, That theſe Our Letters Patents ſhall be a ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge for you, and any of you, againſt Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors; and all, and every other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever they be, of, for, or concerning the Premiſes, or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this Our Commiſſion, or any part thereof.

In Witneſs whereof, We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue and endure for one whole Year next coming after the Date hereof. Witneſs our Self at *Wiſtminſter*, the 8*th* day of *February*, the third and fourth Years of Our Reign.

Number 33.

A Letter writ by the Council, expreſſing their Jealouſies of the Lady Elizabeth.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

Mr. *Pope*, after our very hearty Commendations, ye ſhall underſtand, That amongſt divers other deviliſh Practices, attempted from time to time,by *Dudly Aſhton*, and other Traitors in *France*,for the diſturbance of the Quiet of the Realm; they have now lately ſent over one *Cleyberdo*, who (if I the Lord Chancellor be not deceived in the Man) was, whilſt I was Preſident in *Wales*, indicted of a Burglary, and ſhould have been, if he had not eſcaped by the means of certain his Complices, who took him from the Sheriffs Man, as well for the ſaid Burglary, as for divers other notable Robberies, and other Offences, made ſure enough from attempting this Enterprize now. This Man being ſent by the foreſaid Traitors into the extream parts of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*; where naming himſelf to be Earl of *Devonſhire*, he hath, by ſpreading abroad of ſlanderous Letters & Proclamations,abuſed the Lady *Elizabeth's* Graces Name; pronouncing thereby, as much as in him lay, to ſtir the King's and Queen's Majeſties Subjects in thoſe parts to Rebellion, as by the Copies of the ſaid Letters and Proclamations, which we ſend unto you herewith, may at better length appear unto you. And albeit the People there have ſhewed themſelves ſo true and obedient Subjects, as immediately upon the underſtanding of this Enterprize, they did of themſelves, and without any Commandment, apprehend as many of the Attempters of this deviliſh Practice as they could come by, whereby their good-will and truth to the King and Queen's Majeſties doth well appear. Yet becauſe this Matter is ſpread already abroad, and that peradventure many Conſtructions and Diſcourſes will be made thereof, we have thought meet to ſignify the whole Circumſtances of the Cauſe unto you, to be by you opened unto the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace, at ſuch time as ye ſhall think convenient; to the end it may appear unto her how little theſe Men ſtick, by falſhood and untruth, to compaſs their Purpoſe; not letting, for that intent, to abuſe the Name of her Grace, or any others: which their Deviſes nevertheleſs are (God be thanked) by his Goodneſs diſcovered from time to time to their Majeſties preſervance, and confuſion of their Enemies. And ſo bid you heartily well to fare. From *Eltham*, the 30*th* of *July*, 1556.

Your Loving Friends,

Nichol. Eborac. Canc.
Arundel.
Thomas Ely.
R. Rocheſter.
Henry Jernegam.

Number 34.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne, *concerning the ſuſpenſion of Cardinal* Pool's *Legatine Power.*

An Original.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

PLeaſeth it your moſt Excellent Majeſties, according as I advertiſed your Highneſs in my Letters of the 8*th* of this; So I have informed all the Cardinals that be here of the Congregation of the Inquiſition, as the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal *Morone* adviſed me, informing them of the good Proceedings and Reformations made, by the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal's Grace there, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; not only in things pertaining *ad cultum Dei*, but alſo in other, pertaining to the Common-Weal of Chriſt's Church, in ſuch ſort as Chriſt's Religion doth ſo proſper there, that there is good hope all things ſhould come to their perfection in time. And for that purpoſe his Grace had called there a Synod of the Clergy of the Realm, where many good Ordinances, for the maintenance of the Premiſes been paſt already; and many ready in hand for to paſs, and not fully ended nor perfected: which ſhould be ſtaid, in caſe the Legacy ſhould be there-hence revoked, which might turn to the great danger and dammage of many in that your Majeſty's Realm, in caſe due Reformation throughout and perfectly were not made: Therefore I deſired them, that when the Matter were moved amongſt them, ſo to weigh it, as ſuch a good beginning, that through your Majeſty's Goodneſs hath been there, be not brought by their doings here, into no worſe terms, then your Majeſties, with no little pain, hath always travelled to bring it unto: Adding beſides divers Caſes that daily might fall, which could not be holpen without the Authority of this See: And that Men newly reduced to the Unity of the Church, would rather ſtand in their naughty Doings, whoſe Examples might be noiſome to many; than repair hither for any help; But having the Legate there, would gladly ſeek help at his hands being preſent amongſt them.

And likewiſe for reduction of your Majeſty's Realm of *Ireland* to the Unity of the Church, which whether it were paſt or no, I doubted, and ended throughly: And if it were, yet were it moſt expedient that there ſhould be Reformation, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; which could not well be, in caſe the Legacy continue not there. This is the effect of the Points that I informed them upon, who all thought it moſt expedient, that the Legacy ſhould continue there, and would not fail to ſtay, as much as might lie in them, for theſe Conſiderations above rehearſed; and thought, being of ſuch importance, that if my Lord's Grace were not there already, it were moſt expedient that he ſhould be ſent thither, rather than to be revoked; and hereof, as well Cardinal *Morone*, as all the other, would needs I ſhould move his Holineſs.

Whereupon the 12*th* of this, I went to the Pope himſelf, upon pretence to give him thanks for the Proviſion of the Church of *Chicheſter*, and of the moſt gracious and honourable Report that he made in the Conſiſtory the ſame time, of your Highneſs my Soveraign Lady the Queen; where his Holineſs declared ſo much Goodneſs and Vertue of your Majeſty, that he, and this See, could not, he ſaid, ſhew ſo much favour to any of yours, as the ſame required. As undoubtedly, as far as I could hear, he doth, whenſoever he hath occaſion to ſpeak of your Majeſty, ſo reverently as more could not be; who prevented me, and ſaid, that he was glad that I was come unto him, and truſted that God had ſent me thither: for there had been with him, the day before, Cardinal *Pacheco*, who ſhewed him of the good inclination of your Majeſty, my Soveraign Lord, to have Peace with him and the Church. And that alſo he had received a Letter from the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal's Grace there-hence, who had ſpoken with your Majeſty, and found the ſame ſo well inclined to have Peace with his Holineſs, as might be deſired; which his Holineſs ſaid he liked very well, and held up his hands, beſeeching Almighty God to continue your Majeſty in that good mind. And then he began to declare, how that God provided, and always confirmed you, the Queen's Majeſty, not only to do good to that Realm, but to all Chriſtendom alſo; in whom his Holineſs had ſuch hope, that the ſame will ſo help with the King's Majeſty, that Peace may follow betwixt the Church and him: and he of his part coveted nothing more, as it ſhould appear, if the King's Majeſty would treat of it; Yea, he ſaid, though he ſhould ſuſtain great Damage thereby, he will win his Majeſty if he can.

And where his Majeſty is informed, that his Holineſs would hear none of thoſe that were ſent to him from his Majeſty, as *Franciſco*

Pacheco, and one Citizen of *Naples*; he ſaid, That he never heard that either the ſaid *Franciſco*, or the ſaid Citizen, had any Letter or Word to him from his Majeſty; If they had had, he, as he ſaid, who giveth Audience daily to as many as do ſeek it at his hands, without denial, would have heard them, or any that had been ſent from his Highneſs; and this, he ſaid, all that be about him can teſtify, and called God to Record of it. And yet, he ſaid, that the King's Majeſty is informed of the contrary; whereupon, he ſaid, that his Majeſty was brought in belief, that it was ſufficient for his Highneſs to offer himſelf to be heard, and ſeeing he could not, he was diſcharged towards God, and ſo lay the fault in his Holineſs; from the which Error, ſo his Holineſs named it, he would and wiſhed that his Majeſty ſhould be brought: for his Holineſs cauſed to be enquired of them, Whether they had any Letters, or any thing to ſay of his Majeſty's behalf to him, and could hear of none; Wherefore his Holineſs deſired me to write to your Majeſty, and to ſignify the ſame to your Highneſs; and of his Holineſs behalf, to pray you to advertiſe the King's Majeſty, that therein was no lack of his Holineſs: Saying, If his Majeſty had ſent to him, he would have gladly heard him; or if it may pleaſe his Majeſty yet to ſend, no Man will be more glad thereof than he:. And ſaid further, that God, who had called him to that place, knew that he always hath been of mind to have a General Council for a Reformation throughout Chriſtendom, and in ſuch Place as had been meet for it; and doubted not, but that he would have ſeen Chriſtendom in ſuch Order, that ſuch Enormities as do reign in many Parts, ſhould have been reformed, if theſe Wars had not troubled him: Saying therewith, That the Power of the Church is not able to maintain Wars of it ſelf, bnt that God had provided Aid elſewhere; but if he can have Peace, he will embrace it, he ſaid, though it were to his loſs. And prayed me to deſire your Majeſty, of his behalf, to put to your good help towards it. To whom, after thanks firſt given to his Holineſs for the ſaid good Opinion that he had of your Majeſty, and alſo of the Proviſion made of the ſaid Church of *Chicheſter*, I ſaid, that I was glad to hear of that good inclination of his Holineſs to Peace; and ſaid, that I would gladly ſignify to you, the Queen's Majeſty, according to his Holineſs Pleaſure: And that I had heard of divers, that his Holineſs would not give Audience, to ſuch as you my Soveraign Lord had ſent to him; whereof I was ſorry, and yet nevertheleſs truſted that betwixt his Holineſs and your Majeſty, ſhould be as great Amity as appertaineth; and had not ſo good hope thereof, ſithence this War began, as now hearing his Holineſs to be ſo well inclined to it; not doubting but all the World ſhould perceive no lack of your Majeſty's behalf, as far as any Reaſon required.

Whether this be done for a practice to pleaſe, leaſt any ſtir be there againſt the Frenchmen, which is moſt feared here, I am not able to ſay, for there lacketh no practice in this Court that they think may ſerve for their purpoſe. The truth is, that there is jarring betwixt the Pope and the French now; with whom the Pope is nothing contented, neither they with him, as it is credibly reported here. All the Italians that the Pope had in the French Camp be all gone; the French handled them very ill and vile, and eſpecially *Don Antonio de Caraffa* the Pope's Nephew: So that it is thought here, that the Pope will turn the Leaf, if any were here of your behalf, the King's Majeſty, that had Authority to treat with his Holineſs: And if it pleaſe your Majeſty to ſend any hither for that purpoſe, by the Opinion of all your Majeſty's well-willers here, there can come but good of it.

After this Communication, I lamented to his Holineſs greatly of one thing, that I had heard his Holineſs pretended to do: And foraſmuch as your Majeſty had placed me here with his Holineſs, and that the caſe was ſuch, that it touched the maintenance of the Common-Wealth of Chriſtian Religion within your Majeſty's Realm there, ſo much, that of Duty I could do no leſs but open it to his Holineſs, truſting that the ſame, who had always ſhewed himſelf moſt ready, with all benignity, to do for You, the Queen's Majeſty, and your Realm, would ſo continue ſtill: Which thing was, I ſaid, That his Holineſs would revoke his Legat there, which ſhould be too great a prejudice to the Church of that Realm, to be done before all things were truly ſtabliſhed there, and opened unto his Holineſs all the Conſiderations before rehearſed, whereof I had informed the Cardinals in as ample manner as I could. Then, he ſaid, that there was nothing that he could do for you, the Queen's Majeſty, or your ſaid Realm, but he would do it moſt gladly, unleſs occaſion ſhould be given there-hence that he might not. And as touching the Revocation of the Legat in *England*, he ſaid, That it was done already, and not for to provide any thing within that Realm, but only for becauſe, it was not convenient that any Legat of his ſhould be within any of the King's Majeſty's Realms or Dominions; and therefore he revoked his Nuncio's from *Naples*, from *Spain*, and all other parts of the King's Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, and of *England* therefore: Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, if you the Queen's Majeſty would write to him, for the continuance of his Legat there, he would reſtore him to his former Authority, or any thing elſe that your Majeſty ſhould think expedient for him to do. Then, I ſaid, It would be long time before Anſwer can come from *England* hither; and if his Revocation ſhould be once known in *England*, what would come of it, I doubted. Therefore I beſought his Holineſs not to ſuffer it to paſs, for if it be once known abroad, it ſhall be a great comfort to the Wicked, and diſcomfort to the good, whereby many Inconveniences might enſue. Then, he ſaid, that that is done, cannot be undone. I ſaid, That his Holineſs had not ſo far gone in his Decree, but that he might moderate it, that it need not extend to *England*. And then I told him, that he had ſhewed me, that in all his Proceedings, he would have your Majeſty's Realm of *England* ſeparated from all other the King's Majeſty's Realms, and now had ſet it as far further as any of the other; therefore, I ſaid, his Holineſs ſhould conſider it, and that the Decree in no wiſe ſhould extend thither. Then, he ſaid, That it could not ſtand with the Majeſty of the Place that he ſat in, to revoke any part of the Decree ſolemnly given in the Conſiſtory, in the preſence of all the Cardinals. I ſaid, That his Holineſs, with his Honour, might well do it; conſidering that when he gave the Decree, he was not informed of ſuch Inconveniences that might enſue thereof; and now being informed by me, his Holineſs had not only a juſt cauſe to revoke it, but alſo of congruence ought to do it; conſidering that his Holineſs had the Cure of all Mens Souls: and if any Inconveniency ſhould follow through his Holineſs Doings, it could not be choſen but his Holineſs muſt anſwer for it; where his Holineſs ſuffering all things to proceed in his due courſe,as it hath been begun,all Dangers that have been before rehearſed might be avoided; therefore now his Holineſs had a good Cauſe to ſtay his Decree in that behalf: All which he took in good part, and ſaid thus, I muſt needs do for that Realm what I can, and therefore to morrow is the Congregation of the Inquiſition, and then the Matter ſhall be propounded, where, he ſaid, he would do what he could; and willed me to reſort to the Cardinal St. *Jacobo* to inform him, that he might procure it there. I ſaid, I would; indeed I had been with the ſaid Cardinal before, and had informed him fully; nevertheleſs I went to him again, to ſhew him the Pope's Pleaſure therein; who ſaid, he would do his Duty therein. Indeed that Matter occupied the Pope and the Cardinals all that Congregation time. The next morrow, as the Cardinals ſaid, the Concluſion was, That the Pope would make anſwer to me himſelf. Indeed he thought to take Counſel of the ſaid Congregation, before I had been with them about the ſame Decree, but not to revoke any part thereof, but to have their advice in framing of it. So that if I had not gone to him, the Decree had gone forth, with the intimation thereof, and the inhibition; but being with his Holineſs this Evening, to know what was to be had herein; his Holineſs, after a long Oration, in commendation of you the Queens Majeſty, he ſaid, That in caſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty would write to him for the continuance of his Legat, for ſuch Cauſes as ſhould ſeem good to the ſame, the Legat to be yet expedient therein, he would appoint my Lord's Grace there to continue, but he could in no wiſe revoke his Decree made in open Conſiſtory. I laid many things that his Holineſs might do it, and that divers of his Predeceſſors had done it, upon Cauſes before not known; with divers Examples that I ſhewed him in Law; that at the laſt, he ſaid plainly, He would not revoke his Decree; but for becauſe of my Suit, he ſaid he was content to ſtay, and to go no further till your Majeſty's Letters do come, and charged the Datary, and his Secretary *Berigno*, that they ſend forth no intimation of his Decree of the ſaid Revocation, without his ſpecial Commandment; where-elſe he ſaid, the Intimation had been ſent forth with an Inhibition alſo: And ſo all is ſtaied, that nothing here-hence ſhall go forth till your Pleaſure, the Queen's Majeſty, be known therein; which the Pope doth look for: Until which Intimation, the Legacy there doth continue.

Occurrents here be no other, but that the 10*th* of this, the late made Duke of *Palcano* departed here-hence towards the Duke's Camp, which doth lie yet in the Siege of *Civitella*, within your Majeſty's Realm of *Naples*. They that ſeem to bear their good Wills here towards your Majeſty, do ſay here, that they may lie there long before they take it, for they cannot hurt it much with Battery. And they ſay, the Counts *de Sancto Flore*, and *de Sarme*, be within the Town with two thouſand Souldiers; many of the Frenchmen be ſlain there. Nevertheleſs,others do ſay, that it ſtandeth in danger of taking; for becauſe the Frenchmen have gotten a Hill, from the which they do beat ſore into the Town, and have withdrawn certain Waters from them of the Town, and do undermine it; the moſt part here thinketh they ſhall loſe their labour, for it is very ſtrong.

The Gallies of *Marſeilles* arrived at *Civita Vechia*, ſix or ſeven days paſt, and brought twelve Enſigns more of French Souldiers to reinforce the French Army; and as far as I can learn, they return again to fetch more, always to refreſh their Camp with freſh Souldiers, in the lieu of ſuch as be periſhed: Of the which twelve Enſigns, the French Ambaſſador choſe out three, which he hath ſent to the Duke of *Guiſe*, well furniſhed; the reſt he diſcharged, but all the other that came, be gone to the Camp, to ſuch Captains as will retain them there, for ſuch of the other as be ſlain, or otherwiſe periſhed. *Don Antonio de Carraffa* doth as yet return to the Camp, neither intendeth to go as I hear. I heard ſay, That the Duke of *Alva* was within ſixteen miles of the Frenchmen, with a great Army of Horſemen and Footmen, what he doth is not ſpoken of here, for there is none that can paſs to them, or from them hither; there is ſuch ſtrait keeping, and dangerous paſſing.

Here be ill News from *Piedmont*, for they ſay here, the Frenchmen in thoſe Parts have taken *Cheraſto*, a very ſtrong Town in *Piedmont*, which I truſt be not true. The common Report is here, That if the Frenchmen be not withſtanded in time, they will do much hurt in *Italy*.

The Pope doth ſet forth a Bull for Money, that one of every hundred ſhall be paid of the value of all the Lands that be within the Churches Dominions, which they ſay will draw to Two or three Millions, if it be paid.

And having no other at this preſent, I beſeech Almighty God to conſerve both your moſt Excellent Majeſties, in long and moſt proſperous Life together.

From *Rome*, the 15*th* of *May*, 1557.

Your Majeſties moſt humble Subject,

and Poor Servant,

Edward Carne.

Number

Number 35.

The Appeal of Henry Chichely, *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury; *to a General Council from the Pope's Sentence.*

IN Dei Nomine Amen. Per Preſens publicum inſtrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno ab incarnatione Domini ſecundum curſum & computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ 1427. indictione quinta Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Domini Martini, Divina Providentia Papæ quinti, Anno decimo, menſis vero Aprilis die ſexto. Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus, Dominus Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, in Capella Majori Manerii ſui de Ford Cantuarien. Diocæſeos perſonaliter exiſtens, mihi Notario Publico, & teſtibus infra-ſcriptis preſentibus, quandam appellationem in ſcriptis redactam fecit, legit & interpoſuit, ac appellativit ſub eo, qui ſequuntur, tenore verborum. In Dei Nomine. Amen. Coram vobis authentica perſona & teſtibus hic Preſentibus, Ego Henricus dictus Cant. permiſſione divina Cantuar. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, dico, allego, & in his ſcriptis propono, quod fui & ſum Eccleſiam Sanctam Cant. cum jure Legationis natæ, prerogativis, conſuetudinibus, compoſitionibus, aliiſq; juriſdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, & pertinentibus ſuis univerſis canonice aſſecutus, ipſamq; ſic aſſecutam nonullo tempore pacifice & inconcuſſe poſſedi, prout ſic poſſideo de preſenti; fuiq; & ſum Eccleſiæ Romanæ, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ obedientiæ, Filius Catholicus, ac jurium & libertatum dictarum Eccleſiæ & Sedis juxta poſſe, aſſiduus defenſor, & promotor; integri ſtatus, bonæ famæ & opinionis illeſæ & in poſſeſſione eorundem exiſtens, nulliſq; ſuſpentionis aut excommunicationis, ſeu irregularitatis, aut interdicti ſententiæ vel ſententiis innodatus: Quodq; ex parte mei Henrici Archiepiſcopi prædicti in poſſeſſione præmiſſorum omnium, & quaſi ex veriſimilibus conjecturis ac communicationibus quampluribus mihi & Eccleſiæ meæ, ac juri legationis, prerogativis, conſuetudinibus, compoſitionibus, juriſdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, & pertinentiis Eccleſiæ, Cantuar. prædictæ factis, circa præmiſſa & eorum ſingula grave poſſe prejudicium generari; Ne Sanctiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus noſter Dominus Martinus, divina providentia Papa quintus, vel quivis alius quavis Autoritate, vice vel mandato, ſcienter vel ignoranter ad ſiniſtram vel minus veram ſuggeſtionem, aut informationem emulorum perſonæ, dignitatis aut Eccleſiæ meæ (quod abſit) me non vocato, legitimeve præmonito, cauſæ cognitione & juris, juſtitiæq; ordinem prætermiſſo, in prejudicium ſtatus mei, dignitatis, legationis, prerogativæ, conſuetudinum, compoſitionum, juriſdictionum, jurium, libertatum & pertinentium jure Metropolitico, vel alias dictam Eccleſiam meam Cantuar. & me ejus nomine concernentium quicquam attemptet, ſeu faciat aliqualiter attemptari, citando, monendo, mandando, inhibendo, decernendo, ſuſpendendo, interdicendo, excommunicando, privando, ſequeſtrando, pronunciando, definiendo, & declarando, ſeu quovis

Ex M. SS. D.G. *Peyt.*

alio modo gravando ; Ad Sacroſanctum Concilium generale facientes, conſtituentes & repreſentantes,facturos,conſtituturos & repreſentaturos, ſi ipſum cælebrari contigerit, & in defectum ipſius Concilii tenendi, & celebrandi, ad tribunal Dei omnipotentis & Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, cujus idem ſanctiſſimus Pater, Commiſſarius & Vicarius exiſtit in terris, in his ſcriptis ob & ad tuitionem, protectionem & defenſionem omnium, & ſingulorum præmiſſorum fuerit & ſit legitime provocatum. Sanctiſſimus tamen in Chriſto Pater, & Dominus noſter, Dominus Martinus dicta providentia hujus nominis Papa quintus aſſerens, ut dicta fide dignorum relatione, ad ſuum perveniſſe auditum, quod ego, qui ad defenſionem, obedientiam jurium, & honorem Sedis Apoſtolicæ in Provincia Cantuarien. Legatus natus ſum, propter emolumenta Eccleſiaſtica provenientia ex Eccleſiis Cathedralibus totius Regni Angliæ tempore vacationum eorundum, quæ ex quadam (ut me aſſerere dicit) conſuetudine uſibus meis applicare dignoſcor ad reſiſtendum proviſionibus Apoſtolicis de Eccleſiis hujuſmodi Cathedralibus ſum proclivior, Et quod jura & honorem Sedis Apoſtolicæ non defendo nec protego, imo potius impugno, & impugnantibus aſſiſto, in animæ meæ periculum, prædictæ Sedis contemptum, dictarumque Eccleſiarum Cathædralium prejudicium & ſcandalum plurimorum ; Cum tamen, ſuæ benedictionis beatitudinis reverentia ſemper ſalva, nullum horum quæ ſic mihi impinguntur ſunt vera, ſed notorie minus vera, poſt & contra præmiſſam provocationem per me factam,me a Legatione dictæ Sedis, necnon ab omni juriſdictione, ſuperioritate, poteſtate ſive Dominio percipiendi emolumenta Eccleſiaſtica, aliarum Eccleſiarum Cathædralium dicti Regni uſque ad beneplacitum ſuum, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritate Apoſtolica, & ex certa ſcientia (ut aſſerit) nullatenus in ea parte monitum, citatum, convictum vel confeſſum, ſed abſentem, non per contumaciam cauſæ, cognitione juris & judiciorum ac juſtitiæ ordine in omnibus prætermiſſo, voluntarie & minus præpropere duxerit ſuſpendendum, hiſque non contentus, ſed gravamina accumulans mihi in virtute obedientiæ nihilominus injunxerit, ne de legatione Sedis Apoſtolicæ prædictæ, necnon juriſdictione, Authoritate, & Dominio percipiendi emolumenta hujuſmodi tempore vacationum Eccleſiarum prædictarum per me vel per alium, ſeu alios quovis quæſito ingenio, vel colore de cætero quomodolibet me intromittam : Et inſuper juriſdictionem, ſuperioritatem, poteſtatem, & dominium dictarum Eccleſiarum Cathædralium tempore illarum vacationum ad capitula ſingularum Eccleſiarum devolvi voluit, ſingulos proceſſus, necnon excommunicationis ſuſpenſionis & interdicti ſententias, & alias pænas ac cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas, ſi quod per me vel alium ſeu alios contra capitula Eccleſiarum Cathedralium præfatarum, aut alias perſonas quaſcunque occaſione conſuetudinis memoratæ, at legationis, officii (dicto durante beneplacito) ferri contigerit quomodolibet, vel haberi, irritos & inanes decrevit (ſalva ſemper ſuæ Sanctitatis reverentia in omnibus) minus juſte in perſonæ meæ, ſtatus, dignitatis, juris, legationis natæ, prerogativæ, conſuetudinum, compoſitionum, juriſdictionum, jurium, libertatum & pertinentiarum prædictarum, necnon Eccleſiæ meæ Cantuarienſis prædictæ præjudicium non modicum & gravamen. Unde ego Henricus dictus Cantuariæ Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus pro prædictis ſentiens me, ſtatum, dignitatem & Eccleſiam meam prædictam ex omnibus &

ſingulis gravaminibus prædictis, nimium prægravari, & prægravatum ab eiſdem omnibus & ſingulis, & his, quæ eorum & cujuſlibet eorum occaſione colligi poterunt, aut debebunt; ad Sacroſanctum Concilium Generale, univerſalem Eccleſiam repræſentans, & ad perſonas & ſtatus Concilium Generale facientes, conſtituentes & repræſentantes, facturos, conſtituturos & repræſentaturos; & ad ipſum Concilium Generale proxime celebrandum, ubicunque ipſum celebrari contigerit, & defectu ipſius Concilii tenendi & celebrandi, ad Tribunal Dei Omnipotentis, & Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, cujus idem Sanctiſſimus Pater Commiſſarius & Vicarius exiſtit in terris, Appello; & Apoſtolos peto inſtanter, inſtantius & inſtantiſſime mihi dari, liberari & fieri cum effectu: & juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod non ſunt decem dies plene elapſæ, ex quo mihi certitudinaliter primo conſtabat de gravaminibus antedictis; Quodque neſcio certitudinaliter ubi invenirem dictum Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum ad notificandam eidem Appellationem prædictam, quatenus de jure notificanda eſt infra tempus a parte juris limitatum: Et Proteſtor me velle dictam Appellationem meam corrigere & emendare, eidem addere & ab eadem detrahere, ac eam omnibus, quorum intereſt, notificare & intimare pro loco & tempore opportunis toties, quoties mihi expediens fuerit, juris beneficio in omnibus ſemper ſalvo. Super quibus idem Reverendiſſimus Pater & Dominus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis me Notarium Publicum ſubſcriptum requiſivit, ſibi unum vel plura conficere inſtrumentum vel inſtrumenta. Acta ſunt hæc omnia prout ſubſcribuntur & recitantur ſub Anno Domini, indictione Pontificatus, menſe, die, & loco prædictis; præſentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, & diſcretis viris M. W. Lyn Curiæ Cant. Officii, & Thoma B. Archidiacono Sanctarum in Eccleſia Linc. utriuſq; juris Doctoribus.

In Dei, &c. Coram vobis, &c. Ego Henricus dictus C. &c. Unde ego H. dictus C. &c. ſentiens me, ſtatum, dignitatem & Eccleſiam meam prædictam, ex omnibus & ſingulis gravaminibus prædictis nimium prægravari, & prægravatum, ab eiſdem omnibus & ſingulis gravaminibus prædictis & his, quæ eorum & cujuſlibet eorum occaſione colligi poterunt aut debebunt, ad dictum Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum, & Sedem Apoſtolicam melius informandum, & informandam, Appello & Apoſtolos peto inſtanter, inſtantius & inſtantiſſime mihi dari, liberari, & fieri cum effectu, &c.

amber 36.

Inſtructions ſent by the Privy Council, repreſenting the State of the Nation to King Philip, *after the loſs of* Calais.

Firſt, to ſay,

Cotton Libr. Titus B. 2. THat we be moſt bounden unto his Majeſty for his good Affection towards this Realm; and his gracious Diſpoſition and Offer, to put this Force to the Field this Year, being elſe otherwiſe determined for the recovery of that Honour and Reputation,which this Realm hath loſt by the loſs of *Calais*.

To ſay, That this Offer of his Majeſty we ſhould not only have, upon our Knees, accepted, but alſo in like wiſe have ſued firſt for the ſame.

And ſo undoubtedly we would have done, if other reſpects hereafter following, which we truſt his Majeſty will graciouſly underſtand, had not been (to our great regret) the lett thereof.

Firſt; We do conſider, That if we ſhould ſend over an Army, we cannot ſend under 20000 Men; the levying, and ſending over whereof, will ask a time; before which time, conſidering alſo the time the Enemy hath had (being now almoſt a Month) to Fortify and Victual the Place, it is thought the ſame will be in ſuch ſtrength, as we ſhall not be able alone to recover it.

We do conſider how unapt and unwonted our People be to lie abroad, and ſpecially in the Cold: And what Inconveniency might follow alſo at their hands, (beſides the loſs of Charges) if their hope for recovery of *Calais* ſhould not come to paſs.

The Charge of this Army (if it ſhould go over) would ſtand the Realm in one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds at the leaſt, for five months; which Sum (having regard to other neceſſary Charges for the Defence of the Realm, both by Land and by Sea, which the People only have in their Heads, with a wan hope of the recovery of *Calais*) neither we doubt will be granted of the People; nor if it were, can be conveniently levied in time to ſerve the turn.

Great Gariſons continually, and an Army for Defence againſt the Scots and Frenchmen by Land, muſt of neceſſity be maintained, the charge whereof will be one way and another (go the next way we can) e're the Year go about, an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

The defence of the Sea-Coaſt, and the Iſles, and the ſetting forth of an Army by Sea, will coſt the Realm in a Year (all things accounted) above two hundred thouſand pounds; and yet all will be too little that way, if the Danes and the Sweeds, which we very much doubt, ſhould be our Enemies.

The Sums amounting in the whole, to five hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, beſides Proviſion of Ammunition; which will be chargeable; and Furniture of Ordnance, whereof we have great lack, by the loſs of *Calais* aud *Guiſnes*.

We ſee not how it can be levied in one Year to ſave us, unleſs the People ſhould of new have ſtrange Impoſitions ſet upon them, which we think they would not bear.

The Queen's Majeſty's own Revenue, is ſcarce able to maintain her Eſtate.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen, for the moſt part receiving no more Rent than they were wont to receive, and paying thrice as much for every thing they provide, by reaſon of the baſeneſs of the Mony, are not able to do as they have done in times paſt.

The Merchants have had great loſſes of late, whereby the Cloathiers be never the richer.

The Farmers, Graſiers, and other People, how well-willing ſoever they be taken to be, will not be acknown of their Wealth, and by the miſcontentment of this loſs, be grown ſtubborn and liberal of Talk.

So that conſidering our Wants on every ſide, our lack of Mony at home; our want of credit, by reaſon of this Loſs abroad; the ſcarcity of Captains and Leaders of our Men, which be but few; the unwillingneſs of our People to go abroad, and leave their Things at home, without a certain hope of recovering their Loſs; the need we have to defend Home, (looking as we do to be aſſaulted both by Land and by Sea) how deſirous ſoever we be to recover *Calais*, and well-willing to ſerve his Majeſty, (either for that purpoſe, or in any other thing wherein it ſhall pleaſe him to employ us) we ſee not how we can poſſibly (at the leaſt, for this Year) ſend over an Army; nor until we may be aſſured of fewer Enemies than we fear to have cauſe to doubt; and have time to bring ſuch as be ill Men amongſt our People, and now be ready (againſt their Duties) to make Uproars and Stirs amongſt our ſelves, to Order and Obedience.

Wherefore, in moſt humble wiſe, upon our Knees, we ſhall beſeech the King's Majeſty to accept, in gracious part, this our Anſwer, which we make much againſt our Hearts, if we might otherwiſe chuſe. And as for our own Perſons, we ſhall beſtow, with all that ever we have, to the death, where and however it ſhall pleaſe him, ſubmitting our ſelves to his Majeſty's Judgment in this Matter, and to the execution and doing of that whatſoever, either his Majeſty, or any other Man, ſhall deviſe to be done, better than we have ſaid in this Anſwer, and more for the honour and ſurety of their Majeſties, and Common-Wealth of this their Realm. *Feb:* 1. 1577.

Number 37.

Sir Thomas Pope*'s Letter, concerning the Anſwer made by the Lady* Elizabeth, *to a propoſition of Marriage, ſent over by the Elected King of*. Sweden.

Ex M. S. D, G. *Petyt*.

FIrſt, After I had declared to her Grace how well the Queen's Majeſty liked of her prudent and honourable Anſwer made to the ſame Meſſenger; I then opened unto her Grace the Effect of the ſaid Meſſengers Credence; which after her Grace had heard, I ſaid, The Queen's Highneſs had ſent me to her Grace, not only to declare the ſame, but alſo to underſtand how her Grace liked the ſaid Motion. Whereunto, after a little pauſe taken, her Grace anſwered in form following. Maſter *Pope*, I require you, after my moſt humble Commendations to the Queen's Majeſty, to render unto the ſame like thanks, that it pleaſed her Highneſs, of her Goodneſs, to conceive ſo well of my Anſwer made to the ſame Meſſenger, and here withal, of her Princely Conſideration, with ſuch ſpeed to command you, by your Letters, to ſignify the ſame unto me; who before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing that her Majeſty might miſtake the ſame; for which her Goodneſs, I acknowledg my ſelf bound to honour, ſerve, love, and obey her Highneſs, during my Life: Requiring you alſo to ſay unto her Majeſty, That in the King, my Brother's time, there was offered me a very honourable Marriage or two, and Ambaſſadors ſent to treat with me touching the ſame; whereupon I made my humble Suit unto his Highneſs, as ſome of Honour yet living can be teſtimonies, that it would like the ſame to give me leave, with his Grace's favour, to remain in that Eſtate I was, which of all others beſt liked me or pleaſed me. And in good Faith, I pray you ſay unto her Highneſs, I am even at this preſent of the ſame mind, and ſo intend to continue, with her Majeſty's favour; and aſſuring her Highneſs, I ſo well like this Eſtate, as I perſwade my ſelf there is not any kind of Life comparable unto it. And as concerning my liking the ſaid Motion made by the ſaid Meſſenger, I beſeech you ſay unto her Majeſty, That to my remembrance, I never heard of his Maſter before this time; and that I ſo well like, both the Meſſage and the Meſſenger, as I ſhall moſt humbly pray God, upon my Knees, that from henceforth I never hear of the one nor of the other; aſſure you, that if it ſhould eſt-ſoons repair unto me, I would forbear to ſpeak to him. And were there nothing elſe to move me to miſlike the Motion, other than that his Maſter would attempt the ſame, without making the Queen's Majeſty privy thereunto, it were cauſe ſufficient. And when her Grace had thus ended, I was ſo bold as of my ſelf to ſay unto her Grace, (her pardon firſt required) that I thought few or none would believe, but that her Grace could be right-well contented to marry, ſo there were ſome honourable Marriage offered her by the Queen's Highneſs, or her Majeſty's Aſſent. Whereunto her Grace anſwered; What I ſhall do hereafter I know not, but I aſſure you, upon my Truth and Fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I am not at this time otherwiſe minded than I have declared unto you, no, though I were offered the greateſt Prince in all *Europe*. And yet percaſe the Queen's Majeſty may conceive this rather to proceed of a maidenly ſhamefaſtneſs, than upon any ſuch certain determination.

Tho. Pope.

FINIS.

A
COLLECTION
OF
RECORDS, &c.

BOOK III.

Number 1.

The Device for Alteration of Religion, in the firſt Year of Queen Elizabeth*: offered to Secretary* Cecill.

Queſtion 1.

WHen the Queen's Highneſs may attempt to reduce the Church of England *again to the former purity, and when to begin the Alteration?* Ex M. SS. Nob. D. *Grey* de *Ruthen.*

Anſwer.

At the next Parliament; ſo that the Dangers be foreſeen, and Remedies provided; for the ſooner that Religion is reſtored, God is the more glorified, and as we truſt, will be more merciful unto us, and better ſave and defend her Highneſs from all Dangers.

Queſt. 2.

What Dangers may enſue thereof?

Anſw. 1.

The Biſhop of *Rome*, all that he may, will be incenſed, he will Excommunicate the Queen's Highneſs, Interdict the Realm, and give it in Prey to all Princes that will enter upon it; and ſtir them up to it by all manner of means.

2. The French King will be encouraged more to the War, and make his People more ready to fight againſt us, not only as Enemies, but as Hereticks: He will be in great hope of Aid from hence, of them that are diſcontented with this Alteration, looking for Tumults and Diſcords: He will alſo ſtay concluding of Peace, upon hope of ſome alteration.

3. *Scotland* alſo will have the ſame Cauſes of boldneſs, and by that way the French King will ſeem ſooneſt to attempt to annoy us. *Ireland* alſo will be very difficultly ſtayed in the Obedience, by reaſon of the Clergy that is ſo addicted to *Rome*.

4. Many People of our own, will be very much diſcontented, eſpecially all ſuch as governed in the late Queen *Mary*'s Time, and were choſen thereto for no other Cauſes, or were then moſt eſteemed for being hot and earneſt in that other Religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to Credit, will think themſelves diſcredited, and all their Doings defaced, and ſtudy all the ways they can to maintain their own Doings, deſtroy and deſpiſe all this Alteration.

5. Biſhops, and all the Clergy, will ſee their own ruin; and in Confeſſion, and Preaching, and all other means and ways they can, will perſuade the People from it; they will conſpire with whomſoever, will attempt and pretend to do God a Sacrifice, in letting the Alteration, though it be with murder of Chriſtian Men, and Treaſon. Men which be of the Papiſts Sect, which of late were in a manner all the Judges of the Land; the Juſtices of the Peace choſen out by the late Queen in all the Shires, ſuch as were believed to be of that Sect, and the more earneſt therein, the more in eſtimation; Theſe are moſt like to join and conſpire with the Biſhops, and Clergy. Some, when the Subſidy ſhall be granted, and Mony levied, (as it appeareth that neceſſarily it muſt be done) will be therewith offended, and like enough to conſpire and ariſe, if they have any heed to ſtir them to do it, or hope of Gain or Spoil.

6. Many ſuch as would gladly have Alteration from the Church of *Rome*, when they ſhall ſee peradventure that ſome old Ceremonies be left ſtill, for that their Doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other aboliſhed and diſproved, ſhall be diſcontented, and call the Alteration a Cloak'd Papiſtry, or a Mingle-Mangle.

Queſt. 3.

What Remedy for the ſame Dangers? What ſhall be the manner of doing of it? and what is neceſſary to be done before?

Anſw. 1.

Firſt, for *France*, to practiſe a Peace, or if it be offered, not to [illegible] it: If Controverſy of Religion be there amongſt them, to kindle it *Rome* is leſs to be feared, from whom nothing is to be feared, but evi Will, Curſing, and Practiſing. *Scotland* will follow *France* for Peace, bu there may be Practice to help forward their Diviſion, and eſpecially t augment the Hope of them who inclined them to good Religio

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For certainty, to fortify *Barwick*, and to employ Demilances, and Horſemen, for ſafety of the Frontiers, and ſome Expences of Mony in *Ireland*. The fourth divided in five parts.

1. The firſt is of them which were of Queen *Mary*'s Council, elected or advanced to Authority, only or chiefly for being of the Pope's Religion, and earneſt in the ſame. Every Augmentation, or Conſervation of ſuch Men in Authority or Reputation, is an encouraging thoſe of their Sect, and giveth hope to them that it ſhall revive and continue, although it hath a contrary ſhew: leſt ſeeing the Pillars to ſtand ſtill untouched, it be a confirmation of them that are wavering Papiſts, and a diſcouraging of ſuch as are but half inclined to this Alteration. *Dum in dubio eſt animus, parvo momento huc illuc impellitur.* This muſt be ſearched by all Law, ſo far as Juſtice may extend, and the Queen's Majeſty's Clemency not to be extended, before they do acknowledg themſelves to have fallen into the lapſe of the Law. They muſt be abaſed of Authority, diſcredited in their Countries, ſo long as they ſeem to repugn the true Religion, or to maintain the old Proceedings; and if they ſhould ſeem to allow and bear with the new Alteration, yet not lightly to be credited, *quia neophiti*; and no Man, but he loveth that time wherein he did flouriſh, and when he came, and as he came; thoſe Ancient Laws and Orders he will defend and maintain, with whom and in whom he was in Eſtimation, and Authority, and a Doer: for every Man naturally loveth that which is his own Work and Creature. And contrary, as thoſe Men be abaſed, ſo muſt her Highneſs old and ſure Servants, who have tarried with her, and not ſhrunk in the late Storm, be advanced, with Authority and Credit, that the World may ſee that her Highneſs is not unkind, nor unmindful. And throughout all *England*, if ſuch Perſons, as are known to be ſure in Religion, and God's Cauſe, ſhall be ſlack; yet their own Safety and Eſtate, ſhould cauſe to be vigilant, careful, and earneſt for the conſervation of her Eſtate, and maintenance of this Alteration; and in all this, ſhe ſhall do but the ſame that the late Queen *Mary* did, to eſtabliſh her Religion.

2. The ſecond is, the Biſhops and Clergy, being in manner all made and choſen, ſuch as were thought the ſtouteſt and mightieſt Champions of the Pope's Church, who in the late Queen *Mary*'s Times, taking from the Crown, impoveriſhing it, by extorting from private Men, and all other means poſſible, *per fas & nefas*, have ſought to enrich and advance themſelves. Theſe, her Majeſty being inclined to uſe much clemency, yet muſt ſeek, as well by Parliament, as by the juſt Laws of *England*, in the Premunire, or other ſuch Penal Laws, to bring again in order; and being found in the default, not to pardon, until they confeſs their Fault, put themſelves wholly to her Highneſs Mercy, abjure the Pope of *Rome*, and conform themſelves to the new Alteration; and by theſe means, well handled, her Majeſty's neceſſity of Mony may be ſomewhat relieved.

3. The third is to amended, even as all the reſt above, by ſuch ways as Queen *Mary* taught, That no ſuch as were, may be in Commiſſion of Peace in their Shires; but rather Men meaner in Subſtance, and younger in Years, ſo that they have diſcretion, to be put in Place. A ſharp Law made and extended againſt Aſſemblies of People, without

Authority. Lieutenants made in every Shire, one or two Men known to be ſure of the Queen's Devotion. In the mean time, Muſters and Captains appointed, Young Gentlemen, which do favour her Highneſs. No Office of Juriſdiction or Authority to be in any diſcontented Man's hands, ſo far as Juſtice or Law may extend.

4. The fourth is to be remedied otherwiſe, than by gentle and dulce handling; it is by the Commiſſioners, and by the readineſs and good-will of the Lieutenants and Captains; to repreſs them, if any ſhould begin a Tumult, or murmur, or provide any Aſſembly, or ſtoutneſs, to the contrary.

5. The fifth; For the Diſcontentation of ſuch as could be content to have Religion altered, but would have it to go, for fear the ſtrait Laws upon the Promulgation of the Book, and ſevere execution of the ſame, at the firſt would ſo oppreſs them, that it is great hope it ſhall touch but a few: And better it were that they did ſuffer, than her Highneſs and Common-Wealth, ſhould ſhake or be in danger; and to this they muſt well take heed that draw the Book. And herein the Univerſities muſt not be neglected, and the hurt which the laſt Viſitation in Queen *Mary*'s Time did, muſt be amended: Likewiſe ſuch Colleges, where Children be inſtructed to come to the Univerſity, as *Eaton*, and *Wincheſter*, that as well the encreaſe hereafter, as this preſent time, may be provided for.

Queſt. 4.

What may be done of her Highneſs, for her own Conſcience, openly, before the whole Alteration? or if the Alteration muſt tarry longer?

Anſwer.

This conſultation is to be referred to ſuch Learned Men as be meet to ſhew their Minds therein, and to bring a Plot or Book hereof ready drawn to her Highneſs; which being approved by her Majeſty, may ſo be put in the Parliament-Houſe. To which, for the time it is thought that theſe are apt Men, Dr. *Bill*, Dr. *Parker*, Dr. *May*, Dr. *Cox*, Mr. *Whitehead*, *Grindall*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, to call them together, and to be amongſt them: and after the conſultation with theſe, to draw in other Men of Learning, and grave and apt Men for your Purpoſe and Credit, to have their Aſſents. As for that is neceſſary to be done before, it is thought to be moſt neceſſary, that a ſtrait Prohibition be made of all Innovation, until ſuch time as the Book come forth, as well that there ſhould be no often Changes in Religion, which would take away Authority in the common Peoples eſtimation, as alſo to exerciſe the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects to Obedience.

Queſt. 5.

What Orders be fit to be in the whole Realm, as in the interim?

Anſwer.

To alter no further than her Majeſty hath, except it be to receive the Communion, as her Majeſty pleaſeth, at high Feaſts; and that where there be more at the Maſs, that they do always communicate with the Executor in both kinds. And for her Highneſs Conſcience, till then, if there be ſome other devout ſort of Prayer, or Memory, and the or Maſs.

Queſt. 6.

What Noblemen be fit to be made privy to thoſe Proceedings, before it be opened to the whole Council?

Anſwer.

The Marqueſs *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembrook*, Lord *John Gray*.

Queſt. 7.

What Allowance the Learned Men ſhall have for the time they are about to renew the Book of Common Prayers, and Order of certain Ceremonies and Service in the Church; and when they ſhall meet?

Anſwer.

Being ſo many Perſons as muſt attend ſtill upon it, two Meſſes of Meat is thought yet indifferently to ſuffice for them, and their Servants. The Place is thought moſt meet, either in ſome ſet Place, or rather at Sir *Thomas Smith's* Lodging in *Cannon-Row*. At one of thoſe Places, muſt Proviſion be laid in, of Wood, of Coal, and Drink.

Number 2.

Dr. Sand's Letter to Dr. Parker, concerning ſome Proceedings in Parliament.

An Original.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

He was Dean of *Windſor* and *Peterb.* in Q. *Mary's* Time.

A Miniſter at *Frankfort* much commended by *Calvin*, to be followed as an Example.

YE have rightly conſidered that theſe times are given to taking, and not to giving; for ye have ſtretched forth your hand further than all the reſt. They never asked us in what ſtate we ſtand, neither conſider that we want; and yet in the time of our Exile, were we not ſo bare as we are now brought: but I truſt we ſhall not linger here long, for the Parliament draweth towards an end. The laſt Book of Service is gone through with a *Proviſo*, to retain the Ornaments which were uſed in the firſt and ſecond Year of King *Edward*, until it pleaſe the Queen to take other order for them; our gloſs upon this Text is, that we ſhall not be forced to uſe them, but that others in the mean time ſhall not conveigh them away, but that they may remain for the Queen. After this Book was paſt, *Boxall*, and others, quarrelled with it, that according to the order of the Scripture, we had not *gratiarum actio*; for, ſaith he, *Chriſtus accepit panem, gratias egit*, but in the time of Conſecration we give no Thanks. This he put into the Treaſurers Head, and into Count *de Soreus* Head; and he laboured to alienate the Queen's Majeſty from confirming of the Act, but I truſt they cannot prevail. Mr. Secretary is earneſt with the Book, and we have miniſtred Reaſons to maintain that part. The Bill of Supreme Government, of both the Temporality and Clergy, paſſeth with a *Proviſo*, that nothing ſhall be judged hereafter, which is not confirmed by the Canonical Scriptures, and four General Councils. Mr. *Lever* wiſely put ſuch a ſcruple into the Queen's Head, that ſhe would not take the Title of *Supream Head*. The Biſhops, as it is ſaid, will not ſwear unto it as it is, but rather loſe their Livings. The Bill is in hand to reſtore Men to their Livings; how it will ſpeed I know not. The Parliament is like to end ſhortly, and then we ſhall underſtand how they mind to uſe us. We are forced, through the vain Bruits of the lying Papiſts, to give up a Confeſſion of our Faith, to ſhew forth the Sum of that Doctrine which we profeſs, and to declare that we diſſent not amongſt our ſelves. This Labour we have now in hand, on purpoſe to publiſh that, ſo ſoon as the Parliament is ended; I wiſh that we had your Hand unto it. Ye are happy that ye are ſo far from this toſſing, and groſs Alterations and Mutations; for we are made weary with them; but ye cannot long reſt in your Cell, ye muſt be removed to a more large Abbey: and therefore in the mean time take your pleaſure, for after ye will find but a little, *Nihil eſt ſtatutum, de conjugio Sacerdotum, ſed tanquam relictum in medio. Lever* was married now of late; The Queen's Majeſty will wink at it, but not ſtabliſh it by Law, which is nothing elſe but to baſtard our Children. Other things another time. Thus praying you to commend me to your Abbeſſes, I take my leave of you for this preſent haſtily, at *London*, April *ult.* 1559.

Yours *Edwin Sands.*

Number 3.

The firſt Propoſition, upon which the *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* Diſputed in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. With the Arguments which the Reformed Divines made upon it.

It is againſt the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the People in Common-Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

BY theſe words (*the Word*) we mean only the written Word of God, or Canonical Scriptures. Ex M.S. Col. C.Ch. Cant.

And by *the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church*, we mean, the Order moſt generally uſed in the Church for the ſpace of five hundred Years after Chriſt; in which Times lived the moſt notable Fathers, as *Juſtin*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Hierome*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, &c.

This Aſſertion, above-written, hath two parts.

Firſt, That the uſe of a Tongue not underſtood of the People, in common Prayers of the Church, or in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is againſt God's Word.

The ſecond, That the ſame is againſt the Uſe of the Primitive Church.

The firſt part is moſt manifeſtly proved by the 14*th* Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, almoſt throughout the whole Chapter; in the which Chapter St. *Paul* intreateth of this Matter, *ex profeſſo*, purpoſely: And although ſome do cavil, that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh not in that Chapter of Praying, but of Preaching; yet it is moſt evident, to any indifferent Reader of Underſtanding, and appeareth alſo by the Expoſition of the beſt Writers, That he plainly there ſpeaketh not only of Preaching and Propheſying, but alſo of Prayer and Thankſgiving, and generally of all other publick Actions, which require any Speech in the Church or Congregation.

For of Praying, he ſaith, *I will pray with my Spirit, and I will pray with my Mind; I will ſing with the Spirit, and I will ſing with my Mind.* And of Thankſgiving, (which is a kind of Prayer) *Thou giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified; And how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen to thy giving of Thanks, when he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt?* And in the end, aſcending from Particulars to Univerſals, concludeth, *That all things ought to be done to Edification.*

Thus much is clear by the very words of St. *Paul*, and the Ancient Doctors, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Hierome*, and others, do ſo underſtand this Chapter, as it ſhall appear by their Teſtimonies, which ſhall follow afterward.

Upon this Chapter of St. *Paul,* we gather theſe Reaſons following.

1. All things done in the Church, or Congregation, ought to be ſo done, as they may edify the ſame:

But the uſe of an Unknown Tongue in Publick Prayer, or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, doth not edify the Congregation;

Therefore the uſe of an unknown Tongue, in Publick Prayer, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is not to be had in the Church.

The firſt part of this Reaſon, is grounded upon St. *Paul's* words, commanding all things to be *done to Edification.*

The ſecond part is alſo proved by St. *Paul's* plain words. Firſt, By this Similitude; *If the Trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall be prepared to Battel?* Even ſo likewiſe, when ye ſpeak with Tongues, except ye ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the Air, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward, in the ſame Chapter, he ſaith, *How can he that occupieth the place of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks: ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? For thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.*

Theſe be St. *Paul's* words, plainly proving, That a Tongue not underſtood, doth not edify.

And therefore both the parts of the Reaſon thus prov'd by St. *Paul,* the Concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

2. Secondly; Nothing is to be ſpoken in the Congregation in an Unknown Tongue, except it be interpreted to the People, that it may be underſtood. *For,* ſaith *Paul, if there be no Interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue,* taceat in Eccleſiâ, *let him hold his peace in the Church.* And therefore the Common Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, neither done in a known Tongue, nor interpreted, are againſt this Commandment of *Paul;* and not to be uſed.

3. The Miniſter, in Praying, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, uſing Language not underſtood of the Hearers, is to them barbarous, an Alien, which of St. *Paul* is accounted a great Abſurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a Chriſtian Common-Prayer, where the People preſent declare not their Aſſent unto it, by ſaying *Amen*; wherein is implyed all other words of Aſſent.

But St. *Paul* affirmeth, That the People cannot declare their Aſſent, in ſaying *Amen,* except they underſtand what is ſaid as afore.

Therefore it is no Chriſtian Common-Prayer, where the People underſtandeth not what is ſaid.

5. *Paul* would not ſuffer, in his time, a ſtrange Tongue to be heard in the Common-Prayer in the Church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kind of Speech was then a Miracle, and a ſingular Gift of the Holy

Ghoſt, whereby Infidels might be perſuaded and brought to the Faith: much leſs is it to be ſuffered now among Chriſtian and Faithful Men, eſpecially being no Miracle, nor eſpecial Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

6. Some will peradventure anſwer, That to uſe any kind of Tongue in Common-Prayer, or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. *Paul* is to the contrary; for he commandeth all things to be done *to Edification:* He commandeth to keep ſilence, if there be no Interpreter. And in the end of the Chapter, he concludeth thus; *If any Man be Spiritual, or a Prophet, let him know, that the things which I write are the Commandment of the Lord.* And ſo, ſhortly to conclude, the uſe of a ſtrange Tongue, in Prayer and Adminiſtration, is againſt the Word and Commandment of God.

To theſe Reaſons, grounded upon St. *Paul's* words, which are the moſt firm Foundation of this Aſſertion, divers other Reaſons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwiſe.

1. In the *Old Teſtament*, all things pertaining to the Publick Prayer, Benediction, Thankſgiving, or Sacrifice, were always in their Vulgar and Natural Tongue.

In the ſecond Book of *Paraleipomenon*, Cap. 29. it is written, *That* Ezechias *commanded the* Levites, *to praiſe God with the Pſalms of* David, *and* Aſaph *the Prophet*; which doubtleſs were written in the *Hebrew*, their Vulgar Tongue. If they did ſo in the ſhadows of the Law, much more ought we to do the like; who, as Chriſt ſaith, muſt pray *in Spiritu & Veritate.*

2. The final end of our Prayer is, (as *David* ſaith) *Ut populi conveniant in unum, & annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes ejus in Hieruſalem.*

But the Name and Praiſes of God cannot be ſet forth to the People, unleſs it be done in ſuch a Tongue, as they may underſtand.

Therefore Common-Prayer muſt be had in the Vulgar Tongue.

3. The definition of Publick Prayer, out of the words of St. *Paul*; *Orabo Spiritu, Orabo & Mente. Publicè orare, eſt vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, & ea Spiritu hoc eſt, Lingua teſtari.* Common Prayer is, to lift up our Common Deſires to God with our Minds, and to teſtify the ſame outwardly with our Tongues. Which Definition is approved of by St. *Auguſtine de Magiſt.* C. 1. *Nihil opus eſt (inquit) loqutione, niſi forte ut Sacerdotes faciunt, ſignificandæ mentis Cauſâ, ut populus intelligat.*

4. The Miniſtrations of the Lord's laſt Supper, and Baptiſm, are, as it were, Sermons of the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt.

But Sermons to the People, muſt be had in ſuch Language, as the People may perceive, otherwiſe they ſhould be had in vain.

5. It is not lawful for a Chriſtian Man to abuſe the Gifts of God. But he that prayeth in the Church in a ſtrange Tongue, abuſeth the Gift of God; for the Tongue ſerveth only to expreſs the mind of the Speaker to the Hearer. And *Auguſtine* ſaith, *de Doct. Chriſt. lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. *Loquendi omnino nulla eſt cauſa, ſi quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.* There is no cauſe why we ſhould ſpeak, if they, for whoſe cauſe we ſpeak, underſtand not our ſpeaking.

6. The Heathen, and Barbarous Nations of all Countries, and ſorts of Men, were they never ſo wild, evermore made their Prayers, and Sacrifice to their Gods, in their own Mother Tongue; which is a manifeſt Declaration, that it is the very Light and Voice of Nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. *Paul*, and other Reaſons out of the Scriptures; joining therewith the common Uſage of all Nations, as a Teſtimony of the Law of Nature.

Now for the ſecond part of the Aſſertion, which is, *That the uſe of a ſtrange Tongue, in publick Prayer, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is againſt the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church.* Which is a Matter ſo clear, that the denial of it muſt needs proceed, either of great Ignorance, or of wilful Malice.

Juſtinus Apol. 2.

For, firſt of all, *Juſtinus Martyr*, deſcribing the Order of the Communion in his time, ſaith thus; *Die Solis urbanorum & ruſticorum cœtus fiunt, ubi Apoſtolorum, Prophetarumq; literæ, quoad fieri poteſt, præleguntur: Deinde ceſſante Lectore Præpoſitus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honeſtarum rerum invitans. Poſt hæc conſurgimus omnes, & preces offerimus, quibus finitis, profertur (ut diximus) Panis, Vinum & Aqua, tum præpoſitus quantum poteſt preces offert, & gratiarum Actiones; plebs vero Amen accinit.* Upon the *Sunday* Aſſemblies, are made both of the Citizens and Country-men; where as the Writings of the Diſciples, and of the Prophets, are read as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth ceaſe, the Head-Miniſter maketh an Exhortation, exhorting them to follow ſo honeſt things. After this we riſe all together, and offer Prayers; which being ended, (as we have ſaid) Bread, Wine, and Water, are brought forth; then the Head-Miniſter offereth Prayers, and Thankſgivings, as much as he can, and the People anſwereth, *Amen.*

Theſe words of *Juſtin*, who lived about 160 Years after Chriſt, conſidered with their Circumſtances, declare plainly, That not only the Scriptures were read, but alſo that the Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper, were done in a Tongue underſtood.

Both the Liturgies of *Baſil* and *Chryſoſtom*, declare, That in the Celebration of the Communion, the People were appointed to anſwer to the Prayer of the Miniſter, ſometimes *Amen*; ſometimes, *Lord have mercy upon us*; ſometimes, *And with thy Spirit*; and, *We have our Hearts lifted up unto the Lord*, &c. Which Anſwers they would not have made in due time, if the Prayers had not been made in a Tongue underſtood.

And for further proof, let us hear what *Baſil* writeth in this Matter to the Clerks of *Neoceſarea*; *Cæterum ad Objectum in Pſalmodiis crimen, quo maximè ſimpliciores terrent Calumniatores*, &c. 'As touching that is laid to our charge in Pſalmodies and Songs, wherewith our Slanderers do fray the Simple, I have this to ſay, That our Cuſtoms and Uſage in all Churches, be uniform and agreeable. For in the Night, the People with us riſeth, goeth to the Houſe of Prayer: and in Travel, Tribulation, and continual Tears, they confeſs themſelves to God; and at the laſt riſing again, go to their Songs, or Pſalmodies, where being divided into two parts, ſing by courſe together, both deeply weighing and confirming the Matter of the Heavenly Saying; and alſo ſtirring up their Attention and Devotion of Heart, which by other means be alienated and pluck'd away. Then appointing one to begin the Song, the reſt follow, and ſo with divers Songs and Prayers, paſſing over the Night at the dawning of the Day, all together, even as it were with one Mouth, and one Heart, they ſing unto the Lord a new Song of Confeſſion, every Man framing to himſelf meet words of Repentance. *Baſil.* Epiſt. 63.

'If ye will flee us from henceforth for theſe things, ye muſt flee alſo the *Egyptians*, and both the *Lybians*; ye muſt eſchew the *Thebians*, *Paleſtines*, *Arabians*, the *Phenices*, the *Syrians*, and thoſe which dwell beſides *Euphrates*. And to be ſhort, all thoſe with whom Watchings, Prayers, and common ſinging of Pſalms are had in honour.

Theſe are ſufficient to prove; that it is againſt God's Word, and the Uſe of the Primitive Church, to uſe a Language not underſtood of the People, in Common Prayer, and Miniſtration of the Sacraments.

Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how ſuch an Untruth and Abuſe crept, at the firſt, into the Church, but alſo how it is maintained ſo ſtifly at this Day; And upon what ground, theſe that will be thought Guides, and Paſtors of Chriſt's Church, are ſo loath to return to the firſt Original of St. *Paul's* Doctrine, and the Practice of the Primitive Catholick Church of Chriſt.

J. Scory.
D. Whitehead.
J. Juel.
J. Almer.

R. Cox.
E. Grindal.
R. Horn.
E. Geſt.

The God of Patience and Conſolation, give us Grace to be like minded one towards another, in Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may, with one mouth, praiſe God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

Number 4.

The Anſwer of Dr. *Cole*, to the firſt Propoſition of the *Proteſtants*, at the Diſputation before the Lords at *Weſtminſter*.

Eſt contra Verbum Dei, & conſuetudinem veteris Eccleſiæ Linguâ Populo ignotâ uti in publicis precibus, & Adminiſtratione Sacramentorum.

Moſt Honourable;

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.* WHereas theſe Men here preſent, have declared openly, That it is repugnant, and contrary to the Word of God, to have the Common Prayers, and Miniſtration of the Sacraments, in the Latin Tongue, here in *England*; and that all ſuch Common Prayer, and Miniſtration, ought to be, and remain in the Engliſh Tongue. Ye ſhall underſtand, that to prove this their Aſſertion, they have brought in as yet *only one place* of Scripture, taken out of St. *Paul's* firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Cap. 14. with certain other places of the Holy Doctors; whereunto anſwer is not now to be made: But when the Book, which they read, ſhall be delivered unto us, according to the appointment made in that behalf, *then*, *God willing*, *we* ſhall make anſwer, as well to the Scripture, as other Teſtimonies alledged by them, ſo as all good Men may evidently perceive and underſtand the ſame Scripture to be miſconſtrued, and drawn from the native and true ſenſe: And that *it is not St.* Paul's *mind* there to treat of Common Prayer, or Miniſtration of any Sacraments. And therefore we now have only to declare, and open before you briefly (which after, as opportunity ſerves in our Anſwer, ſhall appear more at large) cauſes which move us to perſiſt and continue in the order received, and to ſay, and affirm, that to have the Common Prayer, or Service, with the Miniſtration of the Sacraments in the Latin Tongue, is convenient, (and as the ſtate of the Cauſe ſtandeth at this preſent) neceſſary.

Second Section.

1. And *this we affirm*, firſt, becauſe *there is no Scripture manifeſt* aganiſt this our Aſſertion and Uſage of the Church. And though there were any, yet it is not to be condemn'd that the Church hath receiv'd. Which thing may evidently appear in many things that were ſometime expreſly commanded by God and his Holy Apoſtles.

2. As for Example, (to make the Matter plain) ye ſee the expreſs Command of Almighty God, touching the obſervation *of the Sabbath-Day*, to be changed by Authority of the Church (*without any Word of God written* for the ſame) into the *Sunday*. The Reaſon whereof appeareth not to all Men; and howſoever it doth appear, and is accepted of all good Men, without any Controverſy of Scripture; yea,

without any mention of the Day, ſaving only that St. *John* in his *Apocalyps*, nameth it, *Diem Dominicam:* In the change whereof, all Men may evidently underſtand the Authority of the Church, both in this cauſe, and alſo in other Matters to be of great weight and importance, and therein eſteemed accordingly.

3. *Another* Example we have given unto us by the Mouth of our Saviour himſelf, who waſhing the feet of his Diſciples, ſaid, *I have herein given you an Example, that as I have done, even ſo do you.* Notwithſtanding theſe expreſs words, the Holy Church hath left the thing undone, without blame: not of any Negligence, but of great and urgent Cauſes, which appeareth not to many Men, and yet univerſally without the breach of God's Commandment (as is ſaid) left undone. Was not the Fact alſo, and, as it ſeemeth, the expreſs Commandment of Chriſt, our Saviour, changed and altered, by the Authority of the Church, in the higheſt Myſtery of our Faith, the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? For he miniſtreth the ſame (as the Scripture witneſſeth) after Supper. And now if a contentious Man would ſtrain the Fact to the firſt Inſtitution, St. *Auguſtine* anſwereth (not by Scripture, for there is none to improve it, but indeed otherwiſe) even as the Apoſtles did, *Viſum eſt Spiritui ſancto, ut in honorem tanti Sacramenti, in os Chriſtiani hominis prius intret Corpus Dominicum quam exteri cibi.* It is determin'd (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) by the Holy Ghoſt, that in the honour of ſo great a Sacrament, the Body of our Lord ſhould enter firſt into the Mouth of a Chriſtian Man before other external Meats. So that notwithſtanding it was the Fact of Chriſt himſelf, yet the Church moved by the Holy Ghoſt, (as is ſaid) hath changed that alſo, without offence likewiſe. By the which Sentence of St. *Auguſtine*, manifeſtly appeareth, that this Authority was deriv'd from the Apoſtles unto this Time; the which ſame Authority, according to Chriſt's Promiſes, doth ſtill abide and remain with his Church.

4. *And hereupon* alſo reſteth the Alteration of the Sacrament under one kind, when-as the multitude of the *Gentiles* entred, the Church inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt, underſtood Inconveniencies, and partly alſo Hereſy to creep in through the Miniſtration under both kinds; and therefore, as in the former Examples, ſo in this now, (the Matter nothing diminiſhed, neither in it ſelf, nor in the Receivers, and the thing alſo being received before, by a common and uniform Conſent, without contradiction) the Church did decree, that from henceforth it ſhould be received under the form of Bread only; and whoſoever ſhould think and affirm, that Whole Chriſt remained not under *both kinds*, pronounc'd him to be in Hereſy.

5. *Moreover*, we read in the Acts, whereas it was determined in a Council holden at *Hieruſalem* by the Apoſtles, that the *Gentiles* ſhould abſtain from Strangled, and Blood, in theſe words, *Viſum eſt Spiritui Sancto, & Nobis*, &c. *It is decreed, by the Holy Ghoſt, and Us,* (ſay the Apoſtles) *that no other burden be laid upon you, than theſe neceſſary things, That ye abſtain from things offered up unto Idols, and from Blood; and from that is ſtrangled, and from Fornication.* This was the Commandment of God, (for ſtill it is commanded, upon pain of damnation, to keep our Bodies clean from Fornication) and the other, join'd by the Holy Ghoſt with the ſame, not kept nor obſerved at this day.

6. Likewiſe in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* it appeareth, That among them in the Primitive Church, all things were common. They ſold their Lands and Poſſeſſions, and laid the Mony at the Feet of the Apoſtles, to be divided to the People as every Man had need; inſomuch that *Ananias* and *Saphira*, who kept back a part of their Poſſeſſion, and laid but the other part at the Apoſtles Feet, were declared, by the Mouth of St. *Peter*, to be tempted by the Devil, and to lye againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and in example of all other, puniſh'd with ſudden Death. By all which Examples, and many other, it is manifeſt, that though there were any ſuch Scripture which they pretend, as there is not, yet the Church wherein the Holy Ghoſt is alway reſident, may order the ſame, and may therein ſay as truly, *Viſum eſt Spiritui Sancto, & Nobis*, as did the Apoſtles; For Chriſt promiſed unto the Church, That the Holy Ghoſt ſhould teach them all Truth, and that He himſelf would be with the ſame Church unto the Worlds end. And hereupon we do make this Argument with St. *Auguſtine*, which he writeth in his Epiſtle *ad Januarium*, after this ſort, *Eccleſia Dei inter multam paleam multaque Zizania conſtituta, multa tolerat; & tamen quæ ſunt contra fidem, vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.*

To this *Major*, we add this *Minor*; But the Catholick Church of God, neither reproveth the Service, or Common Prayer, to be in the Learned Tongue, nor yet uſeth it otherwiſe.

Therefore it is moſt lawful and commendable ſo to be.

Third Section.

Another Cauſe that moveth us to ſay and think, is, That otherwiſe doing, (as they have ſaid) there followeth neceſſarily the breach of Unity of the Church, and the Commodities thereby are withdrawn and taken from us; there follows neceſſarily an horrible Schiſm and Diviſion.

In alteration of the Service into our Mother Tongue, we condemn the Church of God, which hath been heretofore, we condemn the Church that is preſent, and namely the Church of *Rome*.

To the which, howſoever it is lightly eſteemed here among us, the Holy Saint and Martyr, *Ireneus*, ſaith in plain words thus; *Ad hanc Eccleſiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, neceſſe eſt omnes alias Eccleſias convenire; hoc eſt omnes undiq; Fideles.* It is neceſſary (ſaith this Holy Man) who was nigh to the Apoſtles, or rather in that time, for he is called σύγχρονος *Apoſtolorum*) that all Churches do conform themſelves, and agree with the See or Church of *Rome*, all Churches, that is to ſay (as he declareth himſelf) all Chriſtian and Faithful Men. And he alleadgeth the Cauſe why it is neceſſary for all Men to agree therewith, (*propter potentiorem principalitatem*) for the greater Preeminence of the ſame, or for the mightier Principality.

From this Church, and conſequently from the whole Univerſal Church of Chriſt, we fall undoubtedly into a fearful and dangerous Schiſm, and therewith into all Incommodities of the ſame.

That in this doing, we fall from the Unity of the Church, it is more manifeſt than that we need much to ſtand upon. St. *Auguſtine*, *Contra Creſconium Grammaticum*, putting a difference between *Hereſis* and

Schiſma, ſaith, *Schiſma eſt diverſa ſequentium ſecta, Hereſis autem Schiſma inveteratum.*

To avoid this horrible Sin of Schiſm, we are commanded, by the words of St. *Paul*, ſaying, *Obſecro vos ut id ipſum dicatis omnes & non ſint in vobis Schiſmata.*

And that this changing of the Service out of the Learned Tongue, is doing contrary to the Form and Order univerſally obſerved, is plain and evident to every Man's Eye.

They are to be named *Hereticks* (ſaith he) which obſtinately think and judg in Matters of Faith, otherwiſe than the reſt of the Church doth. And thoſe are called *Schiſmaticks*, which follow not the Order and Trade of the Church, but will invent of their own Wit and Brain other Orders, contrary or diverſe to them which are already, by the Holy Ghoſt, univerſally eſtabliſh'd in the Church. And we being declin'd from God by Schiſm, note what follows; There is then no Gift of God, no Knowledg, no Juſtice, no Faith, no Works, and finally, no Vertue that could ſtand us in ſtead, though we ſhould think to glorify God by ſuffering Death, (as St. *Paul* ſaith) 1 *Cor.* 13. Yea, there is no Sacrament that availeth to Salvation, in them that willingly fall into Schiſm, that without fear ſeparate and divide themſelves from the Sacred Unity of Chriſt's Holy Spouſe, the Church, as St. *Auguſtine* plainly ſaith; *Quicunque ille eſt, qualiſcunque ille eſt, Chriſtianus non eſt qui in Eccleſia Chriſti non eſt*; that is, Whoſoever he be, whatſoever degree or condition he be of, or what qualities ſoever he hath; though he ſhould ſpeak with the Tongues of Angels, ſpeak he never ſo holily, ſhew he never ſo much Vertue, yet is he not a Chriſtian Man that is guilty of that Crime of Schſm; and ſo no Member of that Church.

Wherefore this is an evident Argument; Every Chriſtian Man is bound, upon pain of Damnation, by the plain words of God, uttered by St. *Paul*, to avoid the horrible Sin of Schiſm.

The changing of the Service-Book out of the Learned Tongue, it being univerſally obſerv'd through the whole Church from the beginning, is a cauſe of an horrible Schiſm; wherefore every good Chriſtian Man is bound to avoid the change of the Service.

Now to confirm that we ſaid before, and to prove that to have the Common Prayer, and Miniſtration of the Sacraments in Engliſh, or in other than is the Learned Tongue, let us behold the firſt Inſtitution of the *Weſt Church*, and the Particulars thereof.

And firſt, to begin with the Church of *France*: *Dyoniſius*, St. *Paul's* Scholar, who firſt planted the Faith of Chriſt in *France*: *Martialis*, who (as it is ſaid) planted the Faith in *Spain*: And others which planted the ſame here in *England*, in the time of *Eleutherius*: And ſuch as planted the Faith in *Germany*, and other Countries: And St. *Auguſtine*, that converted this Realm afterwards, in the time of *Gregory*, almoſt a thouſand Years ago: It may appear that they had Interpreters, as touching the Declaration and Preaching of the Goſpel, or elſe the Gift of Tongues: But that ever, in any of theſe *Weſt Churches*, they had the Service in their own Language, or that the Sacraments, other than Matrimony, were miniſtred in their own Vulgar Tongue; that does not appear by any Ancient Hiſtoriographer. Whether ſhall they be able ever to prove that it was ſo generally; and thereby by continuance, in the Latin, the ſelf-ſame Order and Words remain ſtill; whereas all Men do conſider, and know right-well, that in all other inferiour and barbarous Tongues, great change daily is ſeen, and ſpecially in this our Engliſh Tongue, which *in quovis Seculo fere*, in every Age, or hundred Years, there appeareth a great change and alteration in this Language.

For the proof whereof, there hath remained many Books of late in this Realm, (as many do well know) which we, that be now Engliſhmen, can ſcarcely underſtand or read. And if we ſhould ſo often (as the thing may chance, and as alteration daily doth grow in our Vulgar Tongue) change the Service of the Church, what manifold Inconveniences and Errors would follow, we leave it to all Mens Judgments to conſider. So that hereby may appear another invincible Argument, which is, the Conſent of the whole Catholick Church, that cannot err in the Faith and Doctrine of our Saviour Chriſt, but is (by St. *Paul*'s ſaying) *the Pillar and Foundation of all Truth.*

Moreover, the People of *England* do not underſtand their own Tongue, better than *Eunuchus* did the *Hebrew*; of whom we read in the *Acts*, that *Philip* was commanded to teach him; and he reading there the Propheſy of *Eſay*, *Philip* (as it is written in the *8th* Chapter of the *Acts*) enquired of him, Whether he underſtood that which he read, or no? He made anſwer, ſaying, *Et quomodo poſſum, ſi non aliquis oſtenderit mihi*; in which words are reproved the intollerable boldneſs of ſuch as will enterprize without any Teacher; yea, contemning all Doctors to unclaſp the Book, and thereby, inſtead of Eternal Food, drink up deadly Poiſon. For whereas the Scripture is miſconſtrued, and taken in a wrong ſenſe, that it is not the Scripture of God, but as St. *Hierom* ſaith, Writing upon the *Epiſtle to the Galathians*, it is the Scripture of the Devil: And we do not contend with Hereticks for the Scripture, but for the true ſenſe and meaning of the Scripture.

We read of Ceremonies in the Old Teſtament, as the Circumciſion, the Bells and Pomegranates; of *Aaron*'s Apparel, with many other, and kinds of Sacrifices; which all were, as St. *Paul* ſaith unto the *Hebrews*, *Juſtitia Carnis*; and did not inwardly juſtify the Party before God, that objected, in Proteſtation of their Faith in Chriſt to come: And although they had the knowledg of every Fact of Chriſt, which was ſignified particularly by thoſe Ceremonies. And it is evident and plain, that the High Prieſt entred into the inner Part of the Temple, (named, *Sanctum Sanctorum*) whereas the People might not follow, nor lawful for them to ſtand, but there, where they could neither ſee, nor hear, what the Prieſt either ſaid, or did, as St. *Luke* in the firſt Chapter of his Goſpel, rehearſeth in the Hiſtory of *Zachary*.

Upon Conference of theſe two Teſtaments, may be plainly gathered this Doctrine, That in the School of Chriſt, many things may be ſaid and done, the Myſtery whereof the People knoweth not, neither are they bound to know. Which things, that is, that the People did not hear and underſtand the Common Prayer of the Prieſt and Miniſter, it is evident and plain, by the practice of the Ancient *Greek* Church, and that alſo that now is at *Venice*, or elſe-where.

In that *Eaſt* Church, the Prieſt ſtandeth, as it were, in a Travice, or Cloſet, hang'd round about with Curtains, or Vails, apart from the People. And after the Conſecration, when he ſheweth the Bleſſed Sacrament, the Curtains are drawn, whereof *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaketh thus; *Cum Vela videris retrahi, tunc ſuperne Cœlum aperiri cogita*; When thou ſeeſt the Vails, or Curtains drawn open, then think thou that Heaven is open from above.

It is alſo here to be noted, That there is two manners of Prayings, one Publick, another Private; for which cauſe the Church hath ſuch conſiderations of the Publick Prayer, that it deſtroyeth not, nor taketh away the Private Prayer of the People in time of Sacrifice, or other Divine Service; which thing would chance, if the People ſhould do nothing but hearken to anſwer, and ſay, *Amen.* Beſides the impoſſibility of the Matter, whereas, in a great Pariſh, every Man cannot hear what the Prieſt ſaith, though the Material Church were defaced, and he left the Altar of God, and ſtood in the midſt of the People.

Furthermore, If we ſhould confeſs that it were neceſſary to have Common Prayer in the Vulgar Tongue, theſe two Hereſies would follow upon it; that Prayer profiteth no Man but him that underſtandeth it, and him alſo that is preſent and heareth it; and ſo, by conſequent, void was the Prayer for St. *Peter* in Priſon, by the Church abroad.

Now conſider the Practice of this Realm.

If we ſhould grant the Service to be in Engliſh, we ſhould not have that in the ſame form that it is in now, being in Latin; but be-like we ſhould have that, as it was, of late days. The Matter of which Service is taken out of the *Pſalms*, and other part of the Bible, Tranſlated into Engliſh, wherein are manifeſt Errors, and falſe Tranſlations, which all by depravation of God's Scripture, and ſo, *verè mendacia.* Now if the Service be ſo fram'd, then may Men well ſay upon us, That we ſerve God with Lyes.

Wherefore we may not ſo travel and labour to alter the form of our Common Prayer, that we leſe the Fruit of all Prayer, which by this barbarous contention, no doubt, we ſhall do. And the Church of God hath no ſuch cuſtom, as St. *Paul* alledgeth in ſuch Contentions. And may not the whole World ſay unto us, as St. *Paul* ſaid unto the *Corinthians*, 1 *Cor.* 14. *An à vobis Verbum Dei proceſſit, aut in vos ſolos pervenit?* As though the whole Church had been ever in Error, and never had ſeen this Chapter of St. *Paul* before: And that the Holy Ghoſt had utterly forſaken his Office, in leading that into all Truth, till now of late, certain, boaſting of the Holy Ghoſt, and the ſincere Word of God, hath enterpriſed to correct and overthrow the whole Church.

Auguſtinus, lib. I. contra *Julianum Pelagium, à Græcis pro ſuâ Hereſi profugum, querentem, ad hunc modum, reſpondit: Puto (inquit) tibi eam partem orbis debere ſufficere, in quâ primum Apoſtolorum ſuorum voluit Dominus glorioſiſſimo Martyrio Coronari. Et idem paulo poſt; Te certe (Julianum alloquitur) Occidentalis Terra generavit, Occidentalis Regeneravit Eccleſia. Quid ei quæris inferre, quod in eâ non inveniſti, quando in ejus membra veniſti? Imò, Quid ei quæris auferre, quod in eâ tu quoque accepiſti? Hæc ille.*

A number of Authorities out of the Doctors we could rehearſe, that maketh for the Unity of the Church, and for not diſturbing the quiet Government of the ſame; which all impugn this their firſt Aſſertion by way of Argument. But becauſe they have framed their Aſſertion ſo, that we be compelled to defend the *Negative*, (in the probation whereof, the Doctors uſe not directly to have many words); therefore of purpoſe we leave out a number of the Sayings of the Doctors, (which all, as I ſaid before, would prove this firſt Matter by way of Argument) leſt we ſhould be tedious, and keep you too long in a plain Matter.

And therefore now to conclude, for not changing the Divine Service, and the Miniſtration of the Sacraments from the Learned Tongue (which thing doth make a Schiſm, and a Diviſion between us and the Catholick Church of God) we have brought in the Scripture that doth forbid all ſuch Schiſm. And alſo the Conſent and Cuſtom of the whole Church, which cannot Err, and maketh us bold to ſay as we do; with other things, as ye have heard, for confirmation of the ſame. And in anſwering to the firſt Matter, we intend (God willing) to ſay much more; beſeeching Almighty God ſo to inſpire the Heart of the Queen's Majeſty, and her moſt Honourable Council, with the Nobility of this Realm, and Us that be the Paſtors of the People in theſe Cauſes, that ſo we may diſpoſe of the Service of God, as we may therein ſerve God: And that we do not, by altering the ſaid Service from the Uniform manner of Chriſt's Church, but alſo highly diſpleaſe God, and procure to Us infamy of the World, the Worm of Conſcience, and Eternal Damnation; which God forbid: and grant us Grace to acknowledg, confeſs, and maintain his Truth. *To whom be all Glory.* Amen.

Number

Number 5.

The Declaration of the Proceedings of a Conference begun at Weſtminſter, *the laſt of* March, 1559, *concerning certain Articles of Religion; and the breaking up of the ſaid Conference, by default and contempt of certain Biſhops, Parties of the ſaid Conference.*

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

THe Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty having heard of diverſities of Opinions in certain Matters of Religion, amongſt ſundry of her Loving Subjects; and being very deſirous to have the ſame reduced to ſome Godly and Chriſtian Concord, thought it beſt, by advice of the Lords, and others of her Privy Council, as well for the ſatisfaction of Perſons doubtful, as alſo for the knowledg of the very Truth, in certain Matters of difference, to have a convenient choſen number of the beſt Learned of either Part, and to confer together their Opinions and Reaſons; and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable Agreement. And hereupon, by her Majeſty's Commandment, certain of her ſaid Privy Council, declared this purpoſe to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, being alſo one of the ſaid Privy Council, and required him, that he would impart the ſame to ſome of the Biſhops, and to make choice of 8, nine, or ten of them; and that there ſhould be the like number named of the other part; and further alſo declared to him (as then was ſuppoſed) what the Matters ſhould be: and as for the time it was thought upon; and then after certain days paſt, it was ſignified by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop, that there was appointed (by ſuch of the Biſhops to whom he had imparted this Matter) eight Perſons; that is to ſay, four Biſhops, and four Doctors, who were content, at the Queen's Majeſty's Commandment, to ſhew their Opinions, and as he termed it, render account of their Faith in thoſe Matters, which were mentioned, and that ſpecially in Writing. Although, he ſaid, they thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute upon them. It was hereupon fully reſolved, by the Queen's Majeſty, with the Advice aforeſaid, that according to their deſire, it ſhould be in writing on both Parts, for avoiding of much alteration in words. And that the ſaid Biſhops ſhould, becauſe they were in Authority of Degree Superiours, firſt declare their Minds and Opinions to the Matter, with their Reaſons, in writing. And the other number, being alſo eight Men of good degree in Schools, (and ſome having been in Dignity in the Church of *England*) if they had any thing to ſay to the contrary, ſhould the ſame day declare their Opinions in like manner. And ſo each of them ſhould deliver their Writings to the other to be conſidered what were to be improved therein; and the ſame to declare again in Writing at ſome other convenient day; and the like Order to be kept in all the reſt of the Matters.

All this was fully agreed upon with the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and ſo ſo alſo ſignified to both Parties; and immediately hereupon divers of the Nobility, and States of the Realm, underſtanding that ſuch a Meeting and Conference ſhould be, and that in certain Matters, thereupon the preſent Court of Parliament conſequently following, ſome Laws might be grounded, they made earneſt means to her Majeſty, that the Parties of this Conference might put and read their Aſſertions in the Engliſh Tongue, and that in the preſence of them, the Nobility and others of her Parliament-Houſe, for the better ſatisfaction, and enabling of their own Judgments to treat and conclude of ſuch Laws, as might depend thereupon. This alſo being thought very reaſonable, was ſignified to both Parties, and ſo fully agreed upon. And the day appointed for the firſt Meeting to be the *Friday* in the Forenoon, being the laſt of *March*, at *Weſtminſter* Church, where both for good Order, and for Honour of the Conferences by the Queen's Majeſty's Commandment; the Lords and others of the Privy-Council were preſent, and a great part of the Nobility alſo.

And notwithſtanding the former Order appointed and conſented unto by both Parties, yet the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, alleadging, that they had miſtaken that their Aſſertions and Reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo only recited out of the Book, ſaid, Their Book was not then ready written, but they were ready to Argue and Diſpute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in Speech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt Propoſition.

This variation from the former Order, and ſpecially from that which themſelves had, by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop, in writing before required, (adding thereto the Reaſon of the Apoſtle, that *to contend with words, is profitable to nothing, but to the ſubverſion of the Hearer*) ſeemed to the Queen's Majeſty ſomewhat ſtrange; and yet was it permitted, without any great reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the Order, and argued, that they would not fail, but put it in writing, and according to the former Order, deliver it to the other Part.

And ſo the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, appointed Dr. *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*, to be their Utterer of their Minds, who partly by Speech only, and partly by reading of Authorities written; and at certain times being informed of his Colleagues what to ſay, made a declaration of their Meanings and their Reaſons to the firſt Propoſition.

Which being ended, they were asked, by the Privy Council, If any of them had any more to be ſaid? and they ſaid; No. So as then the other Part was licenſed to ſhew their Minds, which they did accordingly to the firſt Order, exhibiting all that which they meant, to propound in a Book written. Which, after a Prayer, and Invocation made moſt humbly to Almighty God, for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a Proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, builded upon the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one *Robert Horn*, Batchelor in Divinity, late Dean of *Dureſm*. And the ſame being ended, (with ſome likelyhood, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the Audience) certain of the Biſhops began to ſay contrary to their former Anſwer, that they had now much more to ſay to this Matter; wherein, although they might have been well reprehended for ſuch manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding any more miſtaking of Orders in this Colloquie, or Conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed upon of both Parts, in the full Audience, that upon the *Monday* following, the Biſhops ſhould bring their Minds and Reaſons in Writing, to the ſecond Aſſertion, and the laſt alſo, if they could, and firſt read the ſame; and that done, the other Part ſhould bring likewiſe theirs to the ſame; and being read, each of them ſhould deliver to other the ſame Writings. And in the mean time the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which Doctor *Cole* had that day uttered, but all ſuch other Matters, as they any otherwiſe could think of for the ſame; and as ſoon as might poſſible, to ſend the ſame Book, touching the firſt Aſſertion to the other part; and they ſhould receive of them that Writing which Maſter *Horn* had there read that day; and upon *Monday* it ſhould be agreed what day they ſhould exhibit their Anſwer touching the firſt Propoſition.

Thus both parts aſſented thereto, and the Aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed. And therefore upon *Monday* the like Aſſembly began again at the Place and Hour appointed; and there, upon what ſiniſter or diſordered meaning, is not yet fully known, (though in ſome part it be underſtanded) the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, and ſpecially *Lincoln*, refuſed to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious Order on *Friday*, that which they had prepared for the ſecond Aſſertion; and thereupon, by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, they being firſt gently and favourably required, to keep the Order appointed, and that taking no place, being ſecondly, as it behoved, preſſed with the more earneſt requeſt, they neither regarding the Authority of that Place, nor their own Reputation, nor the Credit of the Cauſe, utterly refuſed that to do.

And finally, being again particularly every one of them apart, diſtinctly by Name required to underſtand their Opinions therein; they all (ſaving one, which was the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, having ſome more conſideration of Order, and his Duty of Obedience, than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their Book read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than other ſome, ſo alſo ſome others more indiſcreetly and irreverently than others.

Whereupon giving ſuch Example of Diſorders, Stubbornneſs, and Self-will, as hath not been ſeen and ſuffered in ſuch an Honourable Aſſembly, being of the two Eſtates of this Realm, the Nobilities and Commons, beſides the Perſons of the Queen's Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, the ſame Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the Godly, and moſt Chriſtian Purpoſe of the Queen's Majeſty made fruſtrate: And afterwards, for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*, who have moſt obſtinately diſobeyed, both Common Authority, and varied manifeſtly from their own Order; ſpecially *Lincoln*, who ſhewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the *Tower* of *London*; and the reſt, ſaving the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, ſtand bound to make daily their perſonal appearance before the Council, and not to depart the City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, until further Order be taken with them for their Diſobedience and Contempt.

N. *Bacon*, Cuſt. Sigill.
F. Shrewsbury. *F. Bedford.* *Pembrok.*
E. Clynton.
G. *Rogers.* *F. Knollys.* *W. Cecill.* *A. Cave.*

Number 6.

An Addreſs made by ſome Biſhops and Divines, to Queen Elizabeth, *againſt the Uſe of Images.*

To the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

WE knowing your gracious Clemency, and conſidering the neceſſity of the Matter that we have to move, the one doth encourage us, and the other compel us (as before) to make our humble Petition unto your Highneſs, and to renew our former Suit, not in any reſpect of ſelf-will, ſtoutneſs, or ſtriving againſt your Majeſty, (God we take to Witneſs) for with *David*, we confeſs that we are but as *Canes mortui, aut Pulices* in compariſon. But we do it only for that fear and reverence which we bear to the Majeſty of Almighty God, in whoſe Hands to fall, 'tis terrible; for it lieth in his Power to deſtroy for ever, and to caſt both Body and Soul into Hell Fire. And leſt in giving juſt offence to the little Ones, in ſetting a Trap of Errors for the Ignorant, and digging a Pit for the Blind to fall into, we ſhould not only be guilty of the Blood of our Brethren, and deſerve the wrathful *Væ*, and Vengeance of God, but alſo procure, to our reclaiming Conſciences, the biting Worm, that never dieth, for our endleſs confuſion. For in what thing ſoever we may ſerve your Excellent Majeſty, not offending the Divine Majeſty of God, we ſhall, with all humble Obedience, be moſt ready thereunto, if it be even to the loſs of our Life; for ſo God commandeth of us, Duty requireth of us, and we with all conformity have put in proof. And as God, through your gracious Government, hath delivered unto us innumerable Benefits, which we moſt humbly acknowledg, and with due Reverence daily give him Thanks. So we do not doubt, but that of his Mercy He will happily finiſh in your Majeſty that good Work, which of His free Favour He hath moſt graciouſly begun; that following the Examples of the Godly Princes which have gone before, you may clearly purge the polluted Church, and remove all occaſions of Evil. And for ſo much as we have heretofore, at ſundry times, made Petition to your Majeſty concerning the Matter of Images, but at no time exhibited any Reaſons for the removing of the ſame. Now, leſt we ſhould ſeem to ſay much, and prove little, to alleage Conſciences without the Warrant of God, and unreaſonably require that, for the which we can give no Reaſon, we have at this time put in writing, and do moſt humbly exhibit to your gracious Conſideration, thoſe Authorities of the Scriptures, Reaſons, and pithy Perſuaſions, which as they have moved all ſuch our Brethren, as now bear the Office of Biſhops, to think and affirm Images not expedient for the Church of Chriſt; ſo will they not ſuffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own Conſciences, (which God deliver us from) to conſent to the erecting or retaining of the ſame in the place of Worſhipping; and we truſt, and moſt earneſtly ask it of God, that they may alſo perſuade your Majeſty, by your Regal Authority, and in the Zeal of God, utterly to remove this Offenſive Evil out of the Church of *England*, to God's great Glory, and our great Comfort.

Here follow the Reaſons againſt them, of which I have given a full Abſtract in the Hiſtory; and therefore do not ſet them down here, for they are very large. The Addreſs concludes in theſe words.

Having thus declared unto your Highneſs a few Cauſes of many, which do move our Conſciences in this Matter, we beſeech your Highneſs, moſt humbly, not to ſtrain us any further, but to conſider that God's Word doth threaten a terrible Judgment unto us, if we being Paſtors and Miniſters in His Church, ſhould aſſent unto the thing, which in our Learning and Conſcience, we are perſuaded doth tend to the confirmation of Error, Superſtition, and Idolatry; and finally, *Heb.* 13. to the ruins of the Souls committed to our Charge, for the which we 1 *Pet.* 5. muſt give an account to the Prince of Paſtors at the laſt Day. We pray your Majeſty alſo, not to be offended with this our Plainneſs and Liberty, which all good and Chriſtian Princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of Godly Biſhops.

St. *Ambroſe*, writing to *Theodoſius* the Emperor, uſes theſe words; *Sed neque Imperiale eſt libertatem dicendi negare, neque Sacerdotale quod* *Epiſt. lib.* 5. *ſentiat non dicere.* *Epiſt.* 29.

And again; *In cauſa vero Dei quem audies, ſi Sacerdotem non audies,* *Ibidem.* *cujus Majore peccatur periculo? Quis tibi verum audebit dicere, ſi Sacerdos non audeat?*

Theſe, and ſuch-like Speeches of St. *Ambroſe*, *Theodoſius*, and *Valentinianus*, the Emperors did take in good part; and we doubt not, but your Grace will do the like, of whoſe, not only Clemency, but alſo Beneficence, we have largely taſted.

We beſeech your Majeſty alſo, in theſe, and ſuch-like Controverſies of Religion, to refer the diſcuſſment, and deciding of them, to a Synod of the Biſhops, and other Godly Learned Men, according to the Example of *Conſtantinus Magnus*, and other Chriſtian Emperors, that the Reaſons of both Parties being examined by them, the Judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful Matters.

And to return to this preſent Matter; We moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, That beſides weighty Cauſes in Policy, which we leave to the Wiſdom of the Honourable Counſellors, the eſtabliſhing of Images by your Authority, ſhall not only utterly diſcredit our Miniſtries, as builders of the thing which we have deſtroyed, but alſo

blemiſh the Fame of your moſt Godly Brother, and ſuch notable Fathers as have given their Lives for the Teſtimony of God's Truth, who by publick Law removed all Images.

The Almighty and Everliving God, plentifully endue your Majeſty with His Spirit and Heavenly Wiſdom; and long preſerve your moſt gracious Reign, and proſperous Government over us, to the advancement of his Glory, to the overthrow of Superſtition, and to the Benefit and Comfort of all your Higneſſes loving Subjects. Amen.

Number 7.

The Queen's Commiſſions to the Viſitors that were ſent to the Northern Parts.

ELizabetha Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defenſor, &c. Chariſſimis, Conſanguineis & Conſiliariis noſtris Franciſco Comiti Salop. Domino Præſidenti Conſilii noſtri in partibus Borealibus, & Edwardo Comiti de Darbia, ac chariſſimo conſanguineo noſtro Thomæ Comiti Northumb. Domino Guardiano ſive cuſtodi Marchiarum noſtrarum de Le Eaſt March, & midle March verſus Scotiam, ac perdilecto & fideli noſtro Willielmo Domino Evers, ac etiam dilectis & fidelibus noſtris Henrico Piercy, Thomæ Gargrave, Jacobo Crofts & Henrico Gates Militibus, necnon dilectis nobis Edwino Sandys Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſori, Henrico Harvy Legum Doctori, Richardo Bowes, Georgio Brown, Chiſtophero Eſtcot, & Richardo Kingſmell Armigeris, Salutem. Quoniam Deus Populum ſuum Anglicanum imperio noſtro ſubjecit, cujus regalis ſuſcepti muneris rationem perfecte reddere non poſſumus, niſi veram religionem & ſincerum numinis divini cultum in omnibus Regni noſtri partibus propagaverimus: Nos igitur regalis & abſolutæ poteſtatis noſtræ, nobis in hoc Regno noſtro commiſſæ, reſpectu, quoniam utrumq; Regni noſtri ſtatum, tam Eccleſiaſticum, quam Laicum viſitare, & certas pietatis ac virtutis regulas illis præſcribere conſtituimus, præfatum Franciſcum Comitem Salop. Edwardum Comitem de Darbia, Thomam Comitem Northumb, Willielmum Dominum Evers, Henricum Piercy, Thomam Gargrave, Jacobum Crofts, Henricum Gates, Milites; Edwinum Sandys, Henricum Harvy, Georgium Brown, Chriſtophorum Eſtcot, Richardum Bowes, & Richardum Kingſmell Armigeros, ad infraſcriptum vice, nomine, & Authoritate noſtris exequendum, vos quatuor, tres aut duo veſtrum ad minimum deputavimus, & ſubſtituimus ad viſitandum igitur, tam in capite, quam in membris Eccleſias Cathædrales, Civitates & Diocæſes Eboracen. Ceſtrenſ. Dunelmen. & Carlionen. necnon quaſcunque alias Collegiatas, Parochiales & Præbendales Eccleſias, ac loca alia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque, tam exempta, quam non exempta in & per eaſdem Civitates & Diocæſes viſabiliter conſtitutas, Clerumq; & Populum earundem in eiſdem degentes ſive reſidentes; Deque ſtatu Eccleſiarum & locorum hujuſmodi, necnon vita, moribus & converſatione, ac etiam qualitatibus perſonarum in Eccleſiis & locis prædictis degentium, ſive commorantium modis omnibus, quibus id melius aut efficacius poteritis inquirendum & inveſtigandum : criminoſos,ac ſuſceptæ Religioni ſubſcribere obſtinate & peremptorie recuſantes, vel quocunque alio modo delinquentes ; Atq; culpabiles condignis pænis, etiam uſq; ad beneficiorum, dignitatum, ſive officiorum ſuorum privationem, fructuum vel reddituum, & proventionem Ecclæſiarum & Locorum, quibus præſunt, ſequeſtrationem, vel quamcunque aliam congruam & competentem coercionem incluſive puniendam & corrigendam ; Atq; ad probatiores vivendi mores modis omnibus, quibus ad melius & efficacius poteritis, reducendum ; Teſtamenta quorumcunq; defunctorum infra loca prædicta decedentium probanda, approbanda & informanda, adminiſtrationeſq; bonorum eorundem Executorum in eiſdem teſtamentis nominatis committendum, adminiſtrationeſq; inſuper ac ſequeſtrationes bonorum ab inteſtatis ſive per viam inteſtatorum, etiam deſcendentes in debita juris forma expediendum & concedendum, ac committendum ; Computas quoq; tam executorum, quam adminiſtratorum, & ſequeſtratorum quorumcunq; recipiendum, examinandum, admittendum, terminandum : ac inſuper eoſdem executores, adminiſtratores, & ſequeſtratores, omnes & ſingulas acquietandum, relaxandum & finaliter dimittendum, Cauſaſq; quaſcunq; examinandum, audiendum & finaliter terminandum. Contumaces autem, & rebelles, cujuſcunq; conditionis ſive ſtatus fuerint, ſi quos inveneritis, tam per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas, quam perſonarum apprehenſionem & incarcerationem, ac recognitionem, acceptionem ac quæcunq; alia juris Regni noſtri remedia compeſcendum, necnon injunctiones preſentibus annexas perſonis in eiſdem nominatis nomine noſtro tradendum, aliaſq; injunctiones congruas & competentes vice & authoritate noſtris eis indicendum, dandum & aſſignandum, pænaſque convenientes in earum violatores infligendum, & irrogandum ; Eccleſiis etiam, & alia loca dimiſſorum, vacantia & pro vacantibus habenda fore decernendum & declarandum, penſioneſq; legittimas, congruas & competentes cedentibus vel reſignandis hujuſmodi aſſignandum & limitandum, præſentatoſq; ad beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunq; infra civitates, Eccleſias aut Diocæſes prædictas conſtituta, durante viſitatione noſtra hujuſmodi, ſi habiles fuerint & idonei, ad eadem admittendum, ac de & in eiſdem inſtituendum & inveſtiendum, cum ſuis juribus, & pertinentibus univerſis, eoſq; in realem, actualem & corporalem poſſeſſionem earundem inducendum, & induci faciendum, atque mandandum, necnon clericorum & beneficiatorum quorumcunq; tam pro ordinibus, quam beneficiis per eos adeptis, literas & munimenta exigendum & recipiendum, eaq; diligenter examinandum, & diſcutiendum, & quos non ſufficienter munitos in ea parte comperitis,ab officio dimittendum, & ſic jure munitis declarandum, & pronunciandum. Synodos quoq; & capitula, tam generalia quam ſpecialia, cleri & populi hujuſmodi per executionem premiſſorum aut reformationem quamcunq; faciendum & convocandum : Procurationes quoq; Synodalia ratione noſtræ hujus viſitationis debite petendum, exigendum, & levandum, ac etiam non ſolventes aut ſolvere recuſantes per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas compellendum, coercendum & cogendum ; necnon concionandi poteſtatem hujuſmodi perſonis concedendum, quas ad hoc divinum munus ſuſcipiendum aptas eſſe judicaveritis : Incarceratos quoque, & vinculis commiſſos ob religionis cauſam antea licet condemnatos; cauſis incarcerationis & condemnationis hujuſmodi prius examinatis, & plenarie diſcuſſis,examinandum, diſcutiendum ac in integrum,juſtitia id poſcente, reſtituendum, deliberandum & extra priſonam dimittendum, necnon cauſas deprivationum examinandum, ac contra ſtatuta & ordinationes hujus Regni noſtri Angliæ, vel juris Eccleſiaſtici ordinem deprivatos reſtituendum, ac omnia & ſingula alia, quæ circa hujuſmodi viſitationis ſeu reformationis negotia neceſſaria fuerint,ſeu quomodolibet oportuna, etiamſi verba magis ſpecialia de ſe exigunt & requirunt, faciendum,& expediendum. Vobis quatuor, tribus aut duobus veſtrum,ut præfertur de quorum eminenti doctrina morumq; & Concilii gravitate, ac in rebus gerendis fide & induſtria plurimum confidimus, vices noſtras committimus ac plenam in dicto tenore preſentium concedimus facultatem, cum cujuſlibet congruæ & legitimæ coercionis poteſtate. Et præterea certos viros prudentes, ac pios aſſignandum, & nominandum, per quos de ſtatu rerum inſtruemini & quorum opera preſentes utemini, in omnibus cauſis ad hanc viſitationem noſtram ſpectantibus, quantum vobis convenire videbitur. Iidem viri a vobis commiſſariis aſſignati plenam poteſtatem habebunt, etiam poſt Commiſſariorum deceſſum, & poſt finitum etiam viſitationis tempus, de omnibus articulis, ordinibus & inſtitutis ejuſdem viſitationis inquirendi, Et violatores eorum, cujuſcunq; conditionis fuerint, conveniendi & examinandi; Et omnes quærelas, quatenus ullum impedimentum aut offenſionem noſtræ viſitationis continebunt,accipiendi & audiendi, & hujuſmodi perſonas, offenſiones, & quærelas Comiſſariis noſtris Londini reſidentibus,& ad Eccleſiaſticarū rerum reformationem Delegatis, præſentabunt, & exhibebunt illis viis & modis, quibus hoc convenientiſſime videbunt fieri poſſe. Mandantes omnibus, & ſingulis Majoribus, Vice-comitibus, Juſticiariis ao quibuſcunque aliis officiariis,miniſtris & ſubditis noſtris,quatenus nobis in & circa præmiſſorum executionem effectualiter aſſiſtant,auxilientur, & ſuffragentur, ut inſuper ſagacitatis, diligentiæ, factorumq; veſtrorum omnium evidens & perpetuum ſpecimen nobis, poſteriſq; noſtris remaneat, inventaq; & invenienda pro recordatorum defectu debitam reformationem correctionemve non ſubterfugiant, aut a memoria prolabantur. Nos ſuprema ac regali authoritate noſtra prædicta dilectos, & fideles ſubditos noſtros Thomam Peircy, & Joanem Hoges, & eorum deputatos per Comiſſarios noſtros approbandos, notarios præcipuos per antea legitime exiſtentes, actorum, inſtrumentorum, decretorum, ſummarum, judiciorum, cenſurarum, cæterorumq; omnium, & ſingulorum, quæ per vos, veſtrumve Aliquem in Viſitatione hac noſtra Regia peragentur, judicabuntur,decernentur,fient,ferentur,& pronunciabuntur, Scribas,Regiſtrarios noſtros præcipuos, & principales conjunctim & diviſim ordinamus, nominamus & conſtituimus; eiſq; officium, & officia Regiſtri Scribat noſtri preſenti, cum omnibus officia prædicta tangentia, eorumq; deputatis per Comiſſarios noſtros approbandis conjunctim & diviſim damus, deputamus, aſſignamus, & decernimus per preſentes. In cujus rei teſtimonium has Literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſa apud Weſtmonaſt. 24 die Junii, Anno Regni noſtri primo.

Number 8.

Ten Letters written to, and by Dr. Parker, *concerning his Promotion to the See of* Canterbury.

An Original.

AFter my right-hearty Commendations, theſe are to ſignify unto you, That for certain Matters touching your ſelf, which I truſt ſhall turn you to good, I would wiſh that you ſhould repair hither to *London*, with as convenient ſpeed as you can, where you ſhall find me at *Burgeny* Houſe in *Pater Noſter Row*, if it be not over-long e're you come. And if it chance that I be returned into *Suffolk* before your coming, then I would you ſhould make your repair unto my Brother-in-Law, Sir *William Cecil*, the Queen's Secretary, declaring unto him; that I appointed you to wait upon him to know his pleaſure touching ſuch Matters as he and I did talk of concerning you. Thus wiſhing you well to do, I bid you heartily farewel.

Ex M. SS. Reverendiſſ. D.D. *Gul.* Arch. *Cant.*

Written the 9*th* of *December*, 1558. By,

Yours aſſuredly,

N. Bacon.

Dr. Parker's *Anſwer to the former Letter.*

A Copy.

RIght Worſhipful, with my thankful Duty of Commendations, hearing of your ſickneſs ſtill to occupy you, I was right-heartily ſorry that I moleſted you with ſo long a Letter, into which fault, for that I will not fall again at this preſent, I ſhall uſe the fewer words. Sir, If I may know at what time I might, in your return down, wait on your Worſhip at *Burgeny*, or at *New-market*, I will, by God's Grace, ſo appoint my ſelf to be there firſt, the rather for that I would not give occaſion to have your Journey either protracted, or yet diverted out of the right Line thereof. In the mean time I ſhall beſeech God to reſtore your ſtrength, that ye may the ſooner be reſtored to the Common-Wealth, which in this apparent neceſſity of worthy Perſons, I fear, feeleth God's Hand in this his Viſitation to be burdenous. I would wiſh ye were not much ſtirring abroad in the diſtemperance of the Air, ſo contrarious to the ſtate of Mens Bodies, once pierced with this inſolent *Quartane*, as Experience ſheweth. I think the Spring-time, as in natural reſpects, muſt be expected, though Almighty God be bound to no time. Thus I heartily commend you to his gracious protection, this 20*th* of *December.*

Your moſt bounden aſſuredly to command, *M. P.*

A Letter written to him by Secretary Cecil.

An Original.

AFter my hearty Commendations. The Queen's Highneſs minding preſently to uſe your Service in certain Matters of Importance, hath willed me ſo to ſignify unto you, to the end you ſhould forthwith, upon the ſight hereof, put your ſelf in order to make your undelaied repair hither unto *London*; at which your coming up, I ſhall declare unto you her Majeſty's further Pleaſure, and the occaſion why you are ſent for; and hereof praying you therefore in no wiſe to fail, I bid you well to fare.

From *Weſtminſter*, the 30*th* of *December*, 1558.

Your Loving Friend,

W. Cecil.

Another Letter of the Lord Keepers to him.

An Original.

AFter hearty Commendations, theſe are to ſignify unto you, That ye may aſſure your ſelf, that you ſhall have any thing that I can do for you touching the requeſt of your Letters, or any other Matter being in my Power: I do think that ye have received, e're this, a Letter from Mr. Secretary, willing you to come up immediately, if your Health will ſuffer, for certain weighty Matters touching the Queen's Service; ſo as I truſt, by your preſence, all things to your own contentation ſhall come the better to paſs. If this Letter be not come to your Hands, and therewith you be not able to come, it ſhall be behoveful for you to ſignify ſo much, becauſe I have been willed alſo to haſte your coming up. Thus right-heartily fare ye well. Written the 4*th* of *January*, 1558. By,

Yours aſſuredly,

N. Bacon.

Number

Dr. Parker's *Anſwer.*

A Copy.

Right Worſhipful;

AFter my Duty of Commendations. Where of late I received your Letters to this effect, That I ſhould repair up unto you at *London*, upon occaſion, as ye wrote, which may turn me to good; ſo judged by a late Conference with the Right Worſhipful Sir *William Cecil*, Secretary to the Queen's Majeſty, of long time my ſpecial good Friend and Maſter, ye ſhall underſtand that my *Quartane* hath ſo much diſtempered the ſtate of my Health, that without apparent danger, I cannot as yet commit my ſelf to the adventure of the Air; as by divers eſſays I have attempted of late, to my greater pain, and further hinderance; whereupon, if your opportunity might ſo ſerve, I would moſt heartily pray your Worſhip to ſignify ſo much. And further, yet in confidence of your old good Heart to me, I would be a Suiter to you, as I was once to Sir *John Cheek*, my entire good Friend, and Patron, to the ſaid Sir *William Cecil*, that where he was deſirous, by his mediation, to do me good, (as here you uſe to call it) even as I was then framed in mind, ſo am I at this day. I would be inwardly heavy and ſorry that his favourable Affection ſhould procure me any thing above the reach of mine Ability, whereby I ſhould both diſhoneſt my ſelf, and diſappoint the expectation of ſuch as may think that in me, which I know is not; but ſpecially I might clog and cumber by Conſcience to Godward, before whom I look every day to appear to make mine Anſwer, which I think, and as I truſt, is not far off: Notwithſtanding though I would moſt fain wear out the reſt of my Life in private ſtate, yet concerning that very ſmall Talent credited unto me, I would not ſo unthankfully to God enſue my quiet, that I could not be content to beſtow it, ſo it were there, whether my Heart and Conſcience, afore this time, and daily yet doth incline me: I mean, to be no further abled, but by the Revenue of ſome Prebend, (without charge of Cure, or of Government) to occupy my ſelf to diſpenſe God's Word amongſt the ſimple ſtrayed Sheep of God's Fold, in poor deſtitute Pariſhes and Cures, more meet for my decayed Voice, and ſmall Quality, than in Theatrical and great Audience: which walk, and wiſh I would to be near their Quarters, where we both were born, by occaſion whereof I might have opportunity to wait other-while on you at *Redgrave*, whether I have vowed my firſt Journey, immediately upon my ſtrength recovered, by the occaſion of your friendly Requeſt of your Letters ye ſent me. And if I might be yet bolder with you, as I was with the ſaid Sir *John Cheek*, to diſcloſe my deſire of all Places in *England*, I would wiſh to beſtow moſt my time in the Univerſity, the State whereof is miſerable at this preſent, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof. And if in any reſpect I could do Service, as a weak Member of the Common-Wealth, I think I might do it with them, having long Acquaintance, and ſome Experience in the Doings thereof; which Judgment had the ſaid Sir *John Cheek* towards me:

And therefore to ſet me on work, had once, by the favour of the ſaid Mr. Secretary, procured to have me named to the Maſterſhip of Trinity College, which yet chanced not to that effect, God otherwiſe determining the Matter in his Providence. But to tell you my Heart, I had rather have ſuch a thing as *Bennet-College* is in *Cambridg*, a Living of twenty Nobles by the Year at the moſt, than to dwell in the Deanry of *Lincoln*, which is 200 at the leaſt. Now Sir, ye may ſee herein, yet my Ambition in writing thus much, but I ſhall pray you to accept the Circumſtances, which ye may better inſinuate to Mr. Secretary, than I dare be bold, by my rude Letters, to moleſt his favourable goodneſs, or yet preſcribe to your, or his Worſhip, Wiſdom and Prudence. In concluſion, at the Reverence of God, I pray you, either help that I be quite forgotten, or elſe ſo appointed, that I be not entangled now of new, with the concourſe of the World, in any reſpect of publick ſtate of living, whereby I ſhall have an unfeigned ſignification of your very good Will to me indeed, and be bound to pray for you during my Life.

Some of your Scholars at *Cambridg*, enjoying the benefit of your liberal Exhibition, have ſent your Worſhip now their Letters, ſome be ſick and abſent.

Thus repriſing the quiet of my Mind, and having good hope in your friendlineſs to the conſiderations aforeſaid, I wiſh you a full recovery of your Health, and a continuance in God's Grace and Favour, with all your Family.

Your Beadſman to command,

M. P.

A long Letter of Dr. Parker's, *excuſing himſelf from the Offer of the Arch-Biſhoprick of* Canterbury.

An Original.

Right Honourable, my Duty preſuppoſed. It is an old ſaid Proverb, *Ubi quis dolet ibidem & manum frequenter habet*, beſeeching you, for God's ſake, the rather to bear the importunity of this my hand-writing, ſuppoſing that this may be one of the laſt Solicitations that I ſhall moleſt you with.

Sir, Your ſignification uttered to me at my firſt coming to you at *London*, concerning a certain Office ye named to me, did hold me in ſuch carefulneſs all my time of being there, with the recurring of a dull Diſtemperance, ſet in my Head by the Dregs of my *Quartane*, and as yet not remedied, whereby I had no diſpoſition to my Book; beſide ſome other diſpleaſant Cogitations concerning the ſtate of this Time, made me have ſo little joy of my being at *London*, as I had never leſs in my Life: moſt glad when my Back was turned thereunto. But to come near to my intent of writing, I ſhall pray to God, yea, beſtow that Office well, ye ſhall needcare the leſs for the reſidue. God grant it chanceth neither on an arrogant Man, neither on a faint-hearted Man, nor on a covetous Man; The firſt ſhall both ſit in his own light, and ſhall diſcourage his Fellows to join with him in Unity of Doctrine, which muſt be their whole ſtrength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if private Quarrels ſtirred abroad be brought home, and ſo ſhall ſhiver them aſunder, it may chance to have that ſucceſs which I fear in the concluſion will follow. The ſecond Man ſhould be too weak to commune with the Adverſaries, who would be the ſtouter upon his puſillanimity. The third Man not worth his Bread, profitable for no Eſtate in any Chriſtian Common-Wealth, to ſerve it rightly.

For my part, I pray God I never fall into his Indignation and Wiſdom; it were not for a Subject to deſerve his Prince's Diſpleaſure, and ſorry would I be to diſcontent Mr. Secretary, and you, for whoſe worſhipful Favours, I count my ſelf more bound to pray to God, and to wiſh well to them for all the Men in the Realm beſide. I ſpeak it ſincerely, without flattery; for though I have little wit, yet I can diſcern betwixt Men, who delight to be flattered, and who not, though I would not conſider how diſhoneſt it were for me to uſe it. But, Sir, except ye both moderate and reſtrain your over-much good Will in the former reſpect to me-ward, I fear, in the end, I ſhall diſlike you both, and that your Benevolencies ſhould, by occaſion of my obſtinate untowardneſs, jeopard me into Priſon; yet there ſhall I bear you my good Heart, which I had rather ſuffer in a quiet Conſcience, than to be intruded into ſuch Room and Vocation, wherein I ſhould not be able to anſwer the Charge, to God, nor to the World, wherein I ſhould not ſerve the Queen's Honour, which I wiſh moſt heartily advanced in all her wiſe and godly Proceedings; nor yet ſhould I live to the Honour of the Realm, and ſo finally ſhould but work a further diſpleaſant contemplation to my good Friends who preferred me.

This, this is the Thing that makes me afraid, my Lord, though I paſſed not on mine own ſhame and rebuke; and therefore, by God's Favour, and your good Helps, I never intend to be of that Order, better or worſe, higher nor lower; *Non omnia poſſumus omnes; & tutiſſimum eſt ut quiſque hanc artem exerceat in qua educatus, & ad quam natura homines formavit.* And as for other Furniſhments, I am too far behind. When I came firſt up to *London*, I had thirty pounds in my Purſe, not ten ſhillings more, whereof I have waſted a good part; and if I were placed, as ſome of my Friends wiſh to me, what would that do to begin, or to furniſh my Houſhold. And I hear how the Citizens of *Norwich* pray for the Soul of their laſt Biſhop, for when upon his departure they ſeized his Goods, to anſwer his Debts to them; ſtreight-way came the Queen's Officers and diſcharged them all, which yet were not able, for all his ſpare Hoſpitality, to pay half that he owed.

Furthermore, to come to another Conſideration, of a further Imperfection, which I would have diſſembled to you and others, but it cannot be, but I muſt open it to you, my aſſured good Maſter and

Friend, in ſecrecy, whoſe old good Will maketh me the leſs abaſhed, to be ſo homely with you at this time. In one of my Letters, I made a little ſignification of it, but peradventure ye did not mark it. Sir, I am ſo in Body hurt and decayed, *coram Deo non mentior*, that whatſoever my Ability were, either of worldly Furniture, or inward Quality; and though my Heart would right-feign ſerve my Soveraign Lady, the Queen's Majeſty, in more reſpects than of my Allegiance, not forgetting what words her Grace's Mother ſaid to me of her, not ſix days before her apprehenſion, yet this my painful Infirmity, will not ſuffer it in all manner of Services. Flying in a Night, for ſuch as ſought for me, to my peril, I fell off my Horſe ſo dangerouſly, that I ſhall never recover it; and by my late Journey up, and my being there at *London*, not well ſetled, it is increaſed to my greater pain. I am fain ſometime to be idle, when I would be occupied; and alſo to keep my Bed, when my Heart is not ſick.

This was one cauſe why I was importune to you for that room, whereof I made mention in my former Letters, by the which I might be abled, by the portion of that Stipend, in this my Impoveriſhment, to wear out my Life tolerably, and ſhould not by that be occaſioned to come up to any Convocations, as having no Voice in that Houſe; and peradventure being there, I might be a mean for the fewer Matters of diſturbance, to come up to Mr. Secretary, now Chancellor there, to moleſt him, more than ſhould need, whoſe gentle affability might provoke ſome inconſiderate Men not to regard his other greater Affairs. And yet though I were ſo placed, I would not forſwear *London*, or the Court either, at times as could ſtand with my Ability and Health of Body, if my Service could be any ways acceptable, and were agreeable to the proportion of my Capacity.

Sir, Becauſe I may not diſſemble with you, I have told you all now, do with me what ye will, I might be aſhamed to ſpend ſo many words in a Cauſe private of my ſelf; but yet becauſe ye muſt be Partner of ſome lack, if I anſwered not the expectation, I could no leſs do, but make you privy before-hand. I pray you think not that the Prognoſtication of Mr. *Michael Noſtre Dame* reigneth in my Head. I eſteem that fantaſtical Hotch-potch not ſo well, as I credit *Lucianus* Book, *De veris Narrationibus*; nor yet all other vain Propheſies of *Sands*, more than I regard Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Book of Fortunes Anſwers upon the chance of three Dice caſting. I would I ſaw no more cauſe to fear the likelyhood of God's Wrath deſerved, for diſolute Life, to fall upon the Realm, by the evidence of his true Word, and by God's old practices: and yet no Man conſidereth his ire already begun, *Dum non ſinit viros doloſos dimidiare dies ſuos.* I ſhall pray to God to defend you and your Family, and that ye may revolve in Mind Chriſt's ſerious Admonition, *Quid proderit homini, ſi totum mundum lucretur, ſi animæ ſuæ detrimentum patiatur. Et non in abundantia cujuſquam, eſt vita hominis ex his quæ poſſidet.*

Mat. 16.
Luc. 11.

Sir, My Duty of Heart maketh me bold with you, not otherwiſe meaning before God, but thanking him many times that Mr. Secretary and you may have the doing of things in this greedy World, and that ye have ſo good credit, and ready acceſs to the Queen's Majeſty, to comfort her good Inclination, whom I beſeech the God of Heaven to preſerve with her Council, yea, and with the Seniority of her Spiritual Miniſters alſo, againſt whom I ſee a great Charge ſet before them, to overcome that, muſt ſpecially go through their hands by diligent watching, upon the unruly Flock of the Engliſh People, if they were not ſo much acloyed with Worldly Collections, Temporal Commiſſions, and Worldly Proviſions. I ſpeak this the rather in this reſpect, which I thought good to put to your underſtanding; At my laſt being at *London*, I heard and ſaw Books printed, which be ſpread abroad, whoſe Authors be Miniſters of good eſtimation; the Doctrine of the one, is to prove, That a Lady Woman cannot be, by God's Word, a Governor in a Chriſtian Realm. And in another Book going abroad, is Matter ſet out to prove, That it is lawful for every private Subject to kill his Soveraign, *ferro, veneno, quocunque modo*, if he think him to be a Tyrant in his Conſcience, yea, and worthy to have his Reward for his Attempt: *Exhorrui cum iſta legerem.* If ſuch Principles be ſpread into Mens Heads, as now they be framed and referred to the Judgment of the Subject, of the Tenant, and of the Servant, to diſcuſs what is Tyranny, and to diſcern whether his Prince, his Land-lord, his Maſter, is a Tyrant, by his own fancy, and collection ſuppoſed, What Lord of the Council ſhall ride quietly minded in the Streets, among deſperate Beaſts? What Maſter ſhall be ſure in his Bed-chamber? It is the ſureſt way for every Man to ſerve God truly in his Vocation, to deſerve the rather his protection: and then both the Devil and Man, Forreign and Inteſtine, ſhall have their Malices retorted upon themſelves again. But thus goeth the Devil about to dull the heretical Stomachs of Princely Men, to do good in their turn of time, to ſerve God and the Common-Wealth. They ſay that the Realm is full of *Anabaptiſts*, *Arrians*, *Libertines*, *Free-will Men*, &c. againſt whom only I thought Miniſters ſhould have needed to fight in Unity of Doctrine. As for the Romiſh Adverſaries, their Mouths may be ſtopped with their own Books, and Confeſſions of late days; I never dreamed that Miniſters ſhould be compelled to impugn Miniſters; the Adverſarys have good ſport betwixt themſelves, to prognoſtick the likelyhood. Some *Proteſtants* peradventure, perceiving how Men nip them to diſable them, to keep any Learned Men in Houſe to confer with, and to beat down theſe Seditious Sects, if any inconvenience, for want of preaching, ſhall fall, they may chance to ſay a Verſe of *David's* Pſalter, *Lætabitq; juſtus, cum viderit vindictam, & manus ſuas lavabit in ſanguine peccatoris*, as not caring for their Aſſurances, who abaſe them ſo low: and ſome peradventure have caſt already their ſtarting ſhifts, and make Proviſion againſt all Adventures. Well, I pray God all be Conſcience to God, that is ſometime ſo pretended: Men be Men, yea, after the School of Affliction, Men be Men, Hypocriſie is a privy Thief, both in the Clergy and in the Laity. To make an end of ſuch Conference, which I would gladly have told you preſently, but I could not wait ſo much leiſure in you, and opportunity; and loath I was to have begun my Tale, and not to have ended it, by reaſon of interruption by others. But as for the principal occaſion of my writing, howſoever it may diſlike you, yet ſhall I ever-more acknowledg my Duty to you, yea, though now ye give me quite up: I reverence you ſo much, that I had rather ye diſliked me utterly by times, with your leſs repentance, rather than ye and other of my loving Friends ſhould bear any envy, or any diſpleaſant unthankfulneſs, and ſo too late to repent for your commending of me, (if a perſwaſion in an appearance, is not ſurely grounded to be ſeen) when Experience ſhould have ſhewed the Trial. And therefore I write it to you in time again, after the ſignification of my very firſt Letters to prevent you, for I know ye may, with a few words, remedy all the towardneſs yet concluded.

And think not, I pray your Honour, that I ſeek mine privat Gain, or my idle eaſe, put me where ye will elſe; and if, as far as my power of Knowledg, and of Health of Body will extend, I do not apply my ſelf to diſcharge my Duty, let me be thruſt out again like a Thief. I thank God my Conſcience condemneth me not, that I have been aforetime any great gatherer; and now, for the upholding of two or three Years more of Life, to heap unproportionably, I count it madneſs; and more than this purpoſe, by God's Grace, I dare promiſe nothing: And as for ſuch few Folks which I may leave behind me, they ſhall not ſay by me, I truſt, That happy be theſe Children whoſe Fathers go to the Devil for their ſake. Your Lordſhip knoweth with what Patrimony I began the World with, and yet have hitherto lived with enough, yea, when all my Livings were taken from me, yet God, I thank him, miniſtred to me ſufficiently, above the capacity of my underſtanding, or foreſeeing. And thus commending your good Lordſhip to that merciful Governance, I pray your Honourable Wiſdom to put this ſcribling out of the way, from every Man's ſight and intelligence.

Right Honourable, after my duty of Commendations to your Lordſhip, I am bold now to ſend you a Fancy of my Head, expreſſed in theſe few Leaves; which if I had compact in a Letter, it would have ſeemed over-long, and being compriſed in Leaves, may appear to be but a very little Book of one Sheet of Paper, which yet I ſo deviſed, upon conſideration of your Buſineſs, which will not ſuffer you to be long detained in Matters impertinent, and therefore ye may turn in the Leaf and read it at divers leaſures, if your Lordſhip ſhall vouchſafe the reading. And thus wiſhing you joy of Heart, which I feel to be a great Treaſure in this World, as the want, a grievous torment; I pray God preſerve your Honourable Goodneſs, with my good Lady your Wife. If ye ſee ought in my Quire worth reformation, ye know I am diſciplinable, and have read, *quod meliora ſunt vulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta oſcula odentis:* Wherefore reſerving mine unreaſonable determination, as you ſhall know, I ſhall yield my ſelf wholly conformable to your Honour, *ubi, quomodo, quando, aliquid, vel tandem nihil.* Of an Occaſion lately miniſtred, I have ſent my Letters to Mr. Secretary concerning another Matter, *primo Martii.*

Your aſſured Orator,

M. P.

A Letter written to him by the Lord Keeper concerning it.

An Original.

THat before this time I have not ſent you Anſwer to your laſt Letters; the cauſe hath been, for that I could by no mean underſtand to what end the Matter mentioned in thoſe Letters would grow unto; but perceiving this day, by a Reſolution made in the Queen's Highneſs preſence, that your Friends ſhall very hardly deliver you of the Charge written of in the ſame Letters, I thought it good to make you privy thereunto; and therewith to adviſe you, to commit to the Judgment of your Friends, your Ability and Diſability to ſerve, where and when you ſhall be called. If I knew a Man to whom the deſcription made, in the beginning of your Letter, might more juſtly be referred, than to your ſelf, I would prefer him before you; but knowing none ſo meet indeed, I take it to be my duty to prefer you before all others, and the rather alſo, becauſe otherwiſe I ſhould not follow the Advice of your own Letter. The reſt, which is much, I defer until our next meeting. It is like, that e're it be long, you ſhall receive Letters ſubſcribed by me and others jointly. Thus right-heartily farewel. From the Court the 17*th* of *May*, 1559.

Yours aſſuredly,

N. Bacon.

An Order ſent to him, requiring him to come up to London.

AFter our hearty Commendations. Theſe be to ſignify unto you, that for certain Cauſes, wherein the Queen's Majeſty intendeth to uſe your Service, her Pleaſure is, That you ſhould repair up hither with ſuch ſpeed, as you conveniently may; and at your coming up, you ſhall underſtand the reſt. Thus right-heartily fare ye well.

From the Court, the 19*th* of *May*, 1559.

Your loving Friends,

N. Bacon.

W. Cecill.

A ſecond Order to the ſame effect.

An Original.

AFter our hearty Commendations. Where before this time we directed our Letters unto you, declaring thereby, that for certain Cauſes, wherein the Queen's Majeſty intendeth to uſe your Service, you ſhould repair hither with all convenient ſpeed, whereof we have as yet received none Anſwer. And therefore, doubting leſt by the default of the Meſſenger, the Letter be not come to your hands, we have thought good again to write unto you, to the intent you ſhould underſtand her Highneſs Pleaſure is, That you ſhould make your repair hither with all ſpeed poſſible. Thus right-heartily farewel. From the Court, the 28*th* day of *May*, 1559.

Your loving Friends,

N. Bacon, C. S.

W. Cecill.

Dr. Parker's *Letter to the Queen, excuſing himſelf.*

An Original.

PLeaſeth it your moſt Honourable Majeſty to be gracious Lady, to my poor Suit, which at this time extream neceſſity compelleth me to make, both in reſpect of my conſtrained Conſcience to Almighty God, as alſo in the regard of my Duty which I owe to your noble Eſtate, and moſt high Authority. So it is, moſt gracious and ſoveraign Lady, where I have underſtanding of your moſt favourable Opinion toward me, your Graces moſt ſimple Subject, concerning the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, In conſideration whereof, I ought, and do acknowledg my moſt bounden Duty to be a faithful Orator for your Grace during my Life. Yet calling to examination my great unworthineſs, for ſo high a Function, which mine diſability I might alleadg at length in particularity, but for moleſting your Graces moſt weighty Affairs, I am bold thus, by my writing, to approach to your Honour to diſcharge me of that ſo high and chargable an Office, which doth require a Man of much more Wit, Learning, Vertue, and Experience than I ſee, and perfectly know can be performed of me worthily, to occupy it to God's Pleaſure, to Your Grace's Honour, and to the Wealth of your loving Subjects beſide. Many other imperfections in me, as well for temporal Ability for the furniſhing thereof, as were ſeemly to the Honour of the Realm; as alſo of infirmity of Body, which will not ſuffer me to attend on ſo difficult a Cure, to the diſcharge thereof, in any reaſonable expectation. And where, moſt gracious

Lady, beſide my humble Duty of Allegiance to your Princely Dignity, I am otherwiſe, for the great Benefits which ſometime I received at Your Graces honourable Mother's Benevolence (whoſe Soul I doubt not but is in bliſful felicity with God) moſt ſingularly obliged, above many other, to be Your moſt faithful Beadſman, both in thanking Almighty God for his Fatherly Protection hitherto over Your noble Perſon, And alſo furthermore to pray for the continuance of your fortunate Reign in all godly Proſperity. So I am right ſorry, and do lament within my ſelf, that I am ſo baſely qualified inwardly in Knowledg, and outwardly in extern Sufficiencies, to do Your Grace any meet Service, as I would wiſh could be acceptable, and to Your Graces expectation: aſſuring Your noble Eſtate, that in any other ſmaller Vocation, under the degree of ſuch chargeable Offices, and more agreeable to my Infirmity, if it ſhall be ſo ſeem, to Your high Wiſdom, and merciful Liberality, I ſhall endeavour my ſelf to attend thereon; referring yet my ſelf wholly to Your Grace's Pleaſure, rather than by juſt allegation of my unworthineſs, the loyal Duty of my faithful Heart ſhould be any ways ſuſpected to Your reverend Majeſty.

Your Grace's poor Subject,
Matthew Parker.

Number 9.

The Inſtrument of Dr. *Parker's* Conſecration; with ſome Atteſtations of the Authenticalneſs of it.

Rituum atque Ceremoniarum Ordo, in Conſecrando Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre, Mattheo Parker, Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, in Sacello ſuo apud Manerium ſuum de Lambeth, die Dominico 17. *viz. die Menſis Decembris, Anno Dom.* 1559. *habit.*

PRincipio, Sacellum Tapetibus ad Orientem adornabatur, ſolum vero panno rubro inſternebatur, Menſa quoq; Sacris peragendis neceſſaria, tapeto pulvinariq; ornata ad Orientem ſita erat. Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

Quatuor preterea Cathedræ, quatuor Epiſcopis, quibus munus conſecrandi Archiepiſcopi delegabatur, ad auſtrum Orientalis Sacelli partis erant poſitæ.

Scamnum preterea tapeto pulvinaribuſq; inſtratum, cui Epiſcopi genubus flexis inniterentur, ante Cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoq; modo Cathedra, ſcamnumq; tapeto pulvinariq; ornatum, Archiepiſcopo, ad Borealem Orientalis ejuſdem Sacelli partis plagam poſita erant.

Hiis rebus ita ordine ſuo inſtructis, Mane circiter quintam aut ſextam per Occidentalem portam ingreditur Sacellum Archiepiſcopus, toga talari coccinea caputioq; indutus, quatuor precedentibus funalibus, & quatuor comitatus Epiſcopis, qui ejus conſecrationi inſervirent (verbi gratia) Gui-

lielmo Barlow olim Bathon. & Wellen. Epiſcopo, nunc vero ad Ciceſtren Epiſcopatum electo, Johanne Scory olim Ciceſtriæ Epiſcopo & nunc ad Herefordenſem vocato, Milone Coverdallo olim Exonienſe Epiſcopo, & Johanne Hodgskinne Bedfordiæ Suffraganeo. Qui omnes poſtquam ſedes ſibi paratas ordine ſinguli ſuo occupaſſent, Preces continuo matutinæ per Andream Pierſon Archiepiſcopi Capellanum clara voce recitabantur, quibus peractis, Johannes Scory (de quo ſupra diximus) ſuggeſtum conſcendit, atque inde aſſumpto ſibi, in thema, *Seniores ergo* qui in vobis ſunt obſecro conſenior, &c. non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finita concione, egrediuntur ſimul Archiepiſcopus reliquique quatuor Epiſcopi Sacellum, ſe ad ſacram communionem paraturi, neque mora confeſtim per borealem portam in veſtiarum ad hunc modum veſtiti redeunt. Archiepiſcopus nimirum linteo ſuperpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Ciceſtrenſis electus, capa ſerica ad ſacra peragenda paratus utebatur. Cui miniſtrabant operamq; ſuam prebebant duo Archiepiſcopi Capellani, Nicholaus, viz. Bullingham Lincolniæ Archidiaconus, & Edmundus Geſt Cantuarienſis quoq; Archidiaconus, capis ſericis, ſimiliter, veſtiti. Hereford electus & Bedford Suffraganeneus, linteis ſuperpelliceis induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non niſi toga lanea talari utebatur,

Atque hunc in modum veſtiti & inſtructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt Archiepiſcopo genubus flexis ad infimum Sacelli gradum ſedente.

Finito tandem Evangelio, Herefordon. electus, Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus & Milo Coverdallus (de quibus ſupra) Archiepiſcopum coram Ciceſtren. electo apud menſam in Cathedra ſedenti hiis verbis adduxerunt; Reverende in Deo Pater, hunc virum pium pariter atq; doctum tibi offerimus atq; preſentamus, ut Archiepiſcopus conſecretur. Poſtque hæc dixiſſent, proferebatur illico Reginæ diploma ſive mandatum pro conſecratione Archiepiſcopi, quo per Reverendum Thomam Yale Legum Doctorem perlecto, Sacramentum de Regio Primatu ſive ſuprema ejus authoritate tuenda juxta Statuta 1. An. Regni Sereniſſimæ Reginæ noſtræ Elizabeth. promulgata ab eodem Archiepiſcopo exigebatur, quod cum ille ſolemniter tactis corporaliter ſacris Evangeliis conceptis verbis preſtitiſſet, Ciceſtrenſ. electus quædam præfatus atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad Litanias decantandas Choro reſpondente ſe accinxit. Quibus finitis, poſt quæſtiones aliquot Archiepiſcopo per Ciceſtrien. electum propoſitas, & poſt orationes & ſuffragia quædam juxta formam Libri antedicti Parliamenti editi, apud Deum habita, Ciceſtrienſis Herefordienſis, Suffraganeus Bedfordienſis & Milo Coverdallus, manibus Archiepiſcopo impoſitis. Accipe (inquiunt *Anglicè*) Spiritum Sanctum, & gratiam Dei quæ jam per impoſitionis manuum in te eſt excitare memento. Non enim timoris, ſed virtutis, dilectionis & ſobrietatis ſpiritum dedit nobis Deus. His ita dictis, Biblia Sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt hujuſmodi apud eum verba habentes, In legendo, hortando, & docendo vide diligens ſis, atque ea meditare aſſidue quæ in hiſce Libris ſcripta ſunt, noli in his ſegnis eſſe quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innoteſcat & palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te & ad docendi munus ſpectant diligenter. Hoc enim modo non teipſum ſolum, ſed & reliquos Auditores tuos per Jeſum Chriſtum

Dominum noſtrum ſalvabis. Poſtquam hæc dixiſſent, ad reliqua communionis ſolennia pergit Ciceſtrenſis, nullum Archiepiſcopo tradens paſtorale baculum : cum quo communicabant una Archiepiſcopus, & illi Epiſcopi ſupra nominati cum alliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractiſque ſacris, egreditur per borealem orientis Sacelli partis portam Archiepiſcopus quatuor illis comitatus Epiſcopis qui eum conſecraverant, & confeſtim iiſdem ipſis ſtipatus Epiſcopis per eandem revertitur portam albo Epiſcopali ſuperpelliceo, crimeraque (ut vocant) ex nigro ſerico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretioſis pellibus ſabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) conſutum geſtabat. Pari quoque modo Ciceſtrenſis & Herefordenſis, ſuis Epiſcopalibus amictibus, ſuperpellicio ſcilicet & crimera uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero & Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus togis ſolummodo talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde Occidentalem portam verſus Archiepiſcopus Thomæ Doyle Economo, Johanni Baker Theſaurario, & Johanni Marche computo rotulario, ſingulis ſingulos Albos dedit Baculos, hoc ſcilicet modo eis muneribus & officiis ſuis ornans.

Hiis itaque hunc ad modum ordine ſuo, ut jam ante dictum eſt peractis, per occidentalem portam Sacellum egreditur Archiepiſcopus generoſioribus quibuſque ſanguine ex ejus familia eum precedentibus, reliquis vero eum a tergo ſequentibus.

Acta geſtaque hæc erant omnia in præſentia Reverendorum Epiſcoporum, Edmundi Gryndall Londinenſis Epiſcopi electi, Richardi Cockes Elienſis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigornienſis electi, Anthonii Huſe Armigeri, Principalis & Primarii Regiſtrarii dicti Archiepiſcopali, Thomæ Argall Armigeri Regrarii Ciceſtriæ Prerogativæ Cantuarienſis, Thomæ Willet, & Johannis Incent Notariorum publicorum, & aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

Concordat cum Originali in Bibliotheca Collegii
Corp. Chriſti apud Cantabrigienſ.
Ita teſtor Matth. Whinn Notarius
Jan. 8. Public. & Acad. Cantabr. Re-
1674. giſtrarius Principalis.

Cambridg. Jan. 11. 1674.

WE whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, having ſeen the Original, whereof this Writing is a perfect Copy, and conſidered the Hand, and other Circumſtances thereof, are fully perſuaded that it is a true and genuine Record, of the Rites and Ceremonies of Arch-Biſhop *Parker's* Conſecration, and as ancient as the Date it bears. In Witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our Hands, the Day and Year above written.

Hen. Paman Orat. Publicus.
Hen. More D. D.
Ra. Widdrington S. T. D. & D. Marg. P.

C. C. C. C.

C. C. C. C.

WE the Maſter and Fellows of *Corpus Chriſti* College, in the Univerſity of *Cambridg*, do hereby declare and certify, That this Writing, being a Narrative of Arch-Biſhop *Parker*'s Conſecration, in *Lambeth* Chappel, is faithfully tranſcribed from the Original Record in our College Library: and that we are fully ſatisfied that the ſaid Records is as ancient as the Date it bears, and the occaſion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt, but the plain and evident Tokens of Antiquity which it carries, will as much ſatisfy any ingenuous Perſons who ſhall have a ſight thereof: Which therefore we ſhall readily afford to thoſe who ſhall repair to the College for that purpoſe.

John Spencer D. D. Maſter of the Coll.
John Peckover, B. D.
Eraſmus Lane, B. D.
Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.
Sam. Beck, B. D.
Hen. Goſtling, B. D.
Will. Briggs, M. A.
John Richer, M. A.

Number 10.

An Order ſet down for the Tranſlating of the Bible, by King *James*.

Ex MS. D. *Bolaſe.*

The Places and Perſons agreed upon for the Hebrew, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Weſtminſter.	Mr. Dean of *Weſtminſter.* Mr. Dean of *Pauls.* Mr. Doctor *Saravia.* Mr. Doctor *Clark.* Mr. Doctor *Leifield.* Mr. Doctor *Teigh.* Mr. *Burleigh.* Mr. *King.* Mr. *Tompſon.* Mr. *Beadwell.*	*Penteteuchon.* The Story from *Joſhua* to the firſt Book of *Chronicles*, excluſive.

Cambridg.

Cambridg.	Mr. *Livelye.* Mr. *Richardſon.* Mr. *Chatterton.* Mr. *Dillingham.* Mr. *Harriſon.* Mr. *Andrews.* Mr. *Spalding.* Mr. *Burge.*	From the firſt of the *Chronicles*, with the reſt of the Story, and the *Hagiographi*; viz. *Job*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Eccleſiaſtes.*
Oxford.	Doctor *Harding.* Dr. *Reynolds.* Dr. *Holland.* Dr. *Kilbye.* Mr. *Smith.* Mr. *Brett.* Mr. *Fairclough.*	The four, or greater Prophets, with the *Lamentations*, and the twelve leſſer Prophets.
Cambridg.	Doctor *Dewport.* Dr. *Branthwait.* Dr. *Radclife.* Mr. *Warde*, Eman. Mr. *Downes.* Mr. *Boyes.* Mr. *Warde*, Reg.	The Prayer of *Manaſſes*, and the reſt of the *Apochrypha.*

The Places and Perſons agreed upon for the Greek, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Oxford.	Mr. Dean of *Chriſt-Church.* Mr. Dean of *Wincheſter.* Mr. Dean of *Worceſter.* Mr. Dean of *Windſor.* Mr. *Savile.* Dr. *Perne.* Dr. *Ravens.* Mr. *Harmer.*	The four Goſpels. *Acts of the Apoſtles.* *Apocalyps.*
Weſtminſter.	Dean of *Cheſter.* Dr. *Hutchinſon.* Dr. *Spencer.* Mr. *Fenton.* Mr. *Rabbet.* Mr. *Sanderſon.* Mr. *Dakins.*	The Epiſtles of Saint *Paul.* The Canonical Epiſtles.

The

The Rules to be obſerved in Tranſlation of the Bible.

1. THe ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Biſhops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered, as the Truth of the Original will permit.

2. The Names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other Names of the Text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly uſed.

3. The old Eccleſiaſtical Words to be kept, *viz.* the word *Church* not to be tranſlated *Congregation*, &c.

4. When a Word hath divers ſignifications, that to be kept which hath been moſt commonly uſed by the moſt of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of the Faith.

5. The diviſion of the Chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if neceſſity ſo require.

6. No Marginal Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* words, which cannot, without ſome circumlocution, ſo briefly and fitly be expreſt in the Text.

7. Such Quotations of Places to be marginally ſet down, as ſhall ſerve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

8. Every particular Man of each Company, to take the ſame Chapter, or Chapters, and having tranſlated, or amended them ſeverally by himſelf, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what ſhall ſtand.

9. As any one Company hath diſpatched any one Book in this manner, they ſhall ſend it to the reſt, to be conſidered of ſeriouſly and judiciouſly, for his Majeſty is very careful in this Point.

10. If any Company, upon the review of the Book ſo ſent, doubt or differ upon any Place, to ſend them word thereof; note the Place, and withal ſend the Reaſons; to which if they conſent not, the difference to be compounded at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief Perſons of each Company at the end of the Work.

11. When any Place of ſpecial obſcurity is doubted of, Letters to be directed, by Authority, to ſend to any Learned Man in the Land, for his judgment of ſuch a Place.

12. Letters to be ſent from every Biſhop, to the reſt of his Clergy, admoniſhing them of this Tranſlation in hand; and to move and charge, as many as being skilful in the Tongues; and having taken pains in that kind, to ſend his particular Obſervations to the Company, either at *Weſtminſter*, *Cambridg*, or *Oxford*.

13. The Directors in each Company, to be the Deans of *Weſtminſter* and *Cheſter* for that Place; and the King's Profeſſors in the *Hebrew* or *Greek* in either Univerſity.

14. Theſe Tranſlations to be uſed, when they agree better with the Text than the Biſhops Bible, *viz.*

Tindall's.
Matthew's.
Coverdale's.
Whitchurch's.
Geneva.

15. Beſides the ſaid Directors before mentioned, three or four of the moſt Ancient and Grave Divines, in either of the Univerſities, not employed in Tranſlating, to be aſſigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with reſt of the Heads to be Overſeers of the Tranſlations, as well *Hebrew* as *Greek*, for the better obſervation of the *4th* Rule above ſpecified.

Number 11.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, ſet out by the Order of both Arch-Biſhops, Metropolitans, and the reſt of the Biſhops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, as well in teſtification of their common Conſent in the ſaid Doctrine, to the ſtopping of the mouths of them that go about to ſlander the Miniſters of the Church, for diverſity of Judgment: as neceſſary for the inſtruction of their People, to be read by the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, at their Poſſeſſion-taking, or firſt entry into their Cures. And alſo after that, yearly, at two ſeveral times; that is to ſay, the Sundays *next following* Eaſter-day, *and St.* Michael *the Arch-Angel, or on ſome other* Sunday, *within one month after thoſe Feaſts, immediately after the Goſpel.*

FOraſmuch as it appertaineth to all Chriſtian Men, but eſpecially to the Miniſters and the Paſtors of the Church, being Teachers and Inſtructers of others, to be ready to give a Reaſon of their Faith, when they ſhall be thereunto required: I for my part now appointed your Parſon, Vicar, or Curat, having before my Eyes the Fear of God, and the Teſtimony of my Conſcience, do acknowledg for my ſelf, and require you to aſſent to the ſame.

I.

Firſt; That there is but one living and true God, of infinite Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs; the maker and preſerver of all Things. And that in Unity of this God-head, there be three Perſons of one Subſtance, of equal Power and Eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

II.

I believe alſo whatſoever is contained in the Holy Canonical Scriptures. In the which Scriptures are contained all things neceſſary to Salvation; by the which alſo, all Errors and Hereſies may ſufficiently be reproved and convicted; and all Doctrine and Articles, neceſſary to Salvation, eſtabliſhed. I do alſo moſt firmly believe and confeſs all the Articles contained in the Three Creeds; The *Nicene* Creed, *Athanaſius* Creed, and our Common Creed, called, the *Apoſtles Creed*; for theſe do briefly contain the principal Articles of our Faith, which are at large ſet forth in the Holy Scriptures.

III.

I do acknowledg alſo that Church to be the Spouſe of Chriſt, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly miniſtred, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the Authority of the Keys duly uſed. And that every ſuch particular Church, hath authority to inſtitute, to change, clean to put away Ceremonies, and other Eccleſiaſtical Rites, as they be ſuperfluous, or be abuſed; and to conſtitute other, making more to Seemlineſs, to Order, or Edification.

IV.

Moreover, I confeſs, That it is not lawful for any Man to take upon him any Office or Miniſtry, either Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, but ſuch only as are lawfully thereunto called by their High Authorities, according to the Ordinances of this Realm.

V.

Furthermore, I do acknowledg the Queen's Majeſty's Prerogative and Superiority of Government of all Eſtates, and in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, within this Realm, and other her Dominions and Countries, to be agreable to God's Word, and of right to appertain to her Highneſs, in ſuch ſort as is in the late Act of Parliament expreſſed; and ſithence by her Majeſty's Injunctions declared and expounded.

VI.

Moreover, touching the Biſhop of *Rome*, I do acknowledg and confeſs, that by the Scriptures, and Word of God, he hath no more Authority than other Biſhops have in their Provinces and Dioceſſes: And therefore the Power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the Supream Head of the Univerſal Church of Chriſt, and ſo to be above all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, is an uſurped Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the Example of the Primitive Church; and therefore is, for moſt juſt Cauſes, taken away and aboliſhed in this Realm.

VII.

Furthermore, I do grant and confeſs, That the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacraments, ſet forth by the

Authority of Parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is Catholick, Apoſtolick, and moſt for the advancing of God's Glory, and the edifying of God's People; both for that it is in a Tongue that may be underſtanded of the People, and alſo for the Doctrine and Form of miniſtration contained in the ſame.

VIII.

And although, in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, there is neither Exorciſm, Oil, Salt, Spittle, or hallowing of the Water now uſed; and for that they were of late Years abuſed, and eſteemed neceſſary. Where they pertain not to the ſubſtance and neceſſity of the Sacrament, they be reaſonably aboliſhed, and yet the Sacrament full and perfectly miniſtred, to all intents and purpoſes, agreeable to the Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

IX.

Moreover, I do not only acknowledg, that Privat Maſſes were never uſed amongſt the Fathers of the Primitive Church; I mean, publick Miniſtration, and receiving of the Sacrament by the Prieſt alone, without a juſt number of Communicants, according to Chriſt's ſaying, *Take ye, and eat ye*, &c. But alſo that the Doctrine that maintaineth the Maſs to be a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, and a mean to deliver Souls out of Purgatory, is neither agreeable to Chriſt's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apoſtolick. But contrary-wiſe, moſt ungodly and moſt injurious to the precious Redemption of our Saviour Chriſt, and his only-ſufficient Sacrifice offered once for ever, upon the Altar of the Croſs.

X.

I am of that mind alſo, That the Holy Communion, or Sacrament, of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, for the due obedience to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and to expreſs the vertue of the ſame, ought to be miniſtred unto the People under both kinds. And that it is avouched by certain Fathers of the Church, to be a plain Sacrilege to rob them of the Myſtical Cup, for whom Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious Blood, ſeeing he himſelf hath ſaid, *Drink ye all of this.* Conſidering alſo, That in the time of the Ancient Doctors of the Church, as *Cyprian*, *Hierom*, *Auguſtine*, *Gelaſius*, and others, ſix hundred Years after Chriſt, and more, both the Parts of the Sacrament were miniſtred to the People.

Laſt of all.

As I do utterly diſallow the extolling of Images, Reliques, and feigned Miracles; and alſo all kind of expreſſing God Inviſible, in the form of an Old Man, or the Holy Ghoſt in form of a Dove; and all other vain worſhipping of God, deviſed by Man's fantaſy; beſides, or contrary to the Scriptures, As wandering on Pilgrimages, ſetting up of Candles, praying upon Beads, and ſuch-like Superſtition; which kind of Works, have no promiſe of Reward in Scripture; but contrary-wiſe, Threatnings and Maledictions: So I do exhort all Men to the Obedience of God's Law, and. to the Works of Faith, as Charity, Mercy, Pity, Alms, devout and fervent Prayer, with the affection of the Heart, and not with the Mouth only; Godly Abſtinence and Faſting, Chaſtity, Obedience to the Rulers and Superior Powers, with ſuch-like Works, and godlineſs of Life commanded by God in his Word; which, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *hath Promiſes both of this Life, and of the Life to come; and are Works only acceptable in God's ſight.*

Theſe things, above-rehearſed, though they be appointed by common Order, yet do I, without all compulſion, with freedom of Mind and Conſcience, from the bottom of my Heart, and upon moſt ſure perſuaſion, acknowledg to be true and agreeable to God's Word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have Cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the ſame; That we all joining together in unity of Spirit, Faith, and Charity, may alſo at length be joined together in the Kingdom of God, and that through the Merits and Death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Glory and Empire, now and for ever. *Amen.*

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Printer to the Queen's Majeſty.

Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis.

* Number 12.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*'s Opinion, concerning the keeping of the Queen of Scots (*October 26. 1569.*) at *Windſor* Caſtle.

An Original.

The Queſtion to be conſidered on, is, Whether it be leſs perilous to the Queen's Majeſty, and the Realm, to retain the Queen of Scots *in* England, *or to return her home into* Scotland ?

IN which Queſtion, theſe things are to be conſidered. On the one ſide, What Dangers are like to follow if ſhe be retained here; and thereupon, if ſo avoiding of them, it ſhall be thought good to return her, then what Cautions and Proviſions are neceſſary to be had.

On the other ſide, are to be weighed the Dangers like to follow if ſhe be returned home; and thereupon, if for eſchewing of them, it ſhall be thought good to retain her here, then what Cautions and Proviſions are in that Caſe neceſſary.

Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots.

Her unquiet and aſpiring Mind, never ceaſing to practiſe with the Queen's Subjects. Her late practice of Marriage between the Duke of *Norfolk* and her, without the Queen's knowledg. The Faction of the Papiſts, and other Ambitious Folks, being ready and fit Inſtruments, for her to work upon. The Commiſeration that ever followeth ſuch as be in miſery, though their Deſerts be never ſo great. Her cunning and ſugred entertainment of all Men that come to her, whereby ſhe gets both Credit and Intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, being more near to her in *England*, than if ſhe were in *Scotland*; and their continual ſollicitation of the Queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed War. The danger in her eſcaping out of Guard, whereof it is like enough ſhe will give the Attempt. So as remaining here, ſhe hath time and opportunity to practiſe and nouriſh Factions, by which ſhe may work Confederacy, and thereof may follow Sedition and Tumult, which may bring peril to the Queen's Majeſty and the State. Finally, it is ſaid, That the Queen's Majeſty, of her own diſpoſition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

Cautions if ſhe be returned.

To deliver her into the Hands of the Regent, and the Lords now governing in *Scotland*, to be ſafely kept. That ſhe meddle not with the State, nor make any alteration in the Government, or in Religion. That by ſufficient Hoſtages it may be provided, that neither any Violence be uſed to her Perſon, nor that ſhe be ſuffered to Govern again, but live privately, with ſuch honourable Entertainment as is meet for the King of *Scots* Mother. That the League Offenſive and Defenſive, between *France* and *Scotland*, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual League be made between *England* and *Scotland*, whereby the Queen's Majeſty may ſhew an open Maintenance and Allowance of the King's Authority and Eſtate, and of the preſent Government, ſo as the *Scots* may wholly depend on her. That the Regent, and the Lords of *Scotland*, do make no compoſition with the Scots Queen, neither ſuffer her to marry, without conſent of the Queens Majeſty. That the Faults whereof ſhe hath been accuſed, and her declining and delaying to Anſwer that Accuſation, may be publiſhed to the World, the better to diſcourage her Factious Party, both here and in *Scotland*.

Dangers in returning Her.

The manner how to deliver her Home, with the Queen's Majeſty's Honour and Safety, is very doubtful. For if ſhe be delivered in Guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that ſtand with the Queen's Honour, and with the Requeſts of the French and Spaniſh Kings, that have continually ſollicited her free delivery, either into *Scotland* or *France*; or if ſhe die in Guard, either violently or naturally, her Majeſty ſhall hardly eſcape ſlander. If, again, ſhe be delivered home at Liberty, or if being in Guard ſhe ſhould eſcape, then theſe Perils may follow.

The ſuppreſſing of the preſent Government in *Scotland*, now depending upon the Queen's Majeſty, and advancing of the contrary Faction depending upon the French. The alteration of Religion in *Scotland*. The renewing of the League, Offenſive and Defenſive, between *France* and *Scotland*, that hath ſo much troubled *England*. The renewing of her pretended claim to the Crown of this Realm. The likelyhood of War to enſue between *France*, *Scotland*, and Us, and the bringing in of Strangers into that Realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late Experience hath ſhewed. The ſupportation that ſhe is like to have of the French and Spaniſh Kings. And though Peace ſhould continue between *England* and *Scotland*, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots Queen's Miniſters upon the Borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects, or elſe to her greater Charges to redreſs them; for the change of the Government in *Scotland*, will change the Juſtice which now is had, unto all Injury and Unjuſtice. The likelyhood ſhe will revoke the Earl *Bothwell*, now her Huſband, though unlawful, as it is ſaid, a Man of moſt evil and cruel Affection to this Realm, and to his own Countrymen: Or, if ſhe ſhould marry another that were a-like Enemy, the Peril muſt needs be great on either ſide.

And albeit to theſe Dangers may be generally ſaid, That ſuch Proviſion ſhall be made, by Capitulations with her, and by Hoſtages from the Regent, and the Lords of *Scotland*, as all theſe Perils ſhall be prevented.

To that may be anſwered.

That no Fact which ſhe ſhall do here in *England* will hold, for ſhe will alleage the ſame to be done in a Forreign Country, being reſtrained of Liberty. That there is great likelyhood of eſcape, whereſoever ſhe be kept in *Scotland*; for her late eſcape there, ſheweth, how ſhe will leave no way unſought to atchieve it; and the Country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellouſly Factious, ſhe is the more like to bring it to paſs. Or if the Regent, by any practice, ſhould yield to a compoſition, or finding his Party weak, ſhould give over his Regiment, Then what aſſurance have we, either of Amity or Religion. That the Regent may be induced to do this, appeareth by his late ſecret Treaty with the Duke of *Norfolk*, for her Marriage, without the Queen's Majeſty's knowledg. And though the Regent ſhould perſevere conſtant, yet if he ſhould be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the like whereof is ſaid, hath been attempted againſt him) then is all at large, and the Queen of Scots moſt like to be reſtored to her Eſtate, the Factions being ſo great in *Scotland*, as they are; ſo as the Caſe is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon ſo ſmall a Thread, as the Life of one Man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this preſent is contained.

And touching the Hoſtages, though that Aſſurance might be good to preſerve her from Violence in *Scotland*, yet it may be doubted how the ſame will be ſufficient to keep her from eſcaping or governing again, ſeeing, for her part, ſhe will make little Conſcience of the Hoſtages if ſhe may prevail; and the puniſhing of the Hoſtages, will be a ſmall ſatisfaction to the Queen's Majeſty for the Troubles that may enſue. And for the doubt of her eſcape, or of Rebellion within this Realm, it may be ſaid, That if ſhe ſhould not be well guarded, but ſhould be left open to practiſe, then her Eſcape, and the other Perils, might be doubted of; but if the Queen's Majeſty hold a ſtricter hand over her, and put her under the Care of a faſt and circumſpect Man, all practice ſhall be cut from her, and the Queen's Majeſty free from that Peril. And more ſafe it is for the Queen to keep the Bridle in her own Hand, to reſtrain the Scottiſh Queen, than in returning her home, to commit that truſt to others, which by Death, compoſition, or abuſing of one Perſon, may be diſappointed.

And if ſhe ſhould, by any means, recover her Eſtate, the doubt of Rebellion there, is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if ſhe have ability to her Will. And if ſhe find ſtrength, by her own or Forreign Friends, ſhe is not far off to give Aid, upon a main Land, to ſuch as will ſtir for her; which, ſo long as ſhe is here, they will forbear,

bear, leſt it might bring moſt Peril to her ſelf, being in the Queen's Hands. The like reſpect, no Doubt will move Forreign Princes to become Requeſters, and no Threatners, for her delivery.

And where it is ſaid, That the Queen's Majeſty cannot be quiet ſo long as ſhe is here, but it may breed danger to her Majeſty's Health. That is a Matter greatly to be weighed, for it were better to adventure all, than her Majeſty ſhould inwardly conceive any thing to the danger of her Health. But as that is only known to ſuch as have more inward Acquaintance with her Majeſty's diſpoſition, than is fit for ſome other to have. So again, it is to be thought, that her Majeſty being wiſe, if the Perils like to follow, in returning her Home, were laid before her; and if ſhe find them greater than the other, ſhe will be induced eaſily to change her Opinion, and thereby may follow to her Majeſty's great ſatisfaction and quietneſs.

Cautions if ſhe be retained.

To remove her ſomewhat nearer the Court, at the leaſt within one days Journey of *London*, whereby it ſhall be the more eaſie to underſtand of her Doings.

To deliver her in cuſtody to ſuch as be thought moſt ſound in Religion, and moſt void of practice.

To diminiſh her number, being now about forty Perſons, to the one half, to make thereby the Queen's Charges the leſs, and to give her the fewer means of Intelligence.

To cut from her all Acceſs, Letters and Meſſages, other than ſuch as he that ſhall have the Charge ſhall think fit.

To ſignify to all Princes, the occaſion of this ſtreight Guard upon her, to be her late practice with the Duke of *Norfolk*, which hath given the Queen cauſe to doubt: further aſſuring them, that ſhe ſhall be uſed honourably, but kept ſafely from troubling the Queen's Majeſty, or this State.

That ſhe be retained here, until the Eſtate of *Scotland* be more ſetled, and the Eſtate of other Countries now in garboil, be quieted, the Iſſue whereof is like to be ſeen in a Year or two.

Number

Number 12.

A Letter written by the Earl of Leiceſter, *to the Earl of* Suſſex, *concerning the Queen of* Scots; *taken from the firſt Draught of it, written with his own hand.*

Ex M. SS. Nob. D. *Evelyn.*

MY good Lord, I received your Letter in the anſwer of mine; and though I have not written ſooner again to your Lordſhip, both according to your deſire, and the neceſſity of our Caſes at this time; yet I doubt not but you are fully advertiſed of her Majeſty's Pleaſure otherwiſe. For my own part, I am glad your Lordſhip hath proſpered ſo well in your Journey, and have Anſwered, in all Points, the good Opinion conceived of you.

And touching her Majeſty's further Reſolution, for theſe Cauſes, my Lord, I aſſure you, I know not well what to write. Firſt, I ſee her Majeſty willing and deſirous, as Reaſon is, to work her own Security, and the quietneſs of her State, during her time, which I truſt in God ſhall be far longer than we ſhall live to ſee end of. And herein, my Lord, there be ſundry Minds, and among our ſelves, I muſt confeſs to your Lordſhip, we are not fully agreed which way is beſt to take. And to your Lordſhip, I know I may be bold, beſide the Friendſhip I owe you, the Place you hold preſently, doth require all the underſtanding that may be, to the furtherance of her Majeſty's good Eſtate; wherefore I ſhall be the bolder even to let you know as much as I do, and how we reſt among us.

Your Lordſhip doth conſider, for the State of *Scotland*, her Majeſty hath thoſe two Perſons, being divided, to deal with, the Queen of *Scotland*, lately by her Subjects deprived, and the young King her Son Crown'd and ſet up in her Place. Her Majeſty, of theſe two, is to chuſe, and of neceſſity muſt chuſe which of them ſhe will allow and accept, as the Perſon ſufficient to hold the principal Place. And here groweth the Queſtion in our Council to her Majeſty, Which of theſe two are moſt fit for her to maintain and join in Amity with? To be plain with your Lordſhip, The moſt in number do altogether conceive her Majeſty's beſt and ſureſt way is, to maintain and continue the young King in this his Eſtate, and thereby to make her whole Party in *Scotland*, which by the ſetling of him, with the cauſe of Religion, is thought moſt eaſieſt, moſt ſafeſt, and moſt probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own Eſtate, and great aſſurance made of ſuch a Party, and ſo ſmall Charges thereby, as her Majeſty may make account to have the like Authority, and aſſured Amity in *Scotland*, as heretofore ſhe had in the time of the late Regent.

The Reaſons againſt the other, are theſe ſhortly.

The Title that the Queen claimeth to this Crown: The overthrow of Religion in that Country: The impoſſibility of any aſſurance for the obſerving of any Pact or Agreement made between our Soveraign and her. Theſe be Cauſes your Lordſhip ſees ſufficient to diſſuade all Men from the contrary Opinion. And yet, my Lord, it cannot be denied, upon indifferent looking into the Matter on both ſides, but the cleareſt is full enough of Difficulties. And then, my Lord, is the Matter diſputable; and yet I think verily, not for Argument-ſake, but even for Duty and Conſcience-ſake, to find out Truth, and ſafeſt means for our Soveraign's beſt doing. And thus we differ. The firſt you have heard touching the young King.

On the other ſide this it is thought, and of theſe I muſt confeſs my ſelf to your Lordſhip to be one: And God is my Judg, whether it be for any other reſpect in this World, but that I ſuppoſe, and verily believe it may prove beſt for her Majeſty's own quietneſs during her time.

And here I muſt before open to your Lordſhip indeed her Majeſty's true State ſhe preſently ſtands in; which, though it may be granted the former Advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her Power to go thorow withal, you ſhall eaſily judg. For it muſt be confeſſed, That by the taking into her protection the King and the Faction, ſhe muſt enter into a War for it: And as the leaſt War being admitted, cannot be maintained without great Charge: ſo ſuch a War may grow, *France* or *Spain* ſetting in foot, as may cauſe it to be an intollerable War. Then being a War, it muſt be Treaſure that muſt maintain it. That ſhe hath Treaſure to continue any time in War, ſurely, my Lord, I cannot ſee it: And as your Lordſhip doth ſee the preſent Relief for Mony we truſt upon, which either failing us, or it riſing no more than I ſee it like to be, not able long to laſt; Where is there further hope of help hereafter? For my own part I ſee none. If it be ſo, then, my Lord, that her Majeſty's preſent eſtate is ſuch as I tell you, which I am ſure is true; How ſhall this Counſel ſtand with ſecurity, by taking a Party to enter into a War, when we are no way able to maintain it; for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for Lack, or any other way, to ſhrink, what is like to follow of the Matter, your Lordſhip can well conſider; the beſt is, we muſt be ſorry for that we have done, and per-chance ſeek to make a-mends, where we neither would nor ſhould. This is touching the preſent State we ſtand in. Beſides we are to remember what already we have done; how many ways, even now together, the Realm hath been univerſally burdened.

Firſt, For the keeping of new bands, after the furniſhing of Armour; and therein how continually the Charge ſooner hath grown, than Subſidies payed.

And laſtly, the marvellous charge in moſt Countries againſt the late Rebellion, with this Loan of Mony now on the neck of it. Whether this State doth require further cauſe of impoſition, or no, I refer to your Lordſhip? And whether entring into a further Charge than her Majeſty hath preſently wherewithal to bear, it will force ſuch a Matter or no, I refer to wiſer to judg.

And now, my Lord, I will ſhew you ſuch Reaſons as move me to think as I do. In Worldly Cauſes, Men muſt be governed by Worldly Policies; and yet ſo to frame them, as God, the Author of all, be chiefly regarded. From him we have received Laws, under which all Mens Policies and Devices ought to be Subject; and through his

Ordinance, the Princes on the Earth have Authority to give Laws; by which alſo, all Princes have the Obedience of the People. And though in ſome Points, I ſhall deal like a Worldly Man for my Prince, yet I hope I ſhall not forget that I am a Chriſtian, nor my Duty to God.

Our Queſtion is this; Whether it be meeter for our Soveraign to maintain the young King of *Scotland*, and his Authority; or upon Compoſition, reſtore the Queen of *Scots* into her Kingdom again? To reſtore her ſimply, we are not of Opinion, for ſo I muſt confeſs a great over-ſight, and doubt no better Succeſs, than thoſe that do Object moſt Perils thereby to enſue. But if there be any Aſſurances in this World to be given, or any Proviſion by Worldly Policy to be had, then, my Lord, I do not ſee but Ways and Means may be uſed with the Queen of *Scots*, whereby her Majeſty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her preſent great Charge. It is granted and feared of all ſides, that the cauſe of any trouble or danger to her Majeſty, is the Title the Queen of *Scotland* pretends to the Crown of this Realm. The Danger we fear ſhould happen by her, is not for that ſhe is Queen of *Scotland*, but that other the great Princes of Chriſtendom do favour her ſo much, as in reſpect of her Religion, they will in all Cauſes aſſiſt her; and ſpecially, by the colour of her Title, ſeem juſtly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her Cauſes into their Protection. Then is the Title granted to be the chief Cauſe of danger to our Soveraign. If it be ſo, Whether doth the ſetting up the Son in the Mothers Place, from whence his Title muſt be claimed, take away her Title in the Opinion of thoſe Princes, or no, notwithſtanding ſhe remain Priſoner? It appeareth plainly, No; for there is continual Labour and means made, from the greateſt Princes, our Neighbours, to the Queen's Majeſty, for reſtoring the Queen of *Scotland* to her Eſtate and Government, otherwiſe they proteſt open Relief and Aid for her. Then though her Majeſty do maintain the young King in his preſent Eſtate, yet it appears that other Princes will do the contrary: And having any advantage, how far they will proceed, Men may ſuſpect. And ſo we muſt conceive, that as long as this Difference ſhall continue, by the maintaining of theſe two, ſo long ſhall the ſame Cauſe remain, to the trouble and danger of the Queen's Majeſty. And how to avoid this whilſt ſhe lives, What better Mean is there to take this Cauſe away, but by her own conſent, to renounce and releaſe all ſuch Intereſt or Title as ſhe claimeth, either preſently or hereafter, during the Life of her Majeſty, and the Heirs of her Body. Albeit, here may two Queſtions be moved.

Firſt, Whether the *Scots* Queen will renounce her Title, or no?

Secondly, If ſhe will do ſo, What Aſſurance may ſhe give for the performance thereof?

To the firſt, It is moſt certain ſhe hath, and preſently doth offer, wholly and frankly, to releaſe and renounce all manner of Claims and Titles, whatſoever they be, to the Crown of this Realm, during her Majeſty's Life, and the Heirs of her Body.

And for the ſecond; She doth likewiſe offer all manner of Security and Aſſurances that her Majeſty can deviſe, and is in that Queen's poſſible Power to do, ſhe excepteth none.

Then muſt we conſider what may be Aſſurances, for here is the difficulty. For that Objections be that Princes never hold Promiſes longer than for their own Commodity; and what Security ſoever they put in, they may break if they will. All this may be granted; but yet that we muſt grant alſo, that Princes do daily Treat and deal one with another; and of neceſſity are forced to truſt to ſuch Bonds and Aſſurances as they contract by. And as there is no ſuch Surety to be had in Worldly Matters, but all are ſubject to many Caſualties; yet we ſee ſuch Devices made, even among Princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which if they might conveniently chuſe, they would not. And in this Matter of the Queen of *Scotland*, ſince ſhe doth offer both to leave the cauſe of the difference that is between the Queen's Majeſty and her; and alſo to give all Surety that may be by our ſelves deviſed to obſerve the ſame; I do not ſee but ſuch means may be deviſed to tie her ſo ſtrongly, as though ſhe would break, yet I cannot find what advantage ſhe ſhall get by it. For beſide, that I would have her own ſimple Renunciation to be made by the moſt ſubſtantial Inſtrument that could be deviſed. The aſſent of ſome others ſhould confirm the ſame alſo. Her own Parliaments at home ſhould do the like with the full Authority of the whole Eſtates. They ſhould deliver her Son, and ſuch other principal Noblemen of her Realm for Hoſtages, as the Queen's Majeſty ſhould name. She ſhould alſo put into her Majeſty's Hands, ſome one piece or two of her Realm, and for ſuch a time as ſhould be thought meet by her Majeſty, except *Edinburgh*. The Queens Majeſty might alſo, by ratifying this by a Parliament here, make a Forfeiture, if the Queen of *Scotland* ſhould any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this Agreement of all ſuch Titles and Claims that did remain in the Queen of *Scotland*, after her Majeſty and her Iſſue, never to be capable of any Authority or Soveraignty within this Realm. Theſe I would think to be ſufficient Bonds to bind any Prince, ſpecially no mightier than ſhe is. And this much more would I have, that even as ſhe ſhall be thus bound, for the relief of her Title to the Queen's Majeſty and her Iſſue; So ſhall ſhe ſuffer the Religion received and eſtabliſhed in *Scotland* already, to be confirmed, and not altered. In like ſort, the Amity between theſe two Realms, to be ſuch, and ſo frankly united, as no other League with any Forreign Prince, ſhould ſtand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the firſt is chiefeſt touching her Majeſty's own Perſon, ſo do I judg the latter, I mean, the confirmation of the Religion already there received, to be one of the aſſuredſt and likelieſt means to hold her Majeſty a ſtrong and continual Party in *Scotland*. The trial hereof hath been already ſufficient, when her Majeſty had none other Intereſt at all, but only the maintenance of the True Religion, the ſame Cauſe remaining ſtill the ſame affection in the ſame Perſons that do profeſs it, I truſt, and it is like, will not change. And though the *Scots* Queen ſhould now be ſetled in her Kingdom again, yet is ſhe not like to be greater or better eſteemed now than heretofore, when both her Authority was greater, and her good will ready to alter this Religion, but could not bring it to paſs. No more is it like theſe further Proviſions being taken, ſhe ſhall do it now. And the laſt Cauſe alſo is not without great hope of ſome good Succeſs; for as the oppreſſion of Strangers heretofore had utterly wearied them of that Yoke, ſo hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the Liberty of their own, and the Commodity of us their Neighbours.

This, my Lord, doth lead me to lean to this Opinion, finding thereby rather both more ſurety, and more quietneſs, for my Sovereign's preſent time, having, by the contrary, many occaſions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable Charge eſchewed, which I cannot find by any poſſible means, her Majeſty able to ſuſtain for any long time.

Thus haſtily I am driven to end my long, cumberſome Letter to your Lordſhip, though very deſirous to impart my mind herein to your Lordſhip.

Number 13.

The Bull of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, Depoſing Queen *Elizabeth*; abſolving her Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and Anathematiſing ſuch as continued in their Obedience.

Pius Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad futuram rei memoriam.

Regnans in Excelſis, cui data eſt omnis in Cœlo, & in Terra Poteſtas, unam Sanctam, Catholicam, & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, extra quam nulla eſt Salus, uni ſoli in Terris, videlicet Apoſtolorum Principi Petro, Petriq; Succeſſori Romano Pontifici in poteſtatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum ſuper omnes gentes, & omnia Regna Principem conſtituit, qui evellat, deſtruat, diſperdat, plantet & edificet: ut fidelem populum mutuæ charitatis nexu conſtrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, ſalvumq; & incolumem ſuo exhibeat Salvatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo nos ad prædictæ Eccleſiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contendentes, ut ipſa Unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius autor ad probandum ſuorum fidem, & correctionem noſtram, tantis procellis conflictare permiſit) integra conſervetur.

Poteſtas Petri

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus ſit relictus, quem illi peſſimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente inter cæteros flagitiorum Serva Elizabetha prætenſa Angliæ Regina, ad quam, veluti ad aſylum, omnium infeſtiſſimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem Regno occupato, Supremi Eccleſiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejuſq; præcipuam autoritatem atq; Juriſdictionem monſtroſe ſibi uſurpans, Regnum ipſum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rurſus in miſerum exitium revocavit. Uſu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius deſertore Henrico Octavo olim everſam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima, hujus ſedis præſidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, Secutiſq; & amplexis Hæreticorum

Elizabethæ Flagitia.

erroribus, Regium Conſilium ex Anglica Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obſcuris hominibus Hæreticis complevit; Catholicæ Fidei cultores oppreſſit, improbos Concionatores, atq; impietatum adminiſtros repoſuit; Miſſæ Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, ciborum delectum, Cœlibatum, Ritusq; Catholicos abolevit: libros manifeſtam Hæreſim continentes, toto Regno proponi, impia myſteria, & inſtituta ad Calvini præſcriptum a ſe ſuſcepta, & obſervata, etiam a ſubditis ſervari mandavit: Epiſcopos, Eccleſiarum Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, ſuis Eccleſiis & Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis, & aliis rebus Eccleſiaſticis, in Hæreticos homines diſponere, deque Eccleſiæ cauſis decernere auſa, Prelatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Eccleſiam agnoſcerent, neve ejus præceptis Sanctionibuſque Canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; pleroſque in nefarias leges ſuas venire, & Romani Pontificis autoritatem, atque obedientiam abjurare, ſeque ſolam in Temporalibus & Spiritualibus Dominam agnoſcere, jurejurando coegit: pœnas & ſupplicia eis, qui dicto non eſſent audientes, impoſuit, eaſdemq; ab iis, qui in unitate fidei & predicta obedientia perſeverarunt, exegit: Catholicos Antiſtites & Eccleſiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit; ubi multi diuturno languore & triſtitia confecti, extremum Vitæ diem miſere finierunt.

Neceſſitas Pontificem ad judicium impellens.

Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perſpicua & notiora ſint, & graviſſimo quampluriмorum teſtimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excuſationis, defenſionis, aut tergiverſationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicatis aliis atque aliis ſuper alias impietatibus & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium perſecutione, religioniſque afflictione, impulſu & opera dictæ Elizabethæ, quotidie magis ingraveſcente; quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum, de ſanitate & converſatione preces, monitioneſque contempſerit, ſed ne hujus quidem ſedis ad ipſam hac de Cauſa Nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiſerit; ad arma juſtitiæ contra eam de neceſſitate converſi, dolorem lenire non poſſumus, quod adducamur in illam animadvertere, cujus majores de Rep. Chriſtiana tantopere meruere.

Illius itaque autoritate ſuffulti, qui nos in hoc ſupremo Juſtitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, declaramus prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam, & Hæreticorum fautricem, eique adherentes in predictis, anathematis ſententiam incurriſſe, eſſeque a Chriſti Corporis unitate præciſos: Quin etiam ipſam prætenſo Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni & quorumque Dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam: Et item proceres, ſubditos & populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt a Juramento hujuſmodi, ac omni prorſus dominii, fidelitatis, & obſequii debito, perpetuo abſolutos, prout nos illos præſentium authoritate abſolvimus, & privamus eandem Elizabetham prætenſo jure Regni, aliiſque omnibus ſupradictis. Præcipimuſque & interdicimus Univerſis & ſingulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populis & aliis prædictis; ne illi, ejuſve monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire: Qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili Anathematis ſententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis eſſet preſentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre; Volumus ut earum exempla, Notarii Publici manu, & Prelati Eccleſiaſtici, ejuſve Curiæ

Sentiæ Declaratio.

Curiæ Sigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorſus fidem in judicio & extra illud ubique gentium faciant, quam ipſæ preſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ, vel oſtenſæ.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo quingenteſimo Sexageſimo Nono, Quinta Kalend. Martii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Humyn.

AN
APPENDIX
Concerning ſome of the
Errors and Falſhoods
IN
SANDER's Book
OF THE
Engliſh Schiſm.

A N
APPENDIX.

IT has been obſerved of Theeves, that by a long practice in that ill courſe of Life, they grow ſo in love with it, that when there is no Advantage to be made by Stealing, yet they muſt keep their Hand in uſe, and continue their addreſs and dexterity in it: ſo alſo Lyars, by a frequent Cuſtom, grow to ſuch a habit, that in the commoneſt things, they cannot ſpeak Truth, even though it might conduce to their Ends more than their Lyes do. *Sanders* had ſo given himſelf up to vent Reproaches and Lyes, that he often does it for nothing, without any End, but to carry on a Trade, that had been ſo long driven by him, that he knew not how to lay it down. He wrote our Hiſtory, meerly upon the Reports that were brought him, without any care or information about the moſt publick and moſt indifferent Things: but not content to ſet down thoſe Tattles, he ſhews his Wit in refining about them, and makes up ſuch Politicks and Schems of Government, as might ſuit with theſe Reports, and agree with his own Malice. His Work is all of a piece, and as it was made out in the former Volume, how ignorantly and diſingeniouſly he writ concerning King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, ſo I ſhall add a further Diſcovery of the remaining parts of his Book, which will ſufficiently convince, even the moſt partial Readers of the impudence of that Author; who ſeems to have had no other deſign in writing, but to impoſe on the credulity and weakneſs of thoſe, who he knew were inclined to believe every thing that might caſt blemiſhes on a Work, againſt which they were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced, as the Reformation of this Church: ſince a Field which they ſo often reaped, and with whoſe Spoils their Court was ſo enriched, was no more at their Devotion. So they are ever ſince concerned in Intereſt to uſe all the ways they can think on, to diſgrace a Change that was ſo fatal to them. But as the Reformation of this Church has hitherto ſtood, notwithſtanding all their Deſigns againſt it, ſo it is to be hoped, that the Hiſtory of it will be hereafter better underſtood, notwithſtanding all the Libels and Calumnies by which they have endeavoured to repreſent it, in ſuch black and odious Colours to the World.

Sanders ſays, 'King *Edward* was in the 9*th* Year of his Age when he *Page* 176.
'came to the Crown.

This is of no great conſequence, but it ſhews how little this Author conſidered what he writ, when in ſo publick a thing as the King's Age, he miſreckons a Year, for he was born the 12*th* of *October* 1537; ſo in *January* 1547, he was in the 10*th* Year of his Age.

2. He ſays, 'King *Edward* was not only declared King of *England*, *Ibid.*
'and *Ireland*, but made *Supream Head of the Church*; and upon that

'runs out, to ſhew how uncapable a Child was of that Power.

This is ſet down in ſuch terms, as if there had been ſome ſpecial Act made for his being *Supream Head of the Church*, diſtinct from his being proclaimed King, whereas there was no ſuch thing; for the Supremacy being annexed to the Crown, the one went with the other: and it being but a Civil Power, might be as well exerciſed by the King's Governors, before he came to be of Age, as the other Rights of the Crown were.

Pag. 177. 3. He ſays, 'The Earl of *Hartford* was made by himſelf Duke of '*Somerſet*.

This was done by order of the whole Council, in purſuance of King *Henry*'s Deſign, proved by thoſe Witneſſes that were beyond exception: and that King having by his Will charged his Executors to fullfil thoſe things which he intended to do, this was found to be one of them.

Pag. 178. 4. He ſays, 'The Duke of *Somerſet* made himſelf the only Gover'nor of the King, and *Protector*; none daring to oppoſe it openly, 'but *Wriotheſley*, whom King *Henry*, when he was dying, had made 'Lord Chancellor.

The Protector was advanced to that Dignity, by the unanimous conſent of the whole Council; to which the Lord Chancellor conſented, and ſigned the Order about it, the Original whereof is yet extant; for though he argued againſt it before it was done, yet he joined with the reſt in doing it: Nor was he made Chancellor by King *Henry* at his Death, but two Years before.

Ibid. 5. He ſays, 'On the 27*th* of *February*, two days before the King 'was crowned, the Protector perſuaded the King to create many 'new Peers; who were all Hereticks, except *Dudley* Earl of *War*'*wick*.

Our Author, by this ſhew of exactneſs, would perſuade the Reader, that he had conſidered Dates, and the ſmalleſt particulars, with the care that became an Hiſtorian: But he little thought that any would come after him, and examine what he ſaid. By this Account the King muſt have been crowned the firſt of *March*, but it was done *Feb.* 20. and the Peers were created on the 16*th* of *February*, four days before. They were not all Hereticks, for he forgot that *Wriotheſley* was at the ſame time made Earl of *Southampton*, which he afterwards inſinuates was done upon another account. But all thoſe Creations, were in perſuance of King *Henry*'s Deſigns, and in obedience to his latter Will.

Ibid. 6. He ſays, 'They forced *Wriotheſley* to reſign his Office, and turned 'both him, and the Earl of *Arundel*, out of the Council, becauſe they 'were Catholicks.

Wriotheſley was turned out upon no account of Religion, but for putting the Great Seal to a Commiſſion, that was againſt Law, (according to the Opinion which the Judges declared under their hands) without any Warrant from the Council; himſelf acknowledging the juſtice of the Sentence. The Earl of *Arundel* was not turned out of the Council; on the contrary, in the Patent by which the Protector held his Office, that paſſed after the Chancellor was removed, he is named to be one of the Privy Council.

7. He ſays, ‘The Protector would needs force all the Clergy to ſub- *Pag.* 179.
‘mit in every thing to the King's Orders; and ſets down the Form in
‘which the King writ to Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*.

In this nothing was done, but what was begun by King *Henry*, and to which all the Clergy, even his beloved *Bonner* not excepted, had formerly ſubmitted. So this was no new thing ſet up by the Protector, it being only the renewing the Biſhops Patents in the new King's Name: And this was no part of the Reformation, for it was done only to awe the Popiſh Biſhops, but was ſoon after laid aſide. What he ſets down as a Letter of King *Edward's* to *Cranmer*, is the Preamble of the Patent he took out. So little did this Writer know the things that truly make to the advantage to the Cauſe, which he deſigned to aſſert.

8. He ſays, The New Protector, among the firſt things he did, re- *Pag.* 180.
‘ſtrained all Preaching, and ſilenced all the Biſhops and Paſtors: ſo
‘that none were licenſed to preach, but the *Lutherans* and *Zuing-*
‘*lians*.

The firſt Injunctions ſet out in the King's Name, required all Biſhops to preach at leaſt four times a Year, in their Dioceſſes; and to keep Learned Chaplains who might be able to preach, and ſhould be often much employed in it. And thus Matters ſtood the firſt Year of this Reign: In the beginning of the ſecond Year, upon complaints made of the raſhneſs of ſome Preachers, a Proclamation was put out, that none ſhould preach without a Licenſe from the King, or the Arch-Biſhops, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs; except Incumbents in their own Pariſhes. Afterwards there was, for ſome little time, a total prohibition of Preaching, but that was to laſt for a ſhort while, till the Book of Common Prayer, which was then a preparing, ſhould be finiſhed. This was equally made on both hands; for the Prohibition was univerſal, without exception: ſo falſly has our Author ſtated this Matter; which one would think he ignorantly drew from what Queen *Mary* did, applying it to this Reign; for ſhe, upon her coming to the Crown, did prohibit all Preaching, excepting only ſuch as were licenſed to it by *Gardiner*, under the Great Seal.

9. He ſays, ‘*Latimer* was turned out of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, *Pag.* 181.
‘by King *Henry*, upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy.

Latimer did freely reſign his Biſhoprick, upon the paſſing of the Act of the ſix Articles, with which he could not comply with a good Conſcience.

10. He ſays, ‘The Protector put *Cox* and *Cheek* about the King, *Pag.* 182.
‘that they might corrupt his Mind with Heretical Doctrines.

Theſe were put about him three Years before, by King *Henry's* Order; as that young King himſelf informs us in his Journal.

Pag. 184. 11. He ſays, 'The Heads of the Colleges were turned out, and the 'Catholick Doctors were forbid to preach.

I do not find one Head of a College in either Univerſity was turned out; for though they generally loved the Old Superſtition, yet they loved their Places much better. And indeed the whole Clergy did ſo readily conform themſelves to every Change that was made, that it was not eaſy to find Colours for turning out *Bonner* and *Gardiner.* All Preachers had the liberty of their own Pulpits, except for a very little while.

Ibid. 12. He ſays, 'They decried the School Divinity, and the Works of '*Lombard*, *Aquinas*, and *Scotus*, and ſo threw all Learning out of the 'Schools.

They could not do that more, than Sir *Thomas More*, *Eraſmus*, and other Popiſh Writers had done before them; who had expreſſed their ſcorn of that way of Treating Divine Matters, ſo copiouſly, that it was no wonder it was much deſpiſed. Thoſe Writers had, by a ſet of dark and barbarous Maxims and Terms, ſo intangled all the Articles of Faith, and impoſed by the World, on an appearance of ſaying ſomewhat, when really they ſaid nothing: and pretending to explain Religion, they had ſo expoſed it, that their way of Divinity was become equally nauſeous and ridiculous.

Pag. 186. 13. He ſays, '*Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, being brought out of *Ger*'*many*, did corrupt the Univerſities; and entertained the Youth with 'Diſcourſes of Predeſtination, Reprobation, and a fatal neceſſity of 'things.

This was ſo far from being much taught, that on the contrary, in one of the Articles of Religion, the curious Enquiries into thoſe abſtruſe Points, was by Publick Authority forbid. *Bucer* and *Martyr* read for moſt part in the Chairs, upon the Maſs, and the other Corruptions of the Popiſh Worſhip. They alſo declared St. *Auſtin's* Doctrine about Grace, but I do not find they ever medled with Reprobation.

Pag. 190. 14. After a long Invective, which is to paſs as a piece of his Wit 'and Poetry, he ſays, '*Bucer* was inclined to become a *Jew*, and was 'deſcended from Jewiſh Parents; and that the Lord *Paget* had heard him 'ſay, That the Corporal Preſence was ſo clear in the Scripture, that 'no Man could deny it, who believed the Goſpel; but for his 'part, he did not believe all that was ſaid in the New Teſtament con'cerning our Saviour.

This is as ſutable to our Author's Honeſty as can be: *Bucer* was never accuſed of this by any of his Enemies, as long as he lived. No Man in that Age writ with a greater ſenſe of the Kingdom of Chriſt than he did. And for the Story of the Lord *Paget*, we have nothing for it but the Author's word; and Poets muſt make Circumſtances, as well as more ſignal Contrivances, to ſet off their Fables. But there was no occaſion for *Bucer's* ſaying this, ſince he never declared againſt the Corporal Preſence; but was for taking up that Controverſy in ſome general Expreſſions. So it was not ſuitable to his Opinion in that Matter, for him to talk ſo looſely of the Scriptures. And is it credible that a Story of this nature, ſhould not have been publiſhed in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and been made uſe of, when he was condemned for an Heretick, and his Body raiſed and burnt. But our Author, perhaps, did not think of that.

15. He ſays, '*Peter Martyr* was a while in ſuſpence concerning the 'Euchariſt, and ſtayed till he ſhould ſee what the Parliament ſhould 'appoint in that Matter. *Pag.* 191.

P. Martyr argued and read in the Chair againſt the Corporal Preſence, four Years before the Parliament medled with it: For the ſecond Common-Prayer Book, which contained the firſt publick Declaration that the Parliament made in this Matter, was enacted in the fifth Year of King *Edward*; and *Peter Martyr*, from his firſt coming to *England*, had appeared againſt it.

16. He ſaid, 'The firſt Parliament under King *Edward*, appointed a 'new Form to be uſed in ordaining Prieſts and Biſhops; who till that 'time had been Ordained according to the Old Rites, ſave only, that 'they did not ſwear Obedience to the Pope. *Pag.* 193.

This is a further Evidence of our Author's care in ſearching the printed Statutes; ſince what was done in the Fifth Year of this Reign, he repreſents as done in the Firſt. His Deſign in this was clear; he had a mind to poſſeſs all his own Party with an Opinion, that the Orders given in this Church were of no force, and therefore he thought it a decent piece of his Poem, to ſet down this Change as done ſo early: ſince if he had mentioned it in its proper place, he knew not how to deny the validity of the Orders that were given the firſt four Years of this Reign, which continued to be conferred according to the old Forms.

17. He ſays, 'The Parliament did alſo at the ſame time, confirm a 'new Book of Common-Prayer, and of the Adminiſtration of the Sa'craments. *Ibid.*

This is of a piece with the former; for the Act confirming the Common-Prayer Book, which is alſo among the Printed Statutes, paſſed not in this Seſſion of Parliament, but in a ſecond Seſſion, a Year after this. Theſe are Indications ſufficient to ſhew what an Hiſtorian *Sanders* was, that did not ſo much as read the Publick Acts of the Time concerning which he writ.

18. He ſays, 'They ordered all Images to be removed, and ſent 'ſome lewd Men over *England* for that effect; who either brake or 'burnt the Images of our Saviour, the Bleſſed Virgin, and the Saints; 'therein declaring againſt whom they made War; and they ordered 'the King's Arms, three Leopards, and three Lillies, with the Supporters, a Dog and a Serpent, to be ſet in the place where the Croſs of 'Chriſt ſtood: thereby owning that they were no longer to worſhip 'Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Images they broke, but the King, whoſe Arms 'they ſet up in the room of thoſe Images. *Ibid.*

In this Period there is an equal mixture of Falſhood and Malice. 1. The Parliament did not order the removal of Images; It was done by the King's Viſitors, before the Parliament ſat. 2. The total removal of Images was not done the firſt Year, only thoſe Images that were abuſed to Superſtition, were taken down, and a Year after the total removal followed. 3. They took care that this ſhould be done regularly, not by the Viſitors, who only carried the King's Injunctions about it, but by the Curats themſelves. 4. They did not order the King's Arms to be put in the place where the Croſs had ſtood. It grew indeed to be a cuſtom to ſet them up in all Churches, thereby expreſſing, that they acknowledged the King's Authority reached even to their Churches; but there was no Order made about it. 5. I leave him to the Correction of the Heraulds, for ſaying, the King's Arms are Three Leopards, when every Body knows they are three Lions, and a Lion, not a Dog, is one Supporter, and the other is a Dragon, not a Serpent. 6. By their ſetting up the King's Arms, and not his Picture, it is plain they had no thought of worſhipping their King, but did only acknowledg his Authority. 7. It was no leſs clear, that they had no deſign againſt the Worſhip due to Jeſus Chriſt, nor that inferiour reſpect due to the Bleſſed Virgin and Saints; but intended only to wean the People from that, which at beſt was but Pageantry: but as it was practiſed, was manifeſt Idolatry. And the painting on the Walls of the Churches the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, with many other paſſages of Scripture that were of moſt general uſe, ſhewed, they intended only to cleanſe their Churches from thoſe mixtures of Heatheniſm, that had been brought into the Chriſtian Religion.

Pag. 193. 19. He ſays, 'They took away the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood 'of Chriſt, that they might thereby give ſome colour to the converting 'of the Sacred Veſſels to the King's uſe.

They took away no part of the Inſtitution of Chriſt, for they ſet it down in the Act paſt about it; and recited all the words of the firſt Inſtitution of the Sacrament; they only condemned private Maſſes, as contrary to Chriſt's Inſtitution. They did not convert the Holy Veſſels to the King's uſe, nor were they taken out of the Churches till five Years after this; that the Neceſſities of the Government, either real or pretended, were alleged to excuſe the taking away the ſuperfluous Plate that was in Churches: But this was not done by Act of Parliament, but by Commiſſioners empowred by the King, who were ordered to leave in every Church, ſuch Veſſels as were neceſſary for the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

Ibid. 20. He ſays, 'The Parliament ordered the Prayers to be in the 'Vulgar Tongue; and upon that he infers, that the *Iriſh*, the *Welſh*, 'and the *Corniſh*-men, were now in a much worſe condition than be'fore; ſince they underſtood no Engliſh, ſo that the Worſhip was to 'them in a Tongue more unknown than it had formerly been.

The Parliament made no ſuch Order at this Time: the Book of Common Prayer was ſet out firſt by the King's Authority, and ratified by the ſubſequent Seſſion of Parliament. There was alſo a Deſign, which though it was then accompliſhed, yet it was done afterwards, of tranſlating the Liturgy into theſe Tongues: but ſtill the Engliſh was much more underſtood by all ſorts of Men among them, than the Latin had been.

21. He ſays, ‘The Office of the Communion, appointed by this Pag. 194.
‘Parliament, differed very little from the Maſs, ſave that it was in
‘Engliſh.

The Error of the Parliaments appointing the new Offices, runs through all he ſays on this Subject. But in the new Office of the Communion, the Idolatry of worſhipping, carrying about, or expoſing the Sacrament, was laid aſide. The trade of particular Maſſes for private Occaſions, the Prayers to the Saints, the denying the People the Chalice, with a great many of the Rites and Geſticulations formerly uſed, were all laid aſide; ſo that there were great changes made. Every thing was not done at once, but they began with the Abuſes that did moſt require a Reformation, and went on afterwards to the changing of leſſer things.

22. He ſays, ‘Sir *Ralph Sadler* took the Wife of one *Matthew Bar-* Ibid.
‘*row*; ſo upon pretence of his being dead, his Wife married *Sadler*:
‘but her firſt Huſband coming home, he ſought to have his Wife again.
‘It was brought into the Parliament in King *Henry*'s Time, and now it
‘was enacted, that ſhe ſhould be *Sadler*'s Wife; he being the richer
‘and greater Man. So againſt the Laws of the Goſpel, a Wife while
‘her Huſband was yet alive, was adjudged to a ſecond Huſband.

This is,as far as I can learn,a Forgery from the beginning to the end: and it ſeems *Sadler*, that was a Privy Counſellor in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, did ſomewhat that ſo provoked *Sanders*, that he reſolved to be revenged of him and his Family, by caſting ſuch an aſperſion on him. I find no Foot-ſteps of any ſuch Story; ſure I am, there is nothing concerning it in the Records of this Parliament. And for the Buſineſs of the Diſſolution of Marriages for Adultery, Abſence, or any other Cauſe, there was ſo great, and ſo ſtrict an enquiry made into it; after, the Parliament was ended, in the Caſe of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, that it is clear it was the firſt of that ſort that was examined; and might perhaps, after it was confirmed in Parliament, in the 5*th* Year of this Reign, have been made a Precedent for other Caſes; but this of *Sadler*, in the firſt Parliament, is a Contrivance of our Authors. It is not improbable, that when afterwards it was judged, that the Marriage-Bond was diſſolved by Adultery, they might likewiſe declare it diſſolved, upon voluntary and long abſence, ſince St. *Paul* had ſaid, That *a Brother or a Siſter were not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes.*

22. He ſays, ‘*Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtal*, *Heath*, and *Day*, were Pag. 196.
‘much grieved at the Changes that were made: yet they complied in
‘many things, till being required to deliver ſome Blaſphemous Do-
‘ctrines in their Sermons, they refuſing to give Obedience in that,
‘were deprived; but were afterwards condemned to perpetual Impri-
‘ſonment under Queen *Elizabeth*; all which were the Effects of God's
‘Diſpleaſure on them, for complying with K. *Henry* in his Schiſm.

I

I ſhall grow tedious, if I inſiſt on all the Falſities that do occur in this Period. Firſt, Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were queſtioned and deprived for their Sermons: *Tonſtall* was deprived for Miſpriſion of Treaſon; *Heath* and *Day* were judged by Lay-Delegates; ſo, it is like, their Offences were alſo againſt the State. 2. There was nothing enjoined *Bonner* or *Gardiner* to preach, upon which they were cenſured, but that the King's Authority was the ſame when he was under Age, that it was afterwards; which is a Point that belongs only to the Laws and Conſtitution of this Government: and ſo there was juſt reaſon to impute their Silence in that particular, when they were commanded to touch upon it in their Sermons, to an ill Deſign againſt the State. 3. Three of theſe Biſhops did concur in all the Changes that were made the firſt four Years of this King's Reign, and both preached and wrote for them; and even *Bonner* and *Gardiner* did not only give Obedience to every Law or Injunction that came out, but recommended them much in their Sermons. 4. Theſe did not ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment under Queen *Elizabeth*; *Gardiner* and *Day* died before ſhe reigned, and ſo were not impriſoned by her. *Heath* was never put in Priſon by her, but lived at his own Country Houſe; and *Tonſtal* lived at *Lambeth* in as much eaſe, and was treated with as much reſpect, as if it had been his own Houſe: ſo that *Bonner* was the only Man that was kept in Priſon; but that was believed to be done in kindneſs to him, to preſerve him from the Affronts which otherwiſe he might have met with, from the Friends of thoſe he had butchered.

Pag. 197. 24. He ſays, 'The Lady *Mary* never departed from her Mothers 'Faith and Conſtancy.

It appears, by many of her Letters, that ſhe complyed with every thing that had been done by her Father; ſo it ſeems ſhe was diſpenced with from *Rome*, to diſſemble in his time; for otherwiſe her conſtancy had very likely been fatal to her, but ſhe preſumed on the mildneſs of her Brother's Government, to be more refractory afterwards.

Pag. 198. 25. He ſays, 'The King was ſorry, when he underſtood how hardly 'his Siſter had been uſed by the Council.

It was ſo far otherwiſe, that when the Council being much preſſed by the Emperor to connive at her having Maſs, were reſolved to give way to it, the King himſelf was ſo averſe to it, thinking it a ſin in him to conſent to the practice of Idolatry, that the Council employed the Biſhops to work on him, and they could hardly induce him to tolerate it.

Pag. 200. 26. He ſays, 'The Viſitors carried with them over *England*, Bibles 'of a moſt corrupt Tranſlation, which they ordered to be ſet up in all 'the Churches of *England*.

In King *Henry's* Time, it had been ordered, that there ſhould be a Bible in every Church; ſo this was not done by the Viſitors in this Reign, as may appear by the Injunctions that were given them, which have been often printed.

27. He ſays, 'The Viſitors did every-where enquire, Whether all Ibid. the Images were broken down; and if the Altars were taken away, and Communion Tables were put in their rooms; and if all the old Offices were deſtroyed.

Here he confounds in one Period, what was done in ſeveral Years. In the firſt Year, the Images that had been abuſed by Pilgrimages, were ordered to be removed. In the ſecond Year, all Images were taken down without exception. In the third Year, the old Books of the former Offices were ordered to be deſtroyed. And in the fourth Year, the Altars were turned to Communion Tables; ſo ignorantly did this Author write of our Affairs.

28. He ſay, 'The Viſitors did every where encourage the Prieſts to *Page* 201. Marry, and looked on ſuch as did not Marry, as inclined to Popery.

The Marriage of the Clergy was not ſo much as permitted till near the beginning of the third Year of this Reign; and then it was declared, that an unmarried State was more honourable and decent; ſo that it was recommended, and the other was only tolerated; and ſo far were they from ſuſpecting Men to be firm to the Reformation that were married, that *Ridley* and *Latimer*, the moſt eſteemed next to *Cranmer*, were never married: nor was any ever vexed for his not being married, as he falſly inſinuates.

28. He ſays, 'The Protector bore great hatred to *Gardiner* and *Pag.* 202. *Tonſtal*, both becauſe they oppoſed the Hereticks, and becauſe they had been made equals to him, if not preferred before him by King *Henry*'s Will, in the Government during the King's being under Age.

This is another of our Author's Figures. *Gardiner* was not mentioned in King *Henry*'s Will, neither as an Executor, nor ſo much as a Counſellor; and by it none were preferred to another, all being made equal. And for *Tonſtal*, he continued ſtill in a firm friendſhip with the Protector, and was ſo well ſatisfied with the firſt Changes that were made, that he was complained of as well as *Cranmer*, by *Gardiner*, in the Letters which he writ to the Protector.

29. He ſays, 'The Protector made a Speech about Religion before *Ibid.* the King; and thereafter he put, firſt *Gardiner*, then *Tonſtall*, and at another time, the Biſhops of *London*, *Chicheſter*, and *Worceſter*, in Priſon.

Gardiner and *Bonner* were indeed impriſoned ſome time, during the Protector's Government; the latter was alſo deprived while he was Protector. But *Tonſtall* was not put in Priſon till two Years after, and it was at the time of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s total fall, and by the ſame Perſons means that wrought his Ruin: From which it appears, he was always a firm Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*. The Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter* were alſo brought in trouble, long after the Government was taken out of the Protector's Hands.

30. He ſays, 'They were all depoſed from their Degree. *Ibid.*

They were not depoſed from their Degree, but deprived of their

Biſhopricks; for they having accepted Commiſſions, by which they held their Sees, only during the King's Pleaſure, they might well be deprived by a Sentence of the Delegates. But had they been to be depoſed, and thruſt from their Order, it muſt have been done by a Synod of Biſhops. They were deprived, as many Biſhops were under the Chriſtian Emperors, by ſelected Synods that ſat in the Court, and judged of all Complaints that were brought before the Emperors.

Pag. 204. 31. 'He reckons up the Judgments of God upon the Hereticks; 'and ſays, the Protector made kill his Brother, and *Dudley* took him 'away.

This is a way of writing familiar enough to our Author, to repreſent things in ſuch a manner, as might fill the Reader with horror; as if theſe Perſons had been ſecretly murdered, whereas the one was condemned in Parliament, the other by a Judgment of his Peers.

Ibid. 32. He ſays, 'King *Edward* died not without ſuſpition of being poi'ſoned by *Dudley*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, who aſpired to the Crown.

It was never ſuſpected that the Duke of *Suffolk* had any hand in poiſoning the King, nor could I ever ſee any reaſon to conclude that he was poiſoned: but neither of theſe Dukes aſpired to the Crown; the one reſigned any Pretenſion he could ever have, to his Daughter; and the other intended only that his fourth Son ſhould reign.

Pag. 205. 34. He ſays, 'The Protector's Lady claimed the precedence of the 'Queen Dowager; and upon the denial of it, conſpired the ruin of 'the Admiral.

All this is a contrivance of the Enemies of that Family; for as it had been abſurd for the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* to have diſputed Precedence with the Queen Dowager; ſo in that whole Matter it is plain the Admiral began with his Brother, and conſpired his ruin: and the Protector was often reconciled to him, and forgave him many Faults, till it appeared that his Ambition was incurable.

Ibid. 34. He ſays, 'There being no ground of any Accuſation againſt 'him, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* got *Latimer* to accuſe him of Treaſon 'in a Sermon.

The Articles upon which he was condemned, ſhew what Matter there was againſt him. *Latimer* did never accuſe him of Treaſon, but being a Man of great plainneſs of Speech, he reflected on him as Ambitious, and not ſincere in the Profeſſion of Religion: And when it was ſuſpected that the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* had ſet him on to make theſe Reflections, he did vindicate her in a moſt ſolemn manner. Nor is there any reaſon to think, that how indiſcreet ſoever he might be in preaching in ſuch a ſort, that he did it to flatter or to aſpire by ſuch means, for he refuſed to accept of any Preferment, though the Houſe of Commons interpoſed to have him repoſſeſſed of the See of *Worceſter*.

Ibid. 35. He ſays, 'At the ſame time that he was Beheaded, the Queen 'Dowager died.

She died in *Septemb.* 1548, and he was beheaded in *March* following: and one of the Articles againſt him was, That after her Death, he intended to have married the King's Siſter *Elizabeth*; and it was ſuſpected, that to make for that, he had poiſoned her.

36. He ſays, 'The Men of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* did, with one *Pag.* 206. 'conſent, take up Arms for *the Faith*.

In one thing he ſays true, that this Rebellion was ſet on by the Prieſts, and made on the account of Religion; but the brutal cruelty of thoſe Rebels, ſhewed it was not for *the Faith*, but in compliance to their Prieſts and Leaders, that they roſe.

37. He ſays, 'The Clergy finding that their being Married was gene- *Pag.* 209. 'rally an ingrateful thing, procured an Act of Parliament, declaring that 'there was no Humane Law againſt their Marriages; and this was all 'they were concerned in, for they cared little for the Law of God.

This is a genuine piece of our Author's Wit. If the Parliament medles in declaring what is the Law of God, he accuſes them for medling in things without their Sphere: And if they only declare what is the Law of the Land, he ſays, they have no regard to the Law of God: So he is reſolved, do what they will, they ſhall not eſcape his Cenſure. But in this he ſhews his Ignorance, as well as his Malice. The lawfulneſs of the Marriage of the Clergy was enquired into with ſuch exactneſs, that ſcarce any thing can be added ſince, to what was then written on that Argument. It was made out, that there was no Law of God againſt it: It was alſo proved, that there was no general Law made by the Primitive Church about it; but that it was a part of the Yoke that the Popes laid on the Clergy, to engage them more zealouſly in their Concerns. It was at firſt carried in the Convocation, that they might lawfully Marry; then an Act of Parliament paſſed permitting it; of all which our Author takes no notice. Then three Years after, ſome that were ill-affected to them, taking advantage from the words of the Statute, as if the Permiſſion had only been ſuch a conniving at it, as had been formerly to the Stews, a ſecond Act paſſed confirming thoſe Marriages, and the Iſſue by them.

38. He ſays, 'The Catholick Doctors in the Univerſities, grew more *Pag.* 210. 'couragious in the Defence of the Faith; and ſo deſired a publick Di-'ſpute concerning the Corporal Preſence.

They were ſo couragious, that as ſoon as any Change was made, they all complied moſt obſequiouſly to it; as will appear both by *Oglethorp* and *Smith*'s Submiſſions. But while the Changes were under conſultation, they ſeeing it could bring them into no trouble, were very ſtout; but as ſoon as they were to looſe or ſuffer any thing for their Conſciences, then they grew as tractable as could be. In ſuch a Zeal, let him glory as much as he will.

39. He ſays, '*Smith* did often challenge *Peter Martyr* to a publick *Ibid.* 'Diſpute at *Oxford*; but he declined it, till Dr. *Cox*, a Man of a lewd 'Life, was ſent to moderate in the Diſpute; and till Dr. *Smith* was 'baniſhed the Univerſity.

Smith did once challenge *Peter Martyr* to a Diſpute, to which he preſently conſented: upon two Conditions; the one was, that a Licenſe ſhould firſt be obtained of the King and Council, and Delegates be appointed by them to make a juſt Report of the Diſpute: the other was, That it ſhould be managed in the Terms of Scripture, and not in the School Terms: They were both more proper for Matters of Divinity, and more eaſily underſtood by all People. Upon this, the Council ſent down Delegates: and then *Smith*, who intended only to raiſe a tumult in the Schools, withdrew himſelf, and fled beyond Sea; but was never baniſhed. His calling Dr. *Cox* a Man of a *lewd Life*, is one of the Flowers he ſtuck in to adorn the reſt. All the Writers of that Age make honourable mention of him; He was firſt ſet about this King by his Father, and continued with him in all the turns of Affairs, and did ſo faithfully diſcharge that high Truſt, that it appears he muſt have been a very extraordinary Man. This was ſo well known to the whole Nation, that in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, he met with more than ordinary Favour. This, conſidering the hatred which the Popiſh Party bore him, is a clear evidence of his great Worth; and that they were afraid to be ſevere to a Man ſo univerſally eſteemed.

Ibid. 40. He ſays, '*Cox* ſaw he was ſo much preſſed by the Doctors that diſputed with him, and the Hearers did ſo hiſs him down, that he broke off the Diſpute, giving *Peter Martyr* a high commendation for his Learning, and exhorting the reſt to live peaceably. *Peter Martyr* afterwards printed the Diſputation falſly; but by the Judgment of the Univerſity he was doubly bafled; both that he refuſed to diſpute with *Smith*, and that he did acquit himſelf ſo ill with thoſe Doctors that diſputed with him.

It is probable the Hearers might have been ſet on to hiſs, but the printed Diſputation will decide this Matter, and ſhew who argued both more nervouſly, and more ingenuouſly. We have no reaſon to believe it was falſly printed, unleſs we will take it on this Author's word: for I do not find the Popiſh Doctors did, either at this Time, or afterwards in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, when the Preſſes were all in their hands, publiſh any thing to the contrary of what *P. Martyr* printed; ſo that he neither refuſed to diſpute with *Smith*, nor was he baffled by thoſe that undertook it. *Smith* fled, and the reſt were clearly worſted. And for the Univerſity, there was no Judgment paſſed by them, unleſs he means the Rudeneſs and Clamours of ſome that might be ſet on to it.

Pag. 211. 41. He ſays, 'The Diſpute with *Bucer* at *Cambridg*, had the ſame effect.

It had ſo indeed, the printed Relation ſhews the weakneſs and diſingenuity of the Popiſh Diſputants, and that was never contradicted.

Ibid. 42. 'He gives account of many other Diſputes, and of *Gardiner's* Book, under the name of *Marcus Conſtantius*; which he ſays was a full confutation of all the Books then written for the contrary Opinion. He alſo mentions the Sermons and Impriſonment of *Criſpine*, *Moreman*, *Cole*, *Seaton*, and *Watſon*.

Theſe other Diſputes could be no more than private Conferences; but I can give no account of theſe, having met with them in none of the Writers of that Time. As for *Gardiner*'s Book, ſuch as will compare it with *Cranmer*'s Book, which it pretends to anſwer, will ſoon ſee in it the difference between plain ſimple Reaſoning on the one ſide, and ſophiſtical Cavilling on the other. But for the Sufferings of that Party, there is no great reaſon to boaſt of them; for they univerſally complied with every thing that was commanded: even the Lady *Mary*'s Chaplains did it, in the Churches where they were beneficed. Nor do I find any one Man turned out of his Cure for refuſing to Conform; but it was found, ſome of theſe did privately ſay Maſs, either in the Lady *Mary*'s Chappel, or in private Houſes; and did ſecretly act againſt what they openly profeſſed: and it was no wonder if ſuch Diſſemblers were more ſeverely handled. But there was no Blood ſhed in the Quarrel; ſo that if the Popiſh Party made ſuch reſſiſtance, as our Author pretends they did, it very much commends the gentleneſs of the Government at that Time, ſince they were ſo mercifully handled. It was far otherwiſe in Queen *Mary's* Time.

43. ‘He runs out in a Diſcourſe of the Sufferings of his Party, of *Pag.* 212.
‘their Zeal and Conſtancy: and particularly mentions *Story*, who, he
‘ſays, ſuffered Martyrdom under Queen *Elizabeth*. He had ſaid in
‘the Parliament, *Wo to thee, O Land, whoſe King is a Child*; and this
‘drew ſo much hatred on him, that he was forced to fly out of *Eng-*
‘*land.*

What the Zeal and Conſtancy of the Party was, may be gathered from what has been already ſaid. This *Story* did ſay theſe words in the Houſe of Commons, and was, by Order of the Houſe, ſent to the *Tower:* for though it was a Text of Scripture that he cited, yet the Application carried with it ſo high a reflection on the Government, that it well deſerved ſuch a cenſure: but upon his Submiſſion, the Houſe of Commons ſent an Addreſs to the Protector, that he and the Council would forgive him, which was done, and he was again admitted to the Houſe: ſo that he was not forced on this Account to fly out of *England*. And for his Martyrdom under Queen *Elizabeth*, the Record of his Trial ſhews the ground of that Sentence: He had endeavoured all he could, to ſet on many in Queen *Mary*'s Time to adviſe the cutting off Queen *Elizabeth:* His ordinary Phraſe was, **It was a fooliſh thing to cut off the Branches of Hereſy, and not to pluck it up by the Root.** He knowing how faulty he had been, fled over to *Flanders* in the beginning of her Reign: and when the Duke of *Alva* was Governor there, he preſſed him much to invade *England*; and gave him a Map of ſome of the Roads and Harbours, with a Scheme of the way of conquering the Nation. He had alſo conſulted with Magicians concerning the Queen's Life; and uſed always to curſe the Queen when he ſaid Grace after Meat. Theſe things being known in *England*, ſome got him to go a-board a Ship in *Flanders*, on another pretence, and preſently ſet ſail for *England*; where yet the Government was ſo gentle, that two Years paſt before he was brought to his Tryal: and then the Defence he made, was, That he was not accountable for what he had done in *Flanders*, it not being in the Queen's Dominions; and that he was not her Subject, having ſworn Allegiance to the King of *Spain*. But this being contrary to his natural

Allegiance, which he could never ſhake off, he was found guilty of Treaſon, and was there executed. Theſe are our Author's *Martyrs*, and are of a piece with his *Faith*.

Pag. 216. 44. 'In the room of the Biſhops that were turned out, he ſays, there were put ſome Apoſtate and Luſtful (that is, as he explains it, *married*) Monks, *Scory*, *Bird*, *Holgate*, *Barlow*, *Harley*, *Coverdale*, and *Ridley*; on whom he beſtows many ſuch Epithetes, as may be expected from him.

This is ſuch a piece of Hiſtory, as one can hardly meet with any thing like it. 1. *Bird* was made Biſhop of *Cheſter* by King *Henry*, and was the firſt that ſat in that See, it being of that King's Foundation. 2. *Holgate* was put in the See of *York* by King *Henry*, when it was void by *Lee*'s Death. 3. *Barlow* was alſo put in *Bath* and *Wells*, by the ſame King, it being likewiſe void by the Death of *Knight*. 4. *Coverdale* was put in the See of *Exeter*, upon *Veyſey*'s free Reſignation, he being then extream old. 5. *Harley* was alſo put in *Hereford*, upon the former Biſhop's Death. 6. *Ridley* and *Harley* were never married, nor *Coverdale*, for ought I can find; ſo exact is our Author in delivering the Hiſtory of that Time.

Ibid. 45. He ſays, '*Poinet*, that was made Biſhop of *Worcheſter* in *Gardiner*'s Room, beſides one Wife to whom he was married, took a Butchers Wife from him; but the Butcher ſued for his Wife, and recovered her out of his hands: and to make this paſs the better, he adds a Jeſt of *Gardiner*'s about it, that he had ſaid, Why might not he hope to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick, as well as the Butcher was to his Wife?

The falſeneſs of this Story, is clearly evinced, by the Anſwer that Dr. *Martin* ſet out in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, to a Book that *Poinet* had writ in the defence of the married Clergy. *Martin*'s Anſwer is writ with ſo much ſpite, and ſo many indecent Reflections, that though it is not reaſonable to believe all he ſays, yet it is almoſt a certain Argument, that this Story concerning *Poinet* is a Forgery; ſince if it was a thing ſo publick, as our Author makes it, *Martin* muſt have heard of it, eſpecially living in *Gardiner*'s Houſe: and it is not to be imagined, that if he did know it, he would have concealed it: So this, and the Jeſt that hangs upon it, muſt paſs as one of the flouriſhes of our Author's Pen.

Pag. 217. 46. He ſays, '*Hooper*, that uſed formerly to rail at the Luxury of the Catholick Biſhops, being made a Superintendent himſelf, for ſo the *Zuinglians* called their Biſhops, enjoyed at once two Biſhopricks, *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*.

The *Zuinglians* had no Superintendents, for ought I can find; nor was *Hooper* ever called *Superintendent*, but *Biſhop*. He was made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, which had been before King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, a part of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*. And now theſe Sees came to be united; ſo that *Hooper* had not two Biſhopricks, but one that had been for ſome Years divided into two: He only enjoyed the Revenue of *Gloceſter*, for *Worceſter* was entirely ſuppreſſed.

47. He ſays, 'On the 9th of *July*, the Mony was cried down one 'fourth part; and forty days after another fourth part: ſo that the 'whole Nation was thereby robbed of the half of their Stock. Pag. 219.

This King's Counſellors found the Coin embaſed; and they were either to let it continue in that State, to the great prejudice of the ſtate of the Nation, or to reduce it to a juſt Standard: ſo our Author condemns them for correcting what they found amiſs. But no wonder, he that quarrels with them ſo much for reforming of Religion, ſhould be likewiſe offended with them for reforming the Coin.

48. He ſays, 'The Duke of *Somerſet* was condemned, becauſe he 'had come into the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Chamber, with intention 'to have killed him, and was thereupon beheaded. Pag. 222.

This was indeed ſaid to be the cauſe of his Death; but it is not mentioned in the Record, in which it is only ſaid, that he intended to have ſeiſed on the Duke of *Northumberland*, vvithout adding, that he deſigned to have killed him.

49. He ſays, 'The two younger Siſters of Lady *Jane Gray*, vvere 'married to the eldeſt Sons of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Hunting*'*ton*. Page 223.

This Error is of no great conſequence, but it ſhews how much our Author was a ſtranger, even to the moſt publick Actions: for the youngeſt Siſter to the Lady *Jane*, was married to one *Keys* that was Groom Porter. The Earl of *Huntington*'s Son married the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Daughter.

50. He ſays, 'Soon after the Marriages, the King began to ſicken, 'and to fall in decay. Ibid.

The King had been ill four months before theſe Marriages were made: and it is probable, his ſickneſs made them be the more haſtned.

51. He ſays, '*Dudley* was very deſirous to have the Lady *Mary* in 'his power, not being much concerned about the Lady *Elizabeth*, for 'ſhe being deſcended of *Ann Boleyn*, he did not much conſider 'her. Ibid.

It was natural for *Dudley* to deſire rather to have the elder Siſter in his power, than the younger; who could not claim to the Crown, but after the other: but it appeared, by the ſubmiſſion of the whole Nation to Queen *Elizabeth*, though ſtill profeſſing Popery, that ſhe was every whit as much conſidered, as her Siſter had been formerly.

52. He ſays, 'Lady *Mary* having been ſent for by *Dudley*'s Order, 'underſtood, when ſhe was not far from *London*, that the King was 'expiring; and that ſhe would be in great danger, if ſhe came to 'Court; upon which ſhe turned back. Pag. 224.

Queen *Mary* had not been ſent for by *Dudley*'s Order, the Council had writ to her, that the King being Ill, deſired her Company: The News ſent her from Court was, That the King was Dead; ſo ſhe was deſired to ſtir no further: and upon that, retired to her Houſe in the Countrey.

Ibid. 53. He ſays, 'Twenty days after that, ſhe heard the King was dead; 'whereupon ſhe made proclaim her ſelf Queen.

The diſcovery of the former Error clears this; for ſhe immediatly gathered the People of *Suffolk* about her, and gave them her Royal Word, that they ſhould enjoy their Religion, as it had been eſtabliſhed in King *Edward*'s Time: But though they were the firſt that proclaimed her Queen, and came about her to defend her Right, they were among the firſt that felt the Severities of her Reign.

Pag. 225. 54. He ſays, '*Mary* Queen of *Scots*, was married to the Dolphin of '*France*.

She was then but a little paſt ten Years old, and was not married [illegible] the Dolphin, till five Years after this.

Pag. 229. 55. He ſays, 'Queen *Mary*, as ſoon as ſhe came to the Crown, without ſtaying for an Act of Parliament concerning it, laid aſide the prophane Title of being *Head of the Church.*

We may expect as true a Hiſtory of this Reign, as we had of the former; when in the firſt Period of it, there is ſo notorious a Falſehood. She held two Parliaments before ſhe laid aſide that Title; for in the Writ of Summons for both, ſhe was ſtiled *Supream Head of the Church*; and all the Reformed Biſhops were turned out by virtue of Commiſſions which ſhe iſſued out as *Supream Head.* There was alſo a Viſitation made over *England* by her Authority; and none were ſuffered to preach, but upon Licenſes obtained under her great Seal; ſo that ſhe both retained the Title and Power of *Supream Head*, a Year after ſhe came to the Crown.

Ibid. 56. He ſays, 'She diſcharged the Priſoners ſhe found in the *Tower*, 'recalled the Sentence againſt Cardinal *Pool*, and diſcharged a Tax due 'to her by the Subjects.

The Queen did free the Priſoners of the *Tower* at her coming to the Crown, and diſcharged the Tax at her Coronation: but for recalling the Sentence againſt Cardinal *Pool*, that being an Act of Parliament, ſhe could not recal it; nor was it done, till almoſt a Year and an half after her coming to the Crown.

57. He ſays, 'She took care of the Coin, that her Subjects might 'ſuffer no more by the embaſing it; ſo that they all ſaw the difference 'between a Catholick and Heretical Prince.

I do not find any care was taken of the Coin all her Reign; and the bringing that to a juſt Standard, is univerſally aſcribed to Queen *Elizabeth.* If there was a publick joy upon her coming to the Crown, it did not laſt long; and there was a far greater when ſhe died. This Obſervation is much more proper to the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, who began and continued to Reign with ſo great and ſo interrupted a Felicity, that none but a Writer like our Author, would have made ſuch a Remarque on the beginnings of this Reign.

58. He ſays, 'She overcame *Wiat*'s Rebellion, rather by her own *Pag.* 230.
'Faith, than by any Force ſhe had about her.

This is to make the Reader think, ſhe defeated *Wiat*, as *Gideon* did the *Amalekites*; but *Wiat* brought up not above 3000 Men, and ſhe had thrice that number about her. It was a deſperate Attempt, and that which was rather the effect of a precipitated Deſign, than of prudent Counſel.

59. He ſays, 'She put her Siſter in the *Tower*, when it had appeared *Ibid.*
'to the Senate (which in his Style is the Parliament) that ſhe had been
'engaged in *Wiat*'s Conſpiracy.

This is ſaid, to cover her barbarous Cruelty towards her Siſter; the Matter never came before the Parliament, and there was no ground ever given to juſtify the Suſpicion. It is true, *Wiat* hoping to have ſaved his Life, by ſo foul a Calumny, accuſed her: but when he ſaw he muſt die, he vindicated her openly on the Scaffold. It is certain, if they could have found any Colours to have excuſed ſevere proceedings againſt her, both the Queen and the Clergy who governed her, were much enclined to have made uſe of them.

60. He ſays, 'The Queen was more ready to pardon Crimes againſt *Pag.* 231.
'her ſelf, than Offences againſt Chriſt and Religion.

The more ſhame for thoſe who governed her Conſcience, that made her ſo implacable to all whom ſhe eſteemed Hereticks; ſince the Chriſtian-Religion came not into the World, as the Author of it ſays of himſelf, *to deſtroy Mens Lives, but to ſave them:* Yet ſhe was not ſo merciful as he would repreſent her, witneſs her Severities againſt her Siſter, and againſt *Cranmer*, even after he had ſigned the Recantation of his former Opinions.

61. He ſays, 'Though ſome of the Biſhops were guilty of Treaſon, *Ibid.*
'yet ſhe would not have them to be tried by the Temporal Laws, and
'referred, even *Cranmer* himſelf, to the Spiritual Juriſdiction.

Cranmer was tried for Treaſon, by virtue of a Commiſſion iſſued out by the Queen; and all the other Reformed Biſhops were turned out by Delegates, empowred for that end by the Queen's Commiſſions.

62. He ſays, '*Cranmer* was condemned of Treaſon in the Parlia- *Ibid.*
'ment.

He was found Guilty of Treaſon by a Jury of Commiſſioners, and thereupon condemned by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; and not by the Parliament. It is true, the Parliament did afterwards confirm the Sentence.

63. He ſays, 'Before he was Condemned, he feigned himſelf a Ca- *Ibid.*
'tholick, and ſigned his Retractation ſeventeen times with his own
'hand: But the Biſhops diſcovering his Hypocriſie, degraded him
'and delivered him to the Secular Arm, upon which he was burnt at
'*Oxford.*

The Popiſh Party have but too great Advantages againſt *Cranmer*, in this laſt part of his Life; ſo it was needleſs for our Author to have mixed ſo much falſhood with this Account: but he muſt go on in his ordinary method, even though it is not neceſſary for any of the Ends he had ſet before himſelf. *Cranmer* ſtood out above two Years and a half, in all which time he expreſſed great conſtancy of mind, and a readineſs to die for that Faith, which he had before taught: nor would he fly beyond Sea, though he had many opportunities to do it, and had reaſon enough to apprehend he could not eſcape at home. Upon his conſtant adhering to his former Doctrines, he was Condemned, Degraded, and appointed to be burnt; and then the fears of Death wrought that effect on him, that he did recant, which he ſigned thrice: but the Queen being ſet on Revenge, would needs have him burnt after all that: ſo there was no diſcovery made of his Hypocriſie, nor was there a Sentence paſt upon it; but he, for all his Recantation, was led out to be burnt: and then he returned back to his former Doctrines, and expreſſed his Repentance for his Apoſtacy, with all the ſerioufneſs and horror that was poſſible.

Ibid. 64. He ſays, 'The Laws for burning Hereticks were again revived, 'and by them not only *Cranmer*, but ſome hundreds of the falſe Teachers 'were burnt.

A Man's Inclinations do generally appear in the Lies he makes: ſo it ſeems, our Author wiſhed it had been, as he relates it was; but ſo far it was from this number, that there was not above a quarter of a hundred of the Miniſters burnt, (there were ſome hundreds of others burnt) ſo ignorant was he of our Affairs.

Page 232. 65. He ſays, 'The Queen did at firſt command all the Strangers that 'were Hereticks, to leave the Kingdom; upon which above 30000, as 'was reckoned, went out of *England*.

The greateſt number of the Strangers, were the *Germans*, and of theſe not above 200 went away, as themſelves publiſhed it; but our Author was generous and free-hearted, ſo that he would make the Exiles to bear ſome proportion to the Miniſters that were burnt; and as he made ſome hundreds of the one, ſo 30000 was but a moderate number to be exiled, 200 would have ſounded pitifully in ſuch an Heroical Work.

Ibid. 66. He ſays, 'It was brought under Debate, whether *Peter Martyr* 'ſhould be burnt; but becauſe he came into *England* upon the Publick 'Faith, he was let go; yet his Wives Body was raiſed out of the 'Church-yard, and caſt into a Dunghil; and *Bucer* and *Fagius's* Bodies were burnt.

It could not be debated whether *Peter Martyr* ſhould be burnt; for the Laws of Burning were not made till a Year after he went out of *England*: and the raiſing his Wives Body, and the burning the other Bodies, was done almoſt four Years after this; though our Author relates it as done at the ſame time.

67. He ſays, 'The Queen at firſt could not repeal the Laws then in *Ibid.*
'force for Hereſy; but ſhe ſuſpended them all, and exhorted her Sub-
'jects to return to the Catholick Rites, upon which the People did
'univerſally return to them.

The Queen could neither repeal nor ſuſpend the Laws then in force; and ſhe did neither. When ſhe was in *Suffolk*, ſhe promiſed the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law ſhould not be changed: When ſhe came to *London*, ſhe declared ſhe would force no Conſciences; but ſoon after ſhe added a Limitation to this, *Till the Parliament ſhould order it:* After that, all People were encouraged to ſet up the Maſs every-where, and it did ſpread into moſt parts of the Kingdom; but this was done both againſt Law, and the Queen's Royal Word.

68. He ſays, 'All Pulpits were opened to Catholick Preachers, and *Ibid.*
the Hereticks were not ſuffered to preach.

This he relates, as if it had been the effect of the Peoples Zeal; but it flowed from a Proclamation of the Queen's, that none ſhould preach unleſs he obtained a Licenſe under the Great Seal, which was as high an Act of Supremacy as ever her Father did.

69. He ſays, 'She made firſt of all Funeral Rites to be performed *Ibid.*
'for her Brother, after the form of the Catholicks, though he had died
'in Hereſy: and intended to have had ſuch Rites from her Father, but
'being better inſtructed, ſhe found it could not be done, for him that
'had been the chief Author of the Schiſm, and of all the evil that
'followed it.

King *Edward* was buried according to the Rites of the Engliſh Liturgy; ſo that the Funeral Rites were not according to the old Forms. It is true, the Queen had in her own Chappel ſuch Rites for him. As for her Father, ſome of the Writers of that Time, ſay, it was much preſſed, to have his Body at leaſt raiſed and carried out of the Conſecrated Ground, if not burnt: and in this ſhe is ſaid to have ſtood upon the Dignity of a Crowned Head, and the decency of a Daughters Duty to her Fathers Aſhes; ſo that ſhe would not conſent to ſo barbarous a thing.

70. 'He condemns thoſe, who having been defiled with Hereſy, and *Pag.* 233
'thereby under Cenſures, did, notwithſtanding that, adminiſter the
'Sacraments, and do the other Offices of Prieſthood, before they were
'reconciled to the See of *Rome*. This, he ſays, was ſuch a Sin, that
'it may be reckoned one of the Cauſes of that Queen's dying ſo ſoon,
'and he ſets down as a Caution for the future, that if we ſhould come
'to be again reconciled to that See, we might not relapſe into the like
'Error.

This was indeed Cardinal *Pool*'s Advice, that the whole Kingdom ought to have been put under an Interdict, and that all Holy Offices were to ceaſe, till they were reconciled to the See of *Rome*: but the whole Clergy, not only many, as he ſays, being involved in thoſe Cenſures, if they had ſtaied for officiating, till they had been reconciled to the See of *Rome*, perhaps it had not been done at all.

Ibid. 71. He ſays, ‘The Queen, partly by her Authority, partly by the ‘concurrence of the Parliament, got the ancient way of the Service ‘to be again reſtored, the Hereticks not daring to oppoſe it much.

All that was done in the firſt Parliament, was the reſtoring things to the ſame ſtate they had been in, when King *Henry* died; which was indeed the ſetting up that they called *Schiſme* by Law. It was no wonder thoſe he calls Hereticks could not oppoſe it much; when ſo many of their Biſhops had been turned out and impriſoned; others were violently thruſt out of the Houſe of Lords, and the Elections of the Members of Parliament had been ſo managed, that in many places Force was uſed, and falſe Returns were made in other Places.

Pag. 234. 72. He ſays, ‘Only one that was bolder than the reſt, threw a Dagger at him who preached the firſt Catholick Sermon at St. *Pauls:* ‘and another diſcharged a Piſtol at another, preaching in the ſame ‘place.

This, one would think by his Relation, was done after the Parliament had ſet up the Maſs again; whereas it was ſoon after the Queen came to the Crown, long before the Parliament, and that of the Piſtol was ſome months after the Parliament. But if he had deſigned to deliver a true Hiſtory to the World, he ſhould have added, that upon the Tumult that was raiſed againſt the Preacher, he prayed Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Rogers* (two afterwards burnt for the Reformed *Religion*) to ſpeak to the People, and perſwade them to be quiet; upon which they both exhorted the People to behave themſelves more peaceably and reverently; and *Bradford* went into the Pulpit, that he might be the better heard; and ſo near was he to the Danger, that the Dagger pierced his Sleeve; yet theſe two were had in ſuch eſteem, that the Tumult was quieted; and they carried the Preacher ſafe home. One of them being to preach in the Afternoon, exhorted the People to be peaceable and quiet, and ſeverely condemned the Tumult that had been in the morning. But ſuch was the gratitude and juſtice of the Popiſh Party, that it was pretended, becauſe they had appeaſed the Tumult, that therefore they had alſo raiſed it: ſo they were upon that pretence put in Priſon, where they lay a Year and a half, till the Laws for burning were revived, and were then burnt for *Hereſy*.

Pag. 235. 73. He ſays, ‘*Commendone* was ſent by Order from the Pope into ‘*England*, who obtained a Writing from the Queen, wherein ſhe pro‘miſed Obedience to the See of *Rome*; upon which *Pool* was appoin‘ted Legat.

It is no wonder our Author underſtood not the Affairs of the Reformation aright, when he was ſo ill informed about the Tranſactions of his own Party. *Commendone* was not ſent by the Pope to *England*. The Legat at *Bruſſels* ſent him over from thence, without ſtaying for Orders from *Rome*.

Page 239. 74. He ſays, ‘*William Thomas*, Clerk of the Council, had conſpired ‘to kill the Queen; for which he juſtly ſuffered.

Of this I find nothing on Record; ſo it muſt depend on our Author's Credit, which is not infallible.

75. He ſays, 'The Impoſture of *Elizabeth Crofts*, was ſet up by the *Ibid.* Perſuaſion of many of the Hereticks: and when it was diſcovered, ſhe confeſſed ſhe had been ſet on to it by others, and by one *Drake* in particular; but they all fled.

In the Account that was then publiſhed of that Impoſture, *Drake* only is accuſed for it: what he was, does not appear to me, for I have never found him mentioned but on this Occaſion; ſo there was no reaſon to transfer the private Guilt of this Conſpiracy on a whole Party, as our Author does; though upon his Credit, one of our Writers has alſo done it.

76. He ſays, 'Thoſe in whoſe hands the Church-Lands were, had *Pag.* 243. great apprehenſions of their being forced to reſtore them, becauſe the Queen had reſtored all the Land that were in her hands, and had again converted the Collegiat Church of *Weſtminſter* into an Abbey; But to prevent the ill Effects that might have followed on this, the Cardinal did, in the Pope's Name, abſolve them from all Cenſures, for poſſeſſing thoſe Lands, and that was confirmed by Letters ſent over from the Pope.

He obſerves the order of Time very exactly, when he ſets the Queen's reſtoring the Church-Lands, and founding the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, as the occaſions of the Fears the Laity were in, of being forced to reſtore the reſt of the Church-Lands; and of the Cardinal's abſolving them from all Cenſures, for keeping them ſtill in their hands. The Order in which this was done, was thus; In *Novemb.* 1554, in the Act of Reconciliation with the See of *Rome*, there was a ſpecial *Proviſo* made for the Church-Lands, which the Cardinal confirmed in the Pope's Name. In the Year after that, the Queen gave up into the Cardinal Hands, all the Church-Lands that belonged to the Crown; and two Years after, ſhe founded the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*; ſo little influence had theſe things on the other that were done before. But he was groſly miſtaken, when he ſaid the Pope approved All: for he, in plain terms, refuſed to ratify what the Cardinal had done; and ſoon after ſet out a ſevere Bull, Curſing and Condemning all that held any Church-Lands.

77. He ſays, 'All the Biſhops being ſenſible of their Schiſmatical *Pag.* 244. way of entring into their Sees, did deſire and obtain a Confirmation from the Pope, *Kitchin*, Biſhop of *Landaff*, only excepted, who afterwards relapſed into Hereſy under Queen *Elizabeth*; and ſays, it is likely the want of this Confirmation, made him be more eaſily overcome.

This our Author wrote, being a thing very probable; and ſeldom do his Authorities for what he aſſerts, riſe higher. It was alſo a pretty ſtrain of his Wit, to make the omitting of it, fall ſingly on the only Biſhop that conformed under Queen *Elizabeth*. But it is certain, there was no ſuch thing done at all; for if any had done it, *Bonner* was as likely as any other; ſince as none had been more faulty in King

Henry's Time; ſo none ſtudied to redeem that with more ſervile compliances than he did; yet there is nothing of this recorded in his Regiſter, which continues entire to this day.

Pag. 246. 78. He ſays, 'The State of the Univerſities was reſtored to what it 'had been, and *Oxford* in particular; by *Petrus* a *Soto*'s means, who 'was in the Opinion of all, much preferred to P. *Martyr*.

He that gathered the Antiquities of *Oxford*, though no partial Writer on this occaſion, repreſents the ſtate of that Univerſity very differently; that there were almoſt no Divines in it, and ſcarce any publick Lectures. But when *Sanders* writ his Poem, the Spaniſh Councils were ſo much depended on, by him and his Party, that it was fit to put that Complement on the Nation, concerning *Petrus a Soto*. Whether it was true or falſe, was a Circumſtance which he generouſly overlook'd, for moſt part.

Pag. 248. 79. He ſays, 'Queen *Elizabeth* had done many things in Queen *Mary*'s Time, both againſt her Perſon and Government.

He knew this was ſo falſe, that there was never a Circumſtance, or a Preſumption brought againſt her; but the Information which *Wiat* gave, hoping thereby to ſave himſelf; and yet he denied that on the Scaffold. If there had been any colour to have juſtified the taking away her Life, both the Queen and her Counſellors were as much enclined to it, as our Author himſelf was.

Ibid. 80. He ſays, 'King *Henry* ſaid in Parliament, ſhe was not, and could 'not be his Daughter, for a ſecret Reaſon which he had revealed to the 'Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

This was aptly enough ſaid by a Writer, that had emancipated himſelf from the Laws of Truth and Veracity, to appeal to ſuch a Story; yet to have made it paſs the better, he ſhould have named other Circumſtances; for ſuch a thing cannot be eaſily believed, ſince after *Ann Boleyn*'s Death, the King continued to treat *Elizabeth* ſtill as his Daughter; ſo that when ſhe writ to his next Queen, ſhe ſubſcribed *Daughter*: ſhe was in all things educated with the Care and State that became a King's Child; and was, both by Act of Parliament, and by his Will, declared to be ſo. Now to think that ſuch a King would have done all this, after he had in Parliament declared that ſhe could not be his Child, is a little too coarſe to be believed, and ſo ſhould have been ſupported with more than ordinary Proofs.

Ibid. 81. He ſays, 'She came to the Crown, meerly by virtue of the Act 'of Parliament, without being Legitimated.

In this, ſhe and her Siſter were upon the ſame Level; for neither of them were declared Legitimate; ſo this was not to be objected to the one, more than to the other Siſter.

Pag. 249. 82. He ſays, 'Queen *Mary* being declared, by Act of Parliament, 'in the beginning of her Reign, Legitimate; and her Mothers Marriage being declared good, *Elizabeth* was thereby of new Illegitimated; yet ſhe never repealed the Laws againſt her Title: but kept 'the Crown meerly upon the Authority of an Act of Parliament, with-'out having any regard to her Birth.

Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, being in the ſame Condition; and was either a lawful Queen before that Act was made, or elſe that Act was of no force, if it had not the Royal Aſſent given by a lawful Queen. So Queen *Elizabeth* was as much Queen before any ſuch Act could have paſſed, as afterwards: and therefore ſince it was not neceſſary for the ſecuring her Title, it was a ſign of her tenderneſs of her Father's Memory, to which Queen *Mary* had no regard, not to revive the remembrance of things that muſt have turned ſo much to his diſhonour, as that would have done.

83. He ſays, 'Queen *Mary* not being able to prevent her Siſters 'Succeſſion, ſent a Meſſage to her on her Death-Bed, deſiring her to 'pay her Debts, and to preſerve the Catholick Religion; both which 'ſhe promiſed, but performed neither. Pag. 250.

This is ſaid without any Proof, and is not at all probable; but is an Ornament added to ſet off the one, and blemiſh the other. Queen *Mary*'s Sickneſs was concealed as much as was poſſible. A week before her Death, they were burning Hereticks as buſily as ever; and by the managing Affairs in the Parliament, it appears there was great care taken to conceal the deſperate Condition ſhe was in: ſo it is not likely that any ſuch Meſſages was ſent by her to her Siſter.

And thus far have I traced our Author in the Hiſtory he gives of the Reigns of King *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*, and have diſcovered an equal meaſure of Ignorance and Malice in him: but he was the fitter to ſerve their Ends who employed him, and were reſolved to believe him, how falſe or improbable ſoever his Relation might be. We ſee what uſe they have made of him ever ſince that Time. His Friends were ſo ſenſible of the Advantage their Cauſe received from ſuch a way of Writing, that they reſolved to continue down the Hiſtory through Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in which, we are told, *Sanders* himſelf made ſome Progreſs; but that not being done to ſuch a perfection as *Riſhton* and others intended to bring it, they undertook it; and have written ſo skilfully after the Copy *Sanders* had given them, that if it is poſſible, they have out-done him in theſe two particular Excellencies of writing Hiſtories, in which he was ſo great a Maſter, *Impudence, and Falſhood as to Matter of Fact.* In one thing they had manifeſtly the better of him, that they writing of what fell out in their own Time, could not be ignorant of the truth of Things; whereas he writing of what was done before he was born, or when he was but a Child, might have ſaid many things more innocently, delivering them as he had them by report. But this Excuſe cannot fit them, who did knowingly, and on Deſign, prevaricate ſo groſly in Matters of Fact: A little taſte of theſe I ſhall give, only ſo far as I have carried down the Hiſtory of this Queen, for, to examine all the Faults they have committed, would require a new Volume; but from the taſte I ſhall give the Reader, he will eaſily know what judgment to paſs on the whole work.

As for the Decency of the Style, the firſt Period gives an Eſſay of it, in which the Author promiſes ſuch a Deſcription of the Queen's Reign, that this *Lioneſs ſhall be known by her Claws:* And for his ſincerity in writing, the whole Preface is one indication of it, in which he accuſes the Queen for acting againſt the Laws of Nature and Religion, in aſſuming the Supremacy; and repreſents it ſo, that the Reader muſt needs think ſhe was the High Prieſt of *England*, that ordained Biſhops and Miniſters, and performed all other Holy Offices: whereas ſhe was ſo ſcrupulous in this Point, that as ſhe would not be called the *Supream Head of this Church*, ſo ſhe made it be declared, both in one of the Articles of Religion, ſet forth in the beginning of her Reign, and afterwards in an Act of Parliament, what was the nature of that Supremacy which ſhe aſſumed; making it both a part of the Religion, and the Law of the Land. By theſe it was declared, that they gave her not *the Miniſtry of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; but only that Prerogative which was given by God himſelf in the Scriptures, to Godly Princes; that they ſhould rule all committed to their charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword, the ſtubborn and evil Doers.* If Men were not paſt ſhame, they could not, after ſuch an expreſs and publick Declaration, put on the confidence of writing as this Author does. I ſhall follow him in ſome more ſteps, and doubt not not but I ſhall convince the Reader, that he was the fitteſt Man that could be found, to have writ a Continuation of *Sanders*'s Hiſtory.

Pag. 255. 1. He ſays, '*Henry* the Second of *France*, in a ſolemn Aſſembly, did, 'after Queen *Mary*'s Death, declare the Queen of *Scotland* his Daugh-'ter-in-Law, Queen of *England* and *Ireland*.

This was neither done in a Solemn Aſſembly, nor preſently after Queen *Mary*'s Death; nor was it done by *Henry* the Second. The Queen of *Scotland* did, by her Uncles Advice, aſſume that Title, without any publick Act: and it was not done till they underſtood that *Philip* was moving for a Diſpenſation in the Court of *Rome*, for marrying Queen *Elizabeth*; King *Henry* did only connive at it, but neither ordered it, nor juſtified it, when the Queen's Ambaſſador complained of it. An Author that is ſo happy in his firſt Period, as to make three ſuch Miſtakes, is likely to give us an excellent Hiſtory.

Ibid. 2. He ſays, 'The Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and all the other Biſhops, 'one only excepted, refuſed to anoint her.

This was one of the moſt extraordinary things that ever was in any Government; that the Biſhops refuſing to crown the Queen, were not only not puniſhed for it, but continued to hold their Biſhopricks ſtill: and the Arch-Biſhop of *York* was continued a Privy Counſellor many months after this. This is none of the Claws of a *Lioneſs*, but rather a ſlackneſs and eaſineſs of Clemency, that deſerves cenſure, if it had not been that the Queen reſolved to begin her Reign, with the moſt ſignal Acts of Mercy that were poſſible.

Pag. 256. 3. He ſays, '*Cecil* and his Friend *Bacon*, raiſed vaſt Eſtates to them-'ſelves, and involved the Government into vaſt Difficulties, and 'brought the Queen's Revenue into great, or rather inextricable 'Confuſion.

This may paſs among Forreigners, and perhaps be believed; but we at home, that when we wiſh for happy Times, and excellent Counſellors, do naturally reflect on the Days of that glorious Queen, and her wiſe Councils, will not be much wrought on by it. The Revenue was never better managed, the Undertakings of the Government were never greater, and the Charge was never leſs. This gives a Character of thoſe Miniſters beyond all exception. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* never raiſed himſelf above that Quality which he brought with him into the Court. And *Cecil* was not advanced above the loweſt Rank of Nobility, tho he was in the chief Miniſtry above thirty Years; and though they both left good Eſtates behind them, yet far ſhort of what might have been expected after ſo long a courſe in ſuch great and high Employments.

Pag. 257. 4. He ſays, 'There was an Oath enacted in the Parliament for the 'Queen's Supremacy; and thoſe who refuſed to ſwear it, for the firſt 'Offence were to forfeit their Benefices, and all their Goods, and to be 'Priſoners for Life; the ſecond Offence was made Treaſon.'

Such a falſe recital of a printed Act, deſerves a ſeverer Animadverſion than I ſhall beſtow on it. The refuſing that Oath, did infer no other puniſhment, but the forfeiture of Benefices and Offices; and the Parties ſo refuſing, were ſubjected to no other Danger; nor was the Oath to be put to them a ſecond Time. It is true, if any did aſſert the Authority of any Forreign Potentate, that was more penal: Yet that was not as our Author repreſents it; for the firſt Offence there was a forfeiture of ones Goods; or in caſe of Poverty, one Years Impriſonment; the ſecond Offence brought the Offender within a Premunire; and the third was Treaſon.

Pag. 258. 5. He ſays, 'The Change that was made, of the Title of *Supream Head*, into that of *Supream Governor*, deceived many; yet others 'thought that the Queen might have thereby aſſumed an Authority for 'Adminiſtring the Sacraments; but to clear all Scruples, ſhe in the firſt 'Viſitation ordered it to be thus explained, that ſhe thereby pretended 'to no more Power than what her Father and Brother had exerciſed.

In the firſt Viſitation ordered by the Queen, there was an Injunction given Explanatory to the Oath of Supremacy; declaring that ſhe did not pretend to any Authority for the Miniſtry of Divine Service in the Church, and challenged nothing, but what had at all times belonged to the Crown of *England*; which was a Soveraignty over all manner of Perſons under God: ſo that no Forreign Power had any Rule over them; and ſo was willing to acquit ſuch as took it in that ſenſe, of all the Penalties in the Act. So that it is plain ſhe aſſumed nothing but the Royal Authority, and was ready to accept of ſuch Explications as might clear all Ambiguities.

Pag. 259. 6. 'He reckons, among the Laws that were made, this for one, that 'Biſhops ſhould hold their Sees only during the Queen's Pleaſure, and 'exerciſe no other Authority, but only as they derived it from her.

The Laws he reckons,were thoſe made by King *Henry* now revived; but this Law is falſly recited in both the parts of it: for the Biſhops were to hold their Sees, as all others do their Free-holds, without any dependence on the Queen's Pleaſure; and were to exerciſe their Juriſdiction in their own Names, and according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and were not forced to take Commiſſions to hold their Biſhopricks during the Queen's Pleaſure, as had been done both in King *Henry* and King *Edward*'s Time.

Pag. 263. 7. ‘ After a long diſcourſe againſt the Queen's Supremacy, he ſays, ‘ The Laws concerning it, and other Points of Religion, did paſs with great difficulty in the Houſe of Lords, all the Biſhops oppoſing them, and thoſe Noblemen in particular, who had gone to *Rome* upon the Embaſſy Queen *Mary* ſent thither, did very earneſtly diſſwade it.

It is true, all the Biſhops did oppoſe them, tho both *Tonſtal*, *Heath*, *Thirleby*, and ſome others had conſented to, and written for King *Henry*'s Supremacy; which was (at leaſt as to the manner of expreſſing it) of a higher ſtrain than that to which the Queen did now pretend. They had alſo ſubmitted to all the Changes that had been made in King *Edward*'s Time: For the Temporal Lords, none diſſented from the Act of Supremacy, but the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Viſcount *Montacute*, ſo the oppoſition was ſmall, where ſo few entred their Diſſents; and of theſe, only the Viſcount *Montacute* had been at *Rome*, ſent thither by Queen *Mary*. It is true, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, and the Lords, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, diſſented from the Bill for the Book of Common Prayer, and ſome other Acts that related to the Reformation; but theſe being but few in number, were far ſhort of thoſe that were for them: and it is clear, the Queen left the Peers wholly to their freedom, ſince the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, notwithſtanding his Diſſent, continued to hold that great Office,of Lord Treaſurer, in which he had been put in King *Edward*'s Time, and which he had kept all Queen *Mary*'s Reign, till his Death, fourteen Years after this; this may perhaps be juſtly cenſured, as looking too like a remiſſneſs in the Matters of Religion, when he that diſſented to the Reformation, was yet ſo long employed in the greateſt Truſt in the Kingdom;but certainly this is none of the *Claws* to know the *Lioneſs* by.

8. He ſays, ‘ The Queen gave the Earl of *Arundel* ſome hopes that ſhe would marry him, and ſo perſwaded him to conſent to the Laws now made; but afterwards ſlighted him, and declared, *ſhe would live and die a Virgin*.

The Journals of Parliament ſhew how falſe this is; for the Addreſs was made to the Queen, perſuading her to marry; to which ſhe made the Anſwer ſet down by our Author,on the *6th* of *February*,and the Act of Supremacy, with the other Acts concerning Religion, paſſed in *April* thereafter: ſo that the Queen, after ſo publick a Declaration of her unwillingneſs to marry, could not have deluded the Earl of *Arundel* with the hopes of it.

Ibid. 9. He ſays, ‘ She wrought on the D. of *Norfolk*, by promiſing him a Diſpenſation in the Buſineſs of his Marriage, which he could not obtain of the Pope.

It is not like the Duke of *Norfolk* was denied any ſuch Diſpenſation from *Rome*, nor are there any Diſpenſations granted in *England* for marrying in the forbidden Degrees: Couſin Germans are the neareſt that may marry. The obtaining a Licenſe for that at *Rome*, is a matter of courſe,ſo the Fees are but paied; and the Law allows that to all in *England.* Nor are there any Diſpenſations in Matrimonial Matters, except concerning the Time, the Place, or the asking of Banes; and it is not likely theſe were ever denied to any at *Rome.* As for his long Excurſion concerning that Duke's Death, it not falling within the compaſs of my Hiſtory, I ſhall not follow him in it.

10. He ſays, ‘ The Proteſtants deſired a publick Diſputation: ſo the *Pag.* 266.
‘ Queen commanded the Biſhops to make ready for it; they refuſed it a
‘ great while, ſince that ſeemed to make the Faith of the Church ſubject
‘ to the judgment of the ignorant Laity; but at laſt they were forced to
‘ yield to it; and the Points were, Communion in both kinds, Prayer
‘ in a known Tongue, and the like.

The Act of Council has it otherwiſe: By it we ſee that the Arch-Biſhop of *York* being then a Privy Councellor, did heartily agree to it, and undertook that the reſt of his Brethren ſhould follow the Orders that were made by the Council concerning it; tho it is not to be denied, but ſome of the Biſhops were ſecretly diſſatisfied with it: as they had good reaſon; ſince a publick Diſputation was like to lay open the weakneſs of their Cauſe, which was never ſo ſafe, as when it was received in groſs, without deſcending to troubleſome Enquiries concerning it. The Communion in both kinds was not one of the Articles.

11. He ſays, ‘ *Bacon* a Lay-man was Judg, the Arch-Biſhop of *York* *Ibid.*
‘ ſitting next to him, only for forms-ſake.

Bacon was not Judg; the whole Privy-Council were preſent to order the Forms of the Debate; and he, as the firſt of that Board, did only give directions,according to the order that had been formerly agreed on.

12. He ſays, ‘ On the 3*d* of *April* they diſputed, but there was no- *Ibid.*
‘ thing done with Order or Juſtice, the time was ſpent in Declamations,
‘ while the profane Judg directed all things at his pleaſure, ſo that it
‘ came to nothing.

It is true, the Order was broken: But it had been unkindly done of our Author to tell by whom. The Papiſts refuſed the firſt day to give their Reaſons in writing, as had been agreed on before; and as was accordingly done by the Reformed; and upon the ſecond day they refuſed to proceed, unleſs, contrary to what had been concluded, the Reformed ſhould read their Papers firſt: So the Diſputation broke up, it appearing evidently, that the one ſide were not afraid of a publick Hearing, but that the other were.

The Concluſion.

I Purſue theſe Calumnies no further, becauſe I cannot offer a Confutation of them, without a larger digreſſion: ſince I break off my Hiſtory in the ſecond Year of this Reign; ſo that I cannot refer the Reader to thoſe more copious Accounts given by me, as I have done in the former Remarques; where a ſhort hint was ſufficient. And I do not judg it worth the while, to enter into ſuch a full ſearch of theſe Matters, as a Confutation would require, only to expoſe *Riſhton.* Theſe Evidences which I have given of his Ignorance and Injuſtice, will ſatisfy impartial Readers; and I am out of hopes of convincing thoſe that are ſo wedded to an Intereſt, that they are reſolved to believe all that is ſaid of their ſide, how improbable ſoever it may appear, or how ſlenderly ſoever it may be proved.

And now I hope, the Reformation of this Church appears in its true Colours, and the Calumnies by which its Adverſaries have endeavoured ſo long to diſgrace it, are ſo evidently confuted, that they will be no more ſupported by their own ſide, nor ſo tamely aſſented to, by any that in their Hearts may perhaps love the Reformation, and yet are too eaſily prevailed on to drink in the Prejudices that are raiſed by the confidence with which thoſe Slanders have been vented. Now the Matter is better uuderſtood, and tho at this diſtance, and after the raſure of Records made in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, it muſt be acknowledged that there are many things, either quite paſt over, or ſo defectively related by me, that this Work wants that perfection which were to be deſired. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, beſides the faults of ſtyle, Method, or way of Expreſſion, which may be more juſtly put to my account, tho having done it in the beſt manner I could, I have little to anſwer for, but the preſumption of undertaking a Deſign too high for me to perform with that Life and Perfection that ſuch a Subject required; and even in that, I rather ſubmitted to the Authority of others, who engaged me in it, than vainly fancied my ſelf able to accompliſh it; but after all thoſe Allowances that are neceſſary, of which there can none be more ſenſible than my ſelf, I am not out of hope but this Work may have ſome good effect, on ſuch as ſhall read it impartially and with candor; and that thoſe who are already of our Church, ſhall be induced to like it the better, when they ſee what the beginnings of our Reformation were: and thoſe who are not of our Communion, may the more eaſily be brought into it, when they ſee by what Steps, and upon what Reaſons the Changes were made: and if this Succeſs follows my poor Endeavours, I ſhall think my Time and Pains have been well employed.

I am apprehenſive enough of the Faults I may be guilty of, but I ſhall now give the Reader ſuch an aſſurance of my readineſs to correct them, as ſoon as I am convinced of them, that I hope, if any thing occurs to any that deſerves cenſure, they will communicate it firſt to my ſelf; and if I do not, upon better information, retract what I have written, then I ſhall allow them to make it publick in what manner they pleaſe. And it may be preſumed I will not be for the future unwilling to do this, by the following account of the Miſtakes which I made in the former Part, communicated to me by Mr. *Fulman*, of whom I made mention in the Preface. With theſe I conclude this Work.

Some

Some Miſtakes in the Firſt Part of this Hiſtory, communicated to me by Mr. William Fulman, *Rector of* Hampton Meyſey; *in* Gloceſterſhire.

Page 7. line 10. from bottom. LOrd *Almoner*] It is queſtionable whether the *Almoner* was then called *Lord*, and more queſtionable whether *Wolſey* were then *Almoner*, when he was thus recommended to the King's Favour; for *Polidore Virgil* who lived in *England* at that time, or very near it, ſays he was Chaplain to King *Henry* the *7th*, and now made Almoner to King *Henry* the *8th*, being before that time Dean of *Lincoln*, made ſo 2 *Feb.* 1508. inſtalled by Proxy, 25 *March* 1509. and perſonally 21 *Auguſt* 1511. and ſo only he is ſtiled in the Univerſity Regiſter, 12 *April* 1510. when he was made Batchelor of Divinity.

P. 8. Margent. Theſe Numbers ſeem queſtionable, the Temporalities of *Lincoln* are ſaid to be reſtored, 4 *March*, 5 *Regni*; *i. e.* $151\frac{3}{4}$; but then it was done before his Conſecration, which *Godwin* ſays, was the *26th* of *March* that Year. But this might be to give him a right to the mean Profits, by reſtoring the Temporalities before *Lady-day*, though he was not conſecrated till the *26th*. before *November*, there ſhould be (6) added, for on that day was he tranſlated to *York*. And whereas it is ſaid he had the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, *May* 4. 20 *Regni*, *i. e.* 1528. this muſt be a miſtake, for *Fox*'s Regiſter reaches to the *9th* of *Septemb.* that Year; ſo perhaps it was 4 *March*, 20 *Regni*, *i.e.* in *March* $152\frac{8}{9}$. 'But I took all theſe Dates 'from the Rolls; and I muſt add one thing, that I have often ſeen cauſe 'to queſtion the exactneſs of the Clerks in the enroling of Dates, though 'it ſeems a preſumption to queſtion the Authority of a Record.

P. 10. l. 16. from bottom. Here, and in ſeveral other places, as *pag.* 35, 36, 134, 208, 321, it is ſuppoſed, That the next Heir of the Crown was *Prince of Wales*. The Heir apparent of the Crown is indeed Prince, but is not *Prince of Wales*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, unleſs he has it given him by a Creation. And it is ſaid, That there is nothing on Record to prove that any of K. *Henry*'s Children were ever created *Prince of Wales*. There are indeed ſome hints of the Lady *Mary*'s being ſtiled Princeſs of *Wales*; for when a Family was appointed for her, 1525. *Veyſey* Biſhop of *Exeter*, her Tutor, was made Preſident of *Wales*. She alſo is ſaid to have kept her Houſe at *Ludlow*; and *Leland* ſays, That *Teken-hill*, an Houſe in thoſe Parts built for Prince *Arthur*, was repaired for her. And *Tho. Linacre* dedicates his *Rudiments of Grammar* to her, by the Title of *Princeſs of* Cornwal *and* Wales.

P. 19. l. 26. Beſides the Letter of Pope *Leo*'s declaring K. *Henry*, *Defender of the Faith*, there was a more pompous one ſent over by P. *Clement* the *7th*, *March* 5. $152\frac{3}{4}$, which, as is ſuppoſed, granted that Title to his Succeſſors, whereas the firſt Grant ſeems to have been only Perſonal.

P.22. l.2. No wonder there was no Seal to that Grant of King *Edgars*, for Seals were little uſed in *England* before the Conqueſt.

Ibid. l. 10. The Monks were not then ſetled in half the Cathedrals in *England*, their chief Seats were in the Rich Abbeys, that were ſcarce ſubject to the Biſhops.

Ibid.*Marg.* *April* 1524, was not the 14*th* Year of the King's Reign, as it is put on the Margent, but the 15*th*.

P.44. l.5. from bottom. The Lord *Piercy* was in the Cardinal's Family, rather in a way of Education (not unuſual in thoſe Times) than of Service.

P.47. l.12. from bottom. The General of the Obſervants in *Spain*, ſeems an improper expreſſion, for the Generals have the government of the whole Order every-where; ‘yet I find him ſo called in ſome Originals, ſee *Coll. pag.*22,23. ‘whether it was done improperly, or whether that Order was then only ‘in *Spain*, I cannot determine.

P.56. l.19. How far the Cardinal had carried the Foundation at *Ipſwich*, it is not known; but it is certain he did never finiſh what he had deſigned at *Oxford*. ‘But in this I went according to the Letters Patents, by which ‘it appears he had then done his part, and had ſet off both Lands and ‘Mony for theſe Foundations.

P.69. l.16. from bottom. *Campegio*'s Son is by *Hall*, none of his Flatterers, ſaid to have been born in Wedlock, *i. e.* before he took Orders. This is alſo confirmed by *Gauricus Genitur.* 24. who ſays, he had by his Wife three Sons and two Daughters.

P.77. l.18. *Campegio* might take upon him to direct the Proceſs, as being ſent Expreſs from *Rome*, or to avoid the imputation that might have been caſt on the Proceedings, if *Wolſey* had done it, but he was not the ancienter Cardinal, for *Wolſey* was made alone, *Sept.* 7. 1515. and *Campegio*, with many more, was advanced, *July* 1. 1517.

P.81. l.32. The Lord *Herbert* ſays, the King gave him only the uſe of *Richmond*, which is more probable.

P.82. l.6. The Cardinal died *Novemb.* 29. as moſt Writers agree; ſo it is wrong ſet in the *Hiſtory* the 28, and in the Picture 26 for 29.

P.85. l.21. This Book is in the end of it, ſaid to be printed 1530, in *April*; but it ſeems an Error, for 1531: for the Cenſures of the Univerſities, which are printed in, and mentioned in ſeveral places of it, do all bear date after that *April*, except thoſe made by theſe of *Oxford* and *Orleans*.

from Bottom. P. 86. What is ſaid concerning the Author of the *Antiquities* of *Oxford*, has been much complained of by him. ‘I find he has Authorities for what ‘he ſaid, but they are from Authors whoſe Manuſcripts he peruſed, who ‘are of no better Credit than *Sanders* himſelf, ſuch as *Harpsfield*, and ‘others of the like Credit. And I am ſatisfied, that he had no other De-

‘ ſign in what he writ, but to ſet down things as he found them in the ‘ Authors whom he made uſe of.

P. 92. ’ *Calvin*’s Epiſtle ſeems not to belong to this Caſe, for beſides that, he ‘ was then but 21, and tho he was a Doctor of the Law, and had often preached before he was 24, for then he ſet out *Seneca de Clementia*, with Notes on it; Yet this was too ſoon to think he could have been conſulted in ſo great a Caſe. That Epiſtle ſeems to relate to a Prince who was deſirous of ſuch a Marriage, and not of diſſolving it; though it is indeed ſtrange, that in treating of that Queſtion, he ſhould make no mention of ſo famous a caſe as that of King *Henry*, which had made ſo much noiſe in the World.

P. 110. l. 22. The Letter dated the 8*th* of *Decemb.* ſhould have been mentioned immediately after that of the 5*th*, being but three days after it, and the Appeal that followed ſhould have been ſet down after it. It were alſo fit to publiſh the Appeal it ſelf, for the power of Appealing was a Point much contraverted. Pope *Pius* the 2*d* condemned it 1549; yet it was uſed by the *Venetians* 1509, and by the Univerſity of *Paris*, *March* 27. 1517.

P. 113. l. 4. *Pool*, as Dean of *Exeter*, is ſaid to be have been one of the Lower Houſe of Convocation; which doth not agree with the Conjecture, *p.* 129. that the Deans at that time ſat in the Upper Houſe of Convocation.

P. 120. l. 8. Theſe ſent by the King to *Rome*, came thither in *February*, not in *March*; and the Articles they put in were 27, not 28, as it is there ſaid. Theſe, with other ſmall Circumſtances, appear from a Book then printed of theſe Diſputes.

P. 126. l. 11. If *Cranmer* was preſent at *Ann Boleyn*’s Marriage, which was certainly in *Novemb.* *Warham* having died in *Auguſt* before, he could not have delayed his coming to *England* ſix months. *Antiq. Brit.* ſays, he followed the Emperor to *Spain*; but *Sleiden* ſays, that the Emperor went no further than *Mantua* this Year, and ſailed to *Spain* in *March* following; and *Cranmer* would not go then with him, for he was conſecrated, not on the 13*th* of *March*, (which is an Error) but on the 30*th* of *March*.

P. 137. l. 10. The order in which theſe Books were publiſhed, is not obſerved, they were thus printed.

1. *De vera differentia Regiæ Poteſtatis & Eccleſiaſticæ*, (written by *Edw. Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*) 1534.

2. *De vera Obedientia*, (by *Stephen Gardiner*) 1535. ſet out with *Bonner*’s Preface before it, in *Jan.* 1536.

3. *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, 1537. which was afterwards reduced into another Form, under another Title, *viz.* *A Neceſſary Doctrine, and Erudition for any Chriſtian Man*, 1540. But there was another put out before all theſe.

De poteſtate Chriſtianorum Regum in ſuis Eccleſiis contra Pontificis Tyrannidem; and the diſtinction there made between the Biſhop’s Book, and the King's Book ſeems not well applied. It is more probable that the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, ſet out by the Biſhops, was called their Book; and that being afterwards put in another Method, and ſet out by the King's Authority, it was called his Book.

P.150. l.19. *Bocking* is called a Canon of *Chriſts-Church* in *Canterbury*. But there were then no Canons in that Church, they were all Monks.

P.158. l.6. The Biſhops Suffragans were before common in *England*, ſome Abbots, or rich Clergy-Men, procuring under Forreign, or perhaps feigned Titles, that Dignity; and ſo performing ſome parts of the Epiſcopal Function, in large or neglected Dioceſſes; ſo the Abbot or Prior of *Tame* was one, *Coll. p.* 148. Such was *Robert King* Abbot of *Oſeney*, after Biſhop of *Oxford*; and *Thom. Corniſh* a Reſidentiary of *Wells*, who by the name of *Thomas Epiſcopus Tinenſis*, did confer Orders, and performed other Epiſcopal Functions for *Fox* while he was Biſhop of *Exeter*, from 1487, to 1492. and afterwards, when he was Biſhop of *Wells*, as appears by both thoſe Regiſters: he died in the Year 1513. Of this I could give more Inſtances if it were neceſſary.

P.203. l.5, 6. It is ſaid, ſome were judged to be Hanged, and others to be Beheaded. But this being a Caſe of Treaſon, the Judgments muſt have been the ſame, tho executed in different ways, by order from the King. 'This 'I copied from Judg *Spelman*'s Common-Place Book.

P.203. l.21. The Original Declaration ſhould have been ſet down, 'but I thought 'that not neceſſary, for the L. *Herbert* has publiſhed it, only he forgot 'to add the Subſcription to it, which I ought to have mentioned in its 'proper place, but it eſcaped me, and therefore I do it here.

P.226. l.24. *André Thevet*, a French Franciſcan, who writ ſome Years after this an Univerſal Coſmography, ſays, *Lib.* 16. *cap.* 5. That he was aſſured, by divers Engliſh Gentlemen, that *Mark Smeton* at his Death, among his other Sins, repented in particular of the wrong he had done the Queen, in deſtroying her by a falſe Accuſation. And tho *Thuanus* makes him an Author of no Credit, yet there is no reaſon to ſuſpect him in this Particular, for Writers ſeldom lye againſt their Intereſt; and the Franciſcan Order had ſuffered ſo much for their adhering to Queen *Katherine*'s Intereſts, in oppoſition to *Ann Boleyn*, that it is not likely one of that Order would have ſtrained a Point to tell an honourable Story of her. This was made uſe of in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, to vindicate her Memory; ſee *Saravia Tract. cont. Bezam. cap.* 2. *verſus finem.*

P.220. l.4, 5 The King's Proteſtation was not publiſhed till about eight or nine months after that was obtained, which you there mention, which was the 20*th* of *July*, 1536. And in the Proteſtation, mention is made of the putting off the Council from *May* to *Novemb.* 1537. which came out in *April* or *May* that Year. And in *April* 1538. the King ſet out another Proteſtation againſt a Bull for the Council at *Vincenza*, which is not mentioned in the Hiſtory.

Pool lived at *Padua* long before this time, and not after it, (as *Antiq. Brit.* from whom it is vouched has it) but that Society of Learned Men was now removed to *Rome*, whither *Pool* ſeems to have gone to them. *P.*221. *l.* 10.

No wonder *Cheſter* was not here mentioned, ſince it was erected before. And ſo it might well be, tho the Charter for the preſent Foundation bears date after; for the former might be ſurrendered and cancelled, probably becauſe of ſome mention made in it of the Pope's Bull, of which you ſpeak *p.* 121. *P.*263. *l.* 7.

Fox adds another Paſſage of that Diſcourſe between *Cromwel* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, which perhaps offended him much; that he was never ſo far in love with *Wolſey*, as to have waited on him to *Rome*, as he underſtood the Duke of *Norfolk* would have done. *P.*[illegible] *l.*17. *from bottom.*

Coventry and *Litchfield* were never two different Biſhopricks, but two different Seats of the ſame See, which had ſometimes a third at *Cheſter*. *P.*228. *l.*23.

This was no deſigned interview; but *Charles* hearing of the Tumult at *Ghent*, went from *Spain* to *Flanders*, through *France*, as his neareſt way, and was met by *Francis* at *Loches* in *Berry*, and not at *Paris*. *P.*272. *l.*1.

Cromwel was then Dean of *Wells*, and that was the reaſon of the *Proviſo*. *P.*279. *l.*20.

Hall and L. *Herbert* ſay, This was on the 25*th*, which you put on the 24*th* of *June*. *P.*280. *l.*5.

He in that place belongs to the King named before; ſo it ſhould have been expreſſed, that it is *Bonner* that is here meant. *P.* 297.

It was not neceſſary to reſtore the Lord *Cromwel* in Blood, for he was made a Baron, when his Father was made an Earl, ſo that his Blood was not corrupted by his Fathers Attaindor. *P.*312. *l.*12.

Interludes were not then brought in firſt to Churches, but had been uſed in the Times of Popery, the greateſt part of their Religion being placed in outward Shews, ſo that theſe did well enough agree with it; and ſuch Repreſentations are yet in uſe ſometimes in the Roman Church, ſo that, by which they had formerly entertained the People, was now turned on themſelves. *P.*318. *l.*8.

Fox ſets down a Confeſſion of *Anne Aſkews*, (perhaps *Aſcough* was her right Name, for ſo is the Name of the Family in *Lincolnſhire* written) in which ſhe her ſelf relates this Paſſage of the Lord Chancellors racking her with his own hands; ſo there is no reaſon to queſtion the truth of it; and *Parſons*, who detracts as much from *Fox*'s Credit as he can, does not queſtion this particular. *P.*342. *l.*1.

P.344. *l*.10. The Story concerning *Cranmer*, muſt belong to the former Year, for *Butts* that bore a ſhare in it, died on the 17*th* of *Novemb.* 1545, as appears by the Inſcription on his Tomb-ſtone in *Fulham* Church: So this Paſſage being after the Duke of *Suffolk's* Death, which was in *Auguſt* that Year; this muſt be placed between *Auguſt* and *Novemb.* 1545.

P.346. *l*.6. The Earl of *Surrey* had not lived long a Widower, for his youngeſt Son, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, is ſaid to have been at nurſe at his Father's Death.

P.355. *l*.17. *from bottom.* The Year of Sir *Tho. More's* Birth is not certain; by *Eraſmus* his Reckoning, it was in the Year 1479, if not higher; others ſay it was 1480; and others 1484.

P.359. *l*.30. *William Peyto: Thuanus*, calls him *William*, and ſays, he was *Loci Ignobilis*; but his true Name, by which he was made Cardinal, was *Peter*; whether he was ſo Chriſtened, or aſſumed it only when he became a Friar, is not certain. He was deſcended from an Ancient and Eminent Family in *Warwick-ſhire*, yet remaining.

P.204. *l*.14. *from bottom.* *And not many of theſe.* Here ſeems to be a word or more wanting; 'It is wanting in the Original, but it ſhould have been ſupplied by a 'conjecture on the Margent; *Armed* ſeems to be the word that agrees 'beſt to the ſenſe.

FINIS.

Errata *in the former Volume, that are not marked in the Table of them.*

PAge 10. line 17 from bottom, for 18 of *June*, read 28. P. 22. l. 11. fr. bott. f. *Frediſwood*, r. *Frideſwoide.* P. 26. l. 24. f. *Sartre*, r. *Sautre*; l. 29. f. *it as like*, r. *it is like*. P. 27. l. 12. fr. bott. f. 1611, r. 1511. P. 41. l. 25. for *Dorcheſter*, r. *Dorſet*. P. 47. l. 24. f. *Puccy*, r. *Pucci*. P. 59. l. 18. f. *great*, r. *got*. P. 72. l. 11. f. *Simpſon*, r. *Sampſon*. P. 85. Marg. l. 28. f. 2 *Feb*. r. 24. P. 91. l. 14. f. 19 of *June*, r. 10 of *June*. *P*. 163. l. *ult*. f. *rented*, r. rated. *P*. 242. l. 8. f. *this Kings*, r. *this kind*. *P*. 247. l. 9. f. 1635. r. 1535. *ibid*. l. 15 fr. bott. f. 7 *Dec*. r. 17. *P*. 249. l. 11. f. *refuſe*, r. *refute*. *P*. 262. l. 18. f. *Reat*, r. *rents*. *P*. 280. l. 21. f. *Perſon*, r. *Priſon*. *P*. 285. f. *came*, r. *come*. *P*. 333. (miſprinted 343) l. 24. f. *Dell*, r. *Bell*. *P*. 343. l. 18. f. *Alrich*, r. *Holgate*.

A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the *Collection*, with which the Places in the *Hiſtory* to which they relate are marked; the firſt Number, with the Letter *C.* is the Page of the *Collection*; the ſecond with the Letter *H.* is the Page of the *Hiſtory*.

		C.	H.
	The Journal of King Edward'*s Reign,*	1	1
1.	*His Preface to ſome Scriptures againſt Idolatry,*	68	157
2.	*A Diſcourſe concerning the Reformation of divers Abuſes,*	69	ibid
3.	*A Reformation of the Order of the Garter, tranſlated into Latin by him,*	73	205
4.	*A Paper concerning a Free Mart in* England,	78	208
5.	*The Method in which the Council repreſented Matters of State to him,*	82	219
6.	*Articles for the Regulation of the Privy Council,*	86	213

The Firſt Book.

1.	*The Character of King* Edward *given by* Cardan,	89	2
2.	*The Commiſſion taken out by Arch-Biſhop* Cranmer,	90	6
3.	*The Councils Letter to the Juſtices of Peace,*	92	13
4.	*The Order for the Coronation of King* Edward,	93	ibid
5.	*The Commiſſion for which the Lord Chancellor was deprived of his Office; with the Opinion of the Judges about it,*	96	17
6.	*The Duke of* Somerſets *Commiſſion to be Protector,*	98	18
7.	*The King's Letter to the Arch-Biſhop of* York *concerning the Viſitation,*	103	26
8.	*The form of bidding Prayers before the Reformation,*	104	30
9.	*A Letter of Biſhop* Tonſtal'*s proving the ſubjection of the Crown of* Scotland *to the King of* England,	106	32
10.	*A Letter ſent by the Scotiſh Nobility to the Pope, concerning their being an Independent Kingdom,*	109	ibid
11.	*The Oath given to the Scots, who ſubmitted to the Protector,*	111	35
12.	Bonner'*s Proteſtation, with his Submiſſion,*	112	36
13.	Gardiner'*s Letter concerning the Injunctions,*	ibid	ibid
14.	*The Concluſion of his Letter to the Protector againſt them,*	114	38
15.	*A Letter of the Protectors to the Lady* Mary, *juſtifying the Reformation,*	115	39
16.	*Petitions made by the Lower Houſe of Convocation,*	117	47
17.	*A ſecond Petition to the ſame purpoſe,*	118	ibid
18.	*Reaſons for admitting the Inferior Clergie to ſit in the Houſe of Commons,*	119	48
19.	*A Letter of* Martin Bucers *to* Gropper,	121	51

	C.	H.
20. *Queſtions and Anſwers concerning the Divorce of the Marqueſs of* Northampton,	125	58
21. *Injunctions given in King* Henry'*s Time to the Deanery of* Doncaſter,	126	59
22. *A Proclamation againſt Innovations without the King's Authority*,	128	ibid
23. *An Order of Council for the removing of Images*,	129	60
24. *A Letter, with Directions ſent to all Preachers*,	130	61
25. *Queſtions concerning ſome abuſes in the Maſs, with the Anſwers made by ſome Biſhops and Divines to them*,	133	62
26. *A Collection of the chief Indulgences then in the Engliſh Offices*,	150	66
27. *Injunctions for a Viſitation of Chauntries*,	152	67
28. *The Protector's Letter to* Gardiner, *concerning the Points that he was to handle in his Sermon*,	154	70
29. *Idolatrous Collects and Hymns in the Hours of* Sarum,	156	61
30. *Dr.* Redmayn'*s Opinion of the Marriage of the Clergie*,	157	92
31. *Articles of Treaſon againſt the Admiral*,	158	98
32. *The Warrant for the Admiral's Execution*,	164	100
33. *Articles for the King's Viſitors*,	165	102
34. *A Paper of* Luther *concerning a Reconciliation with the* Zwinglians,	166	105
35. *The Sentence againſt* Joan *of*. Kent,	167	111
36. *A Letter of the Protectors to Sir* Philip Hobbey, *of the Rebellions at home*,	169	120
37. *A Letter of* Bonners *after his Deprivation*,	170	128
38. *Inſtructions to Sir* W. Paget, *ſent to the Emperor*,	171	131
39. *A Letter of* Pagets *to the Protector*,	173	132
40. *Another Letter of his to the Protector*,	177	133
41. *The Councils Letter to the King againſt the Protector*,	183	136
42. *The Protector's Submiſſion*,	184	ibid
43. *A Letter from the Council to the King*,	185	137
44. *A Letter writ by the Council to* Cranmer *and* Paget,	187	ibid
45. Cranmer *and* Pagets *Anſwer*,	188	ibid
46. *Articles objected to the Duke of* Somerſet,	189	138
47. *A Letter of the Councils to the Biſhops, aſſuring them that the King intended to go forward in the Reformation*,	191	143
48. *Cardinal* Wolſey'*s Letter for procuring the Popedom to himſelf, upon Pope* Adrian'*s Death*,	192	147
49. *Inſtructions given to the Lord* Ruſſel, *and others, concerning the delivery of* Bulloign *to the French*,	198	148
50. *Other Inſtructions ſent to them*,	201	ibid
51. *The Patents for the German Congregation*,	202	154
52. *Injunctions given by Biſhop* Ridley,	205	153
53. Oglethorp'*s Submiſſion and Profeſſion of his Faith*,	207	161
54. *Dr.* Smith'*s Letter to* Cranmer,	208	ibid
55. *Articles of Religion ſet out by the King's Authority*,	209	166
56. *Inſtructions to the Preſident of the North*,	221	217
57. *Inſtructions to Sir* Rich. Moriſon, *ſent to the Emperor*,	229	220
58. *A Letter of* Ridley'*s, ſetting out the Sins of that Time*,	231	227

	C.	H.
59. Ridley's *Letter to the Protector, concerning the Viſitation of the Univerſity of* Cambridg,	232	120
60. *The Protectors Anſwer to the former Letter,*	234	ibid
61. *A Letter of* Cranmer's *to King* Henry, *concerning a further Reformation, and againſt Sacrilege,*	236	196

BOOK II.

1. *THe Proclamation of* L. Jane Gray's *Title to the Crown,*	239	235
2. *A Letter writ by Q.* Katherine *to her Daughter,*	242	240
3. *A humble Submiſſion made by Q.* Mary *to her Father,*	243	241
4. *Another of the ſame ſtrain confirming the former,*	245	ibid
5. *Another to the ſame purpoſe,*	246	ibid
6. *A Letter written by her to* Cromwel, *containing a full ſubmiſſion in all Points of Religion to her Fathers pleaſure,*	247	ibid
7. *A Letter of* Bonner's, *upon his being reſtored to his Biſhoprick,*	248	248
8. Cranmer's *Manifeſto againſt the Maſs,*	249	ibid
9. *The Concluſions of Inſtructions ſent by Car.*Pool *to the Queen,*	250	260
10. *Injunctions ſent from the Queen to the Biſhops,*	252	274
11. *A Commiſſion to turn out ſome of the Reformed Biſhops,*	256	ibid
12. *Another Commiſſion for turning out the reſt of them,*	257	ibid
13. Bonner's *Certificate that Biſhop* Scory *had put away his Wife,*	258	275
14. *The Queen's Letter to the Juſtices of Peace in* Norfolk,	259	288
15. *The Articles of* Bonner's *Viſitation,*	263	289
16. *Addreſs made by the lower, to the upper Houſe of Convocation,*	266	295
17. *A Bull making Card.*Beaton, Legate a Latere, *in* Scotland,	271	292
18. *A Letter of the Queen's, recommending Card.* Pool *to the Popedom,*	282	311
19. *Directions ſent to the Juſtices in Peace of* Norfolk,	283	ibid
20. *A Letter from the King and Queen, requiring* Bonner *to go on in the proſecution of Hereticks,*	285	312
21. *Sir* T.Mores *Letter to* Cromwel, *concerning the Nun of* Kent,	286	316
22. *Directions of the Queen's to the Council, touching the Reformation of the Church,*	292	317
23. *Injunctions given by* Latimer *to the Prior of St.* Maries,	293	319
24. *A Letter of* Ann Boleyn's *to* Gardiner,	294	321
25. *The Office of Conſecrating the Cramp-Rings,*	295	ibid
26. *Letter of* Gardiner's *to* K. Henry, *concerning his Divorce,*	297	ibid
27. *The Writ for the burning of* Cranmer,	300	334
28. *A Commiſſion to* Bonner, *and others, to raze Records,*	301	341
29. Cromwel's *Commiſſion to be the King's Vice-gerent,*	303	ibid
30. *A Letter of the Monks of* Glaſſenbury, *for raiſing that Abbey,*	306	342
31. *A Letter of* Carne's *from* Rome,	307	344
32. *A Commiſſion for a ſevere way of proceeding againſt all ſuſpect of Hereſy,*	311	347
33. *A Letter of the Councils, expreſſing their Jealouſies of the Lady* Elizabeth,	314	351
34. *Letter from* Carn, *concerning the ſuſpenſion of* Pool's *Legation,*	315	353
35. *The Appeal of Archbiſhop* Chichely *to a General Council, from the Pope's Sentence,*	321	ibid
36. *Inſtructions repreſenting the State of the Nation to King* Philip, *after the loſs of* Calais,	324	360

The Table of the Contents.

37. *Sir* T.Pope's *Letter concerning the L.* Elizabeth's *Anſwer* C. H
to the Propoſition of Marriage ſent her by the K.of Sweden, 325 361

BOOK III.

1. *THe Device for alteration of Religion in the firſt Year of Q.* Elizabeth's *Reign, offered to Secretary* Cecil, 327 377
2. *Dr.* Sandys's *Letter to Dr.* Parker, *concerning the Proceedings in Parliament,* 332 386
3. *The firſt Propoſition upon which the Papiſts and Proteſtants diſputed in* Weſtminſter *Abbey; with the Arguments which the Reformed Divines made upon it,* 333 399
4. *The Anſwer which* D. Cole *made to the former Propoſition,* 338 389
5. *A Declaration made by the Council concerning the Conference,* 345 392
6. *An Addreſs made by ſome Biſhops and Divines to the Queen, againſt the uſe of Images,* 348 397
7. *The High Commiſſion for the Province of* York, 350 400
8. *Ten Letters written to and by Dr.* Parker, *concerning his Promotion to the See of* Canterbury, 353 401
9. *The Inſtrument of his Conſecration,* 363 404
10. *An Order for the Tranſlating of the Bible,* 366 406
11. *A Profeſſion of Religion made in all Churches by the Clergie,* 365 405
12. *Sir* Walter Mildmay's *Opinion concerning the keeping of the Queen of* Scots, 369 417
12. *A Letter of the E. of* Leiceſter's *touching the ſame thing,* 373 ibid
13. *The Bull of* P. Pius *the 5th, depoſing Q.* Elizabeth, 377 418
An Appendix concerning ſome of the Errors and Falſhoods in Sanders's *Book of the Engliſh Schiſm,* 383
Some Miſtakes in the former Volume, 410

ERRATA.

PAge 9. line *penult,* after *be,* read *not.* P. 13. l. 17. *ever,* r. *every;* P. 15. l. 42. *Maubenge,* r. *Marbridge.* P. 72. l. 42. *muta,* r. *imbuta.* P. 74. l. 32. *tenentis,* r. *tenentem.* P. 75. l. 8. *enim qui,* r. *eum qui.* P. 91. l. 28. *ac,* r. *ad. duraturatum,* r. *duraturas.* P. 110. l. 1. *praceſſe,* r. *praeſſe.* l. 7. *hunc,* r. *nunc.* l. 27. *intemur,* r. *nitemur.* l. 50. *proximus,* r. *proximis.* l. *ult. proprior,* r. *propior.* P. 115. l. *antepenult. re,* r. *ac.* P. 122. l. 26. *ſumma,* r. *ſummis.* l. 36. *panam,* r. *Petram.* P. 128. l. 3. *down,* r. *undone.* l. 29. *done,* r. *undone.* l. 39. *injure,* r. *incurre.* P. 156. l. 18. *Domino,* r. *Domine.* p. 167. l. 29. after *Fleſh,* r. *manutenuiſſe.* P. 168. l. 19. *reſipiſciſſe,* r. *reſipuiſſe.* P. 173. l. 17. *pleno,* r. *plano.* l. 20. *ſaying,* r. *ſaving.* l. 21. *in,* r. *of.* P. 178. l. 14. after *ſhould,* r. *not.* P. 197. l. 18. after *there,* r. *which.* Pag. 199. l. 44. *leaſt,* r. *laſt.* Pag. 200. l. 27. after *as,* r. *or.* Pag. 209. l. 9. *Ghoſt,* r. *Trinity.* Pag. 214. l. 25. after *be,* r. *not.* Pag. 217. l. 14. dele *not.* l. *ult. reproved,* r. *approved.* P. 220. l. 13. after Bodies, r. *nor ſleepedlily.* P. 237. l. 17. *ſent,* r. *was to ſend.* P. 248. l. 13, 14. *Leekmore,* r. *Leechmere,* l. 15. *aſſerting,* r. *aſcertaining.* P. 251. l. 34. *to be,* r. *took.* l. 40. before *outwardly,* r. ; P. 256. l. 29. *vocend,* r. *vocent.* P. 258. l. 32. *Chriſtians,* r. *Chriſtiana.* P. 263. l. 34. dele *and.* P. 299. l. 22. *Judice,* r. *Judicem.* P. 320. l. 15. after *doth,* r. *not.* P. 321. l. 39. *ordinem,* r. *ordine.* P. 321. l. 21. *nullum,* r. *nulla.* l. 29. after *contumaciam,* put, and dele, after *cauſa.* l. 43. *at,* r. *ac.* P. 342. l. 44. before *lawful,* r. *was it.* P. 343. l. 33. after *all,* r. *are.* p. 366. Margent, *Bolaſe,* r. *Borlaſe.* p. 378. Marg. *ſentia,* r. *ſententia.* p. 396. l. 20. *Worcheſter,* r. *Wincheſter.* p. 398. l. 44. *interrupted,* r. *uninterrupted.* p. 411. l. 8. dele ( ). l. 28. after *Heir,* r. *apparent.* l. 33. dele *afterwards.* p. 411. Marg. l. 4. to *l.* 16. add *from bottom.* p. 412. l. 19. *Winter is called Wolſey's Baſtard,* r. *Campegioe's Son is called his Baſtard,* l. 36. *had,* r. *has.* p. 412. Marg. l. 1. 14, r. 10. Marg. l. 11. 15. r. 32. p. 413. l. 32. *would,* r. *could.* l. 44. *put out,* r. *written.* p. 414. l. 28. *Mark Smeton,* r. *K. Henry.* Marg. l. 3. for 203, r. 202. Marg. l. 4. 226, r. 206. p. 415. Marg. 297. l. 16. add *fr. bottom.* p. 416. l. 25. *Fridesſwoide,* r. *Frideſwide.* P. 2. Contents, Numb. 52. r. *Injunctions given by Biſhop* Ridley, 205 158. P. 3. Contents, Numb. 15. r. *The Articles of* Bonner's *Viſitation,* 260.

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The Hiſtory of the Powder-Treaſon; with a Vindication of the Proceedings and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions made againſt it, and more particularly of late Years; by the Author of the *Catholick Apology*, and others. To which is added, A Parallel betwixt That and the preſent Plot, 1681. 4*to*.

The Counter-Scuffle. 4*to*.

Mr. *Langford*'s plain and uſeful Inſtructions, to raiſe all ſorts of Fruit-Trees that proſper in *England*, in that method and order that every thing is to be done in: Together with the beſt Directions for making Liquors of the ſeveral ſorts of Fruit, 1681. 8°.

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